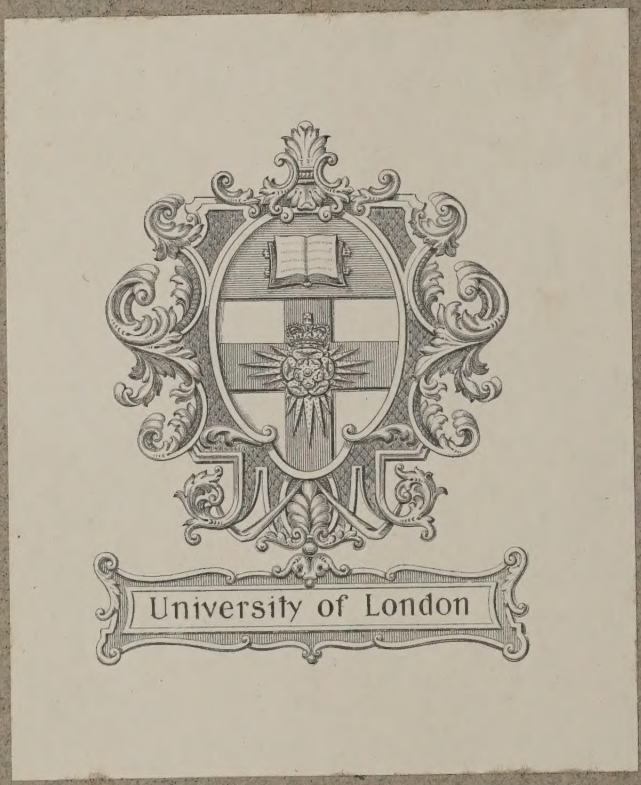
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REPORTS

FROM

COMMISSIONERS:

TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES.

— (14.) —

JAMAICA.

Session

1 *February* —— 10 *August* 1866.

VOL. XXX.

1866.

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COMMISSIONERS:

TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES

—(VI.)—

JAMAICA

Session

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REPORTS FROM COMMISSIONERS:

1866.

TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE

FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

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JAMAICA DISTURBANCES.

PAPERS

LAID BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

BY

GOVERNOR EYRE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
June 1866.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1866.

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SCHEDULE.

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PAPERS

LAID BEFORE

THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

BY

GOVERNOR EYRE.

No. 1.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Storks, G.C.B., to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.

Jamaica
No. 1.

(No. 28.)

Sir, King's House, February 19, 1866.

(Received March 16, 1866.)

I have the honour to transmit herewith a despatch and enclosure from Governor Eyre relative to the late outbreak in this Island, which I have not been able to forward earlier as the documents were laid before the Royal Commissioners in order to assist them in their inquiry.

Enclosure No. 8 which accompanied Governor Eyre's letter, and which consisted of addresses from various inhabitants of Jamaica and his replies thereto, was forwarded with my despatch No. 23, of 8th February.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. K. STORKS.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Governor Eyre to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P.

Sir, Flamstead, January 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your various despatches relative to the late rebellion, asking for further information and explanations to enable Her Majesty's Government to understand the nature and extent of the outbreak, the state in which the other districts of the Island were at the time, and the grounds for continuing martial law and trials by military tribunals after the rebellion was got under control.

Sub-enclosure and map of the county of Surry.

In order to arrive at a just conclusion upon these points it is necessary to premise,

First. That the negroes from a low state of civilization and being under the influence of superstitious feelings could not properly be dealt with in the same manner as might the peasantry of a European country.

To produce any adequate effect upon such a population, numbering as they do some 350,000, as against about 13,000 whites who are scattered amongst them in isolated and unprotected positions and widely separated from each other, it was of paramount importance that punishment for such serious offences as rebellion, arson, and murder, should be prompt, certain, and severe. It could only be made so by the continuance of the military tribunals until all the parties captured as principals had their cases inquired into and dealt with summarily.

It is true that within a week from the first outbreak the rebellion was got under control, but a large number of the instigators of and actors in it were still at large, scattered throughout an area of between 400 and 500 square miles of mountainous and woody country.

To have withdrawn martial law and have substituted the delay and uncertainty of civil tribunals before the majority of the chief Rebels were punished would have done away with the impression which it was so necessary at the time to make upon the minds of the negroes throughout the Island.

Secondly. That as a race the negroes are most excitable and impulsive, and any seditious or rebellious action was sure to be taken up by and extend amongst the large majority of those with whom it came in contact. This was abundantly proved in St. Thomas-in-the-East, the wave of rebellion having extended from Morant Bay 20 miles

to the north-west (between Arntully and Monklands) in two and a half days, and from Morant Bay 40 miles to the east and north-east as far as Long Bay in three and a half days; at Monklands, 17 miles (north-west) from Morant Bay, Mr. Patterson, justice of the peace, was obliged to fly for his life, and his place was plundered on the 14th October. At Mulatto river, 35 miles (north-east) from Morant Bay, Mr. Hinchelwood, justice of the peace, was obliged to fly for his life, and his house was burned down on the 13th October.

Thirdly. That as a race the negroes are most reticent, and it is very difficult to obtain from them full or specific information upon any subject; hence it is almost impossible to arrive at anything like correct details of their plans or intentions. Even where they wish to give warning to persons they desire to save it is usually done in an ambiguous manner. Thus about July last year (when the Government was expecting an outbreak near Black River), Dr. McCatty was warned by several persons to go away as "something was going "to happen, that they were sure that nothing would trouble him, but Massa had better "take nigga advice to go away." He could elicit no further information. The rising did not take place because the Government was on its guard and took precautions in time to prevent it. Other similar instances might be given. It will be easy to understand from this trait in the negro character that a conspiracy may exist and even have extensive ramifications without the Government or any white individual being in any way aware of it.

Fourthly. The negroes exercise a reign of terror over each other which deters people from giving information of any intended outrage, or from assisting in any way to frustrate its perpetration.

The man Adam Smith, who gave information of the contemplated rising near Black River last August, has been poisoned, and Dr. McCatty certifies that he found large quantities of arsenic in his stomach and intestines.

John Tranlayson, who gave information of illegal drilling in the Bluefields district, was beaten by his companions for doing so.

Several black persons are stated to have been killed by the Rebels during the late rebellion for having refused to join them against the whites.

In many instances they were compelled to take oaths to join them under threats of having their heads cut off. This threat was also used to the police at Stony Gut by Paul Bogle on the 10th October; it was used to Thomas McCoy at Morant Bay by Paul Bogle on the 11th October, and to many others at different times and places by him or by other Rebels.

Mr. Hinchelwood, justice of the peace, states that Edward Minot, beadle of St. Mary's church, warned him to go away at once, stating, "I hear those people will have your "head, and though plenty of we negro would help you, not one of we dare lift our hand "for you."

Many other similar cases have come to my knowledge and there is little doubt but that such was and is the general feeling throughout the country even amongst the best disposed negroes. There were several gratifying instances in which individual negroes showed fidelity to their employers and aided in saving their persons and property, but there is none of their attempting to stop the progress of rebellion or to resist it; and this fact, I think, shows plainly how very general was the feeling in favour of the rebellion: those who did not take an active part in promoting it must either have sympathised with it or at least have stood passively by without attempting to arrest its progress.

Fifthly. Not only was the rebellion universal throughout St. Thomas-in-the-East (a parish which alone contains 215 square miles), and endeavouring to extend itself in the adjoining parishes of Portland, St. David's, and Port Royal, in all of which there were plenty of sympathisers ready to join at a moment's notice, but I had good reason to believe that disloyalty, disaffection, sedition, and rebellious intentions existed in almost every other parish of the Island.

Sixthly. The number of troops in the whole Island was only 1,000; of these about 500 were engaged in suppressing the rebellion, and occupying the parishes of St. Thomas-in-the-East, Portland, St. David's, and part of Port Royal, upwards of 500 square miles in extent, with a population of fully 40,000.

The other 500 troops were employed in garrisoning and protecting New Castle, Up Park Camp, and Kingston.

Even when the additional troops arrived from Barbadoes and Nassau there were altogether only some 1,700 to garrison and protect a country 140 miles long and 50 broad, containing an area of between 6,000 and 7,000 square miles, much of which consists of mountain fastnesses or dense jungles, with few facilities for intercommunication.

Bearing all these circumstances in view, and considering the frightful and irretrievable ruin which must inevitably have overtaken the Colony if the rebellion had been allowed

to gain head or to extend itself, I consider that I was fully justified in continuing martial law and trials by military tribunals until all the principal instigators of or actors in the rebellion were dealt with, and the rebellion itself so crushed out as to deter any attempt at a similar outbreak elsewhere.

The success which has attended my measures is in itself a justification of them, and to those who are inclined to cavil at their severity I would say, that in such a case instant and just punishment became eventual mercy, the deserved death of the few saved the lives of the many. I would ask also what would have been thought or said of me had I lost the Colony or occasioned the massacre of thousands through any delay or hesitancy on my part to accept the responsibility which the emergency necessarily imposed upon me.

From what has already been said it will easily be understood that however strong was my own conviction of the universality of seditious and rebellious feelings throughout almost the entire Island, it is far from being an easy matter to bring forward proof sufficient to produce a similar conviction in the minds of persons living at a distance, unacquainted with the country and with the negro character, and unable to appreciate the value of all the little incidents or circumstances which to my mind indicated a great and imminent danger.

I cannot more clearly describe the nature and character of these circumstances and incidents than I did in a message to the House of Assembly, in which I informed them that "the grounds upon which my opinion was based, consisted partly of oral information "from gentlemen or others connected with the different districts, partly of information "contained in private letters to the Governor, and in letters to members of the "Executive Committee, or to other gentlemen of position, which were shown to the "Governor, partly of representations from custodes or magistrates of the alarming "state of their districts, of seditious and threatening language being openly indulged in, "of threatening letters, of night meetings of the peasantry, of unsanctioned drilling "being carried on in various places, of statements of the insecure and unprotected "state of the parishes, of applications for troops, for men-of-war, for arms, for extra police "or constables, for formation of volunteer corps, &c., &c.; the whole tending to show "that sedition and rebellious intentions were wide spread through the land, and that in "most of the parishes the residents who were best able to judge of the temper and "feeling of the peasantry around them were in a state of great apprehension and "alarm."

It could not be expected that there should be any documentary evidence amongst the negroes themselves of a conspiracy to overthrow the Queen's authority, and to massacre the white and coloured people of the Island, nor could it reasonably be supposed that people like the negroes should have established any very complete organisation, or have made any perfect arrangements to act in combination.

But that there was a certain amount of organisation and combination, and an intention to act simultaneously or nearly so in many of the parishes, I cannot doubt; nor do I doubt but that the object was to exterminate the white and coloured classes, and obtain possession of the country for themselves. However wild and visionary such a scheme may appear to Englishmen, it must be borne in mind that the success which attended the efforts of the Haytians against the French, and more recently of the St. Domingans against the Spaniards, afforded examples and encouragement which from the vicinity of those republics to Jamaica, were constantly before the peasantry of this country; and these examples lost none of their force from the presence of many Haytians at Kingston living in wealth and idleness, and from the manner in which such examples were expatiated upon by designing demagogues and agitators, who, like G. W. Gordon, did not hesitate to tell the peasantry of this country that "they should do as the Haytians had done."

There are many points connected with the late rebellion which have been greatly misrepresented or misunderstood in England.

I have collected various reports, statements, or depositions from all parts of the country, from custodes, magistrates, inspectors of police, clergymen, and other persons of position, influence, and intelligence, as well as some statements or depositions from persons of humbler position. The whole constitute a mass of information of a most important and valuable character, and will well repay a careful and attentive perusal.

They indicate the opinions arrived at by those most competent to form a just judgment with regard to recent events, and in many cases they exhibit the grounds or circumstances upon which those opinions are based. Taken separately and alone each would be but the view of an individual, but read in connexion with each other these documents represent the feelings and convictions of the large majority of the respectable inhabitants of this Colony, and possess a value and weight which cannot be ignored.

They will fully remove the erroneous impressions which I have alluded to as having been entertained in England, and they will place before the British public many facts and circumstances not previously known, but having a powerful bearing upon the character of the rebellion, and the propriety of the steps taken to quell it and prevent further outbreaks.

I have not had time to thoroughly examine, analyse, classify, and report upon all the very voluminous documents now forwarded, or the many facts or incidents which they disclose, but I have endeavoured, as far as time has permitted, to put before you in the shape of extracts some of the more important passages in reference to points which are either greatly misunderstood, or imperfectly or not at all known.

As far as I am able to form an opinion, I believe the outbreak at Morant Bay to have been a premature development of an intention to rise which was much more general, and had a later period (supposed to be the then coming Christmas) fixed for its being carried into effect. The readiness with which it was taken up through an extensive tract of country, the sympathy and exultation openly displayed in other districts when the temporary success of the Rebels was first made known, and the disappointment and sullenness exhibited when later intelligence announced that the rising was suppressed, all indicate a state of preparedness for rebellion on the part of a large portion of the population of the Island.

But even in St. Thomas-in-the-East, premature as the outbreak is believed to have been, there is abundant proof that it did not arise out of the immediate circumstances of the moment, but was to a certain extent premeditated and predetermined.

Enclosure No. 2 contains documents showing :—

Henry Theophilus Bogle, nephew of Paul Bogle, states that about two weeks before the rebellion meetings were being held at Stony Gut and oaths administered, also that captains were appointed with about 50 men each.

Julius Hebbert states that meetings were being held and oaths taken not to divulge the secrets heard.

Policeman William Fuller states that on the 10th October, when trying to execute a warrant on Paul Bogle at Stony Gut, Captain Grant called out " Men," and immediately 300 came out from the cane piece and the chapel armed with cutlasses, spikes, bayonets, knives, and sticks; that they insisted (under the alternative of taking off his head), upon his taking the oath because he was a black man, or as they stated it " skin for skin ;" that Paul Bogle administered this oath on the Bible, that is was, " So help me God, after " this day I must cleave from the whites and cleave to the blacks ;" that he saw the oath administered to several that joined Paul Bogle,—the same oath.

Rural constable Jonas Foster states, that on the 10th October, when trying to execute the warrant upon Paul Bogle at Stony Gut, the latter cried out " Men, help here, turn out " men ;" that thereupon Captain Grant sounded the shell and the drum beat and Captain Grant said " Troops turn out ;" that over 300 men came out of the cane piece and chapel armed with cutlasses, sticks, and lances. That subsequently Colonel Bowie ordered the men to go out to drill, and that three gangs turned out with drums playing and shells blowing. That several men had the oath administered to them and were then given each a dram of rum and gunpowder to drink.

On the morning of the 11th October prior to the insurgents going to the parade (where the court house was) all the following circumstances took place.

Alexander Brown, a volunteer, states that being sent out to collect straggling volunteers he was met by a mob of Rebels who cried out " The volunteers have joined the buckra, " kill them ;" that he was attacked, knocked down senseless and his wrist dislocated, before they went to the parade.

Robert Evans Jones, boatswain of Morant Bay jail, but a policeman in charge of Morant Bay police station at the time of the disturbances, states that about 200 Rebels took possession of the police station, taking down the guns and bayonets, beating and wounding him, before they went to the parade.

Dr. John S. Gerrard states, that prior to the mob appearing in the parade a crashing noise was heard in the direction of the police station, accompanied by blowing of shells and beating of drums, and that soon afterwards 300 or 400 people armed with sticks, bills, spikes, guns, and cutlasses made their appearance at the street facing the court house, and that they approached nearer and nearer, howling defiance in reply to the inquiries of the custos as to what they wanted.

In reference to the commencement of the outrages at the court house on the 11th October :—

E. N. Harrison, serjeant-major of volunteers, states, The Rebels came upon us armed with guns, bayonets on sticks, cutlasses, and heavy sticks, that they came up to within

a few yards, throwing stones and striking at the bayonets with their sticks, and that not till after this did the volunteers fire.

Dr. Major, surgeon to the volunteers, who appears to have been in the court house with the magistrates and not outside with the volunteers, states, An immense crowd of people came, the men well armed with guns, cutlasses, and sticks, the women with stones, brickbats, and sticks, and that they had almost reached the court house steps before the volunteers fired.

Mr. J. Brooks Cooke, sub-collector of customs, states that the people came within six yards of the volunteers and fired a volley of stones upon them before they fired.

W. W. McGowan, serjeant of volunteers, states that in answer to the appeals of the custos to keep the peace the people cried out "We want no peace," that Captain Hitchins, himself and others got their heads broken with sticks and stones and their faces covered with blood from their wounds, and that one of their number, private James Ross, was knocked down senseless and one eye almost protruding from the socket (wounds of which he afterwards died) before any firing took place.

Robert Osborne, a volunteer, states that the rioters threw brickbats at us and struck many of us before we fired, and I was badly wounded.

R. G. Harrison, serjeant of volunteers, states, Hundreds of Rebels approached towards us with swords, sticks, cutlasses, and all kinds of destructive implements; that the Rebels would not listen to any conditions of peace, and many of us were knocked down before the Baron would allow a shot to be fired.

As a proof that the intentions of the Rebels were previously known (and therefore predetermined and arranged):—

Dr. Major states, that at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 11th October (that is hours before the disturbances) he was warned at the Rhine estate (17 miles from Morant Bay), by Mr. Gordon's overseer Lawrence, not to go on to Morant Bay, and he asked if he had heard of the disturbances there. Dr. Major still proceeded on his way, and shortly afterwards Laurence informed Mrs. Major she need not be alarmed as the Doctor (who was a friend of G. W. Gordon) would be perfectly safe. He even wrote this on paper, adding that "the negroes know who fit for retribution," and he subsequently stated to Mrs. Major's servant that "the Baron and Mr. Herschell will be dead" (the documents proving these last two facts are attached to my despatch dated January 1866, relative to G. W. Gordon).

Mrs. Herschell, widow of the Rev. V. Herschell who was murdered, states that on the 13th October at 3 a.m. a man named Marshall living in Portland (42 miles from Morant Bay), on learning the news stated "He expected it, and was glad to hear it."

P. Ellphick, of Belvedere estate, St. Thomas-in-the-East, states, A week before the massacre a man named Dugald Lindsay, called out to his ploughman "Well Minot, if "war come who you for, buckra or nigger?" Minot answered "You fool man, who this "plough for? who land this? who cow this? who pay me and you too? No buckra. "You nigger got anything to give me?"

Other instances showing a foreknowledge or an expectation of something (which they rarely define) about to happen in St. Thomas-in-the-East might readily be given.

Enclosure No. 3 contains statements tending to show predetermination, or the existence of design, organisation or combination, or the tendency of the feeling prevalent amongst the black people.

Charles McLean, clerk of the vestry, Saint David's, states, that on Dr. Underhill's letter being read at the vestry Samuel Clark said, If the people did not get their rights there must be *bloodshed*, and they must fight for it. He remonstrated to the custos and said, Really, your honour, this is treason.

Again when Clark attended the school at Yallahs he told the boys (almost all blacks) to persevere with their studies for shortly the Island will be theirs, nobody could keep it much longer from them.

R. G. Harrison, serjeant of volunteers, states, he several times heard a man named McTarvish say that "He would like to kill every Scotchman in the district, and that "there would soon be a war in Jamaica against the white people."

E. N. Harrison, serjeant-major of volunteers, heard McTarvish say "He would "like to destroy every Scotchman and overseer, but never mind, war will soon be in "Jamaica."

The Honourable W. P. Georges, custos of St. David's, states, that two months before the outbreak he was threatened with a stick by a black man named Richard Gould because he was not paid for work improperly performed, adding that if he did not get paid at that time he would very easily manage it soon.

MAICA.

Gordon D. Ramsay, inspector of police, affirms that it was openly and generally asserted in the disturbed districts that the rebellion was premeditated and organised with a view to the extermination of the whites.

The Rev. J. Sloane, LL.B., island curate of Saint Andrew's, Golden Grove, states, that the negroes were in the habit of stealing everything, that no trust could be placed in their most solemn asseverations. That in September 1864 he was violently assaulted by a man and woman when merely trying to induce them to leave his land, where they were not only trespassing but creating a great noise; he states that frequent meetings were held at nights up to 2 and 3 in the morning, that he heard beating of drums and a fife playing quite lively tunes from midnight for a couple of hours after, and that he thinks there were secret meetings for the purposes of drilling.

He states that after the massacre the signal came from Morant Bay and was understood by a certain party and a council of war called, that the time was one when the negroes could not be got together unless by previous concert, and yet there were 800 negroes collected at Golden Grove, that they established a strategetic occupation of all the outlets from Plantain Garden river, stopping and questioning all persons attempting to pass. The Rebel leaders are also said to have exercised absolute control over the excited mob, and through their influence cane fields and sugar works were left uninjured that the negroes might have them for themselves.

Plunder was carried off in large quantities which they could not expect to enjoy unless through a successful rebellion. The blacks are stated to have had a feeling of confidence in each other and in their unity, under their war cry of "colour for colour."

T. Mitchell, inspector of police for Trelawny, reports that shortly before the rebellion illegal drilling was going on at Deeside in that parish.

J. Palache, inspector of police for Manchester, states, people in this district were known to say "They would not buy land, for they should soon get it for nothing."

Rev. Dr. Moore, LL.D., rector of St. Mary's, believes that in many parishes the rebellion was systematically organised, and that others were more or less prepared.

J. Sawkins, director of the geological survey, states, the late Baron Von Ketelholdt expressed to him after August last his fears that there would be a rising of the negroes in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and he adds his own opinion that rumours and acts since that period have justified a belief in some subtle movement amongst the negroes that had for its object the destruction of the white population.

J. Harrison, attorney of Hordley estate, states, he was informed by Mr. Henry Ford of Kingston, that just before the rebellion the sale of gunpowder at his branch store at Bath had been unusual.

Charles W. Kirkland states, that about two months before the rebellion negroes came into his shop at Manchioneal and observed to him, "You won't sell us the goods cheap "now, but bye and bye we will take them for nothing."

John Wilson states, John Swire informed him that their "warriors" intended to kill him because he was Mr. Hire's favourite, also that when asked "What are you going to "do with the canes and estates?" the same man replied, "All we will make sugar of it "and share it amongst ourselves," adding, "we never mind about the ship."

Joseph Rose states, a month before the rebellion Charles Farmer told me he had seen blood sprinkled at Belle Castle chapel, Manchioneal, and that was a sign there was "going to be a row soon."

Also, that a few days after the rebellion he heard John Pringle Afflick say, it was lucky for the whites the war broke out at Morant Bay, as they (the blacks) was waiting for Circuit Court at Bath, on 18th or 19th October, when all the white folks from Port Antonio side and Morant Bay side would be in Bath, and they would burn the court house and kill all the white and coloured people. It was the best place and time, as few buckras would be left at home.

Also, that during the rebellion he heard David Fuller, a yellow-skin black man, say, "They would kill all the buckras, there was plenty of black boy could read and write "now and manage the estates, they would cut the canes and make sugar themselves, and "get what they wanted by ships from England."

Also, that Mr. Reid, the saddler, informed him, in his capacity of constable, that William Troop, a black man of Grange Hill estate, said on the night of Mr. Hire's murder, "Burn down the house, we don't want this house. Works house of use. I am "order to take charge of Amity Hall (Mr. Hire's place), and cut the canes next "week. We will find our own book-keeper, and you black nigger that don't join we "when we done killing buckra we will kill you and make your wife and children "slaves."

The Rev. J. Woollett, Roman Catholic priest, states, about June last I was at Pisgah, a large settlement of brown people principally. They told me they were afraid to plant as they had heard the black people intended to rise. Pisgah is high up in the hills, where the parishes of Westmoreland, St. James, Hanover, and St. Elizabeth meet.

John M. Mais, book-keeper of Golden Grove, states, that being ill when the Rebels came to Golden Grove, he was unable in the first instance to escape, and when the people of Golden Grove proposed to destroy the great house he heard some of those who had come up from Morant Bay, tell them to desist, as well as to leave everything untouched, saying that the house and contents were wanted for General Paul Bogle. They immediately left. Mr. Mais subsequently escaped through the woods to the sea.

William Coley, a deserter from the 1st West India Regiment, deposes that since the rebellion Archibald McLeish, of Roses Valley, and Joe Davy, of Evergreen district (both in St. Elizabeth), have been and are still in the habit of holding night meetings from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., at the house of William Chambers, where Joe Davy kept guard; they asked me if I was a soldier, and whether I would join and drill them. I refused, on which they threatened to report me. I reclined outside the house and heard William Chambers say they must make haste and get powder and guns, and those that had no guns must bring machetts, that they must go down and burn Mr. Coke's house at Oxford and shoot him. They agreed to commence the first day of Christmas.

Samuel C. Stines, in charge of a store in the parish of St. Elizabeth, states, that in August and September last the negroes repeatedly observed, "We are not going to buy "goods now, we will soon get them for nothing, you stop and see if we don't."

On another occasion, a negro told a coloured man in the same store, that "All the "coloured and white people's days would soon be over, they should not rule the country "any longer."

Rev. A. Findlay, island curate in the parish of St. Andrew's, states his conviction that there was an improper organization made for the overthrow of the Government, and that it existed in many minds, but had not the power of becoming sufficiently developed to secure its success; that there are some persons in his own district who were aware beforehand of the coming outbreak, and are always inclined for mischief and disaffection, and that such persons may be found more or less all over Jamaica. Mr. Findlay states several circumstances indicating the disposition and tone of thinking of the black people, all clearly evidencing that in the event of a disturbance (which they expected), even the best of them would not do more than remain passive, none would fight against their own colour, or attempt to prevent the inevitable revolution which was at times regarded as all but accomplished.

Dr. Lawson, senior magistrate of St. James, gives several instances of persons being punished for using seditious or rebellious language, and of intentions and attempts to burn down property in Montego Bay.

W. Fletcher, inspector of police for Clarendon and Vere, reports that about the time of the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East an attempt was made to burn down the court-house at Chapeltown, by the aid of Kerosine oil; he also gives instances of black people being heard to say they would "soon be free, and that the lands would soon be divided," that the "people of Clarendon ought to break out," and the speaker "knew whose head "would first be taken off." He speaks also of the general assertion and belief in the parish that "an intended slaughter of the whites and coloured inhabitants of the Island "was to have been carried out on Christmas Eve."

Rev. D. B. Panton, island curate of St. George's, states, "The outbreak (at "St. Thomas-in-the-East) was local, but the seditious spirit was general. The germs "of sedition were to be found in every parish, but more especially in those parishes "most frequently visited by the late G. W. Gordon. There were districts in each "parish where no seditious spirit existed, but such is the want of moral stamina in the "negro character, that had the tide of rebellion flowed in his neighbourhood, he must "inevitably have gone with the stream, although in his heart cursing the seditious "movement."

Rev. H. Isaacs, island curate in St. Andrew's, bears the same testimony as to the tendency of the black population to go with the stream.

Rev. C. B. Chandler, island curate in St. Ann's, gives an instance in which Mr. Gyles, proprietor of the "Recess estate," in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, upon refusing to rent out to the negroes some of his lands which they wanted, was coolly told, "Mr. "Gyles, you won't rent us your land now, but let we tell you the time is soon coming

" when we will take it before your face, and won't ask your leave, and you won't be " able to help yourself."

Mr. James Stewart, attorney for Agualta Vale, in Metcalfe, gives instances in which parties used seditious or threatening language in his district; in one a man named Thomas Campbell said, "If the rebels had come to this parish he would have joined " them in cutting off Mr. Hosack's and Mr. Prendergast's heads." In another a man threatened Mr. Swire, and other gentlemen, that "they could go on, they were only " over them until Christmas."

The Hon. S. Mais, custos of the parish of Port Royal, states, that constant nightly meetings were held, and that there was an unmistakeable insolence of manner amongst the negroes.

Mr. H. F. Mackay, a planter of Bath, states, that early in the morning after the massacre two black men stopped him and asked where he was going, and upon his asking what is that to you, they remarked "Never mind, my boy, we'll soon have you," and on his asking what they meant, they observed, "Don't you hear there is a row at Morant Bay, " as soon as the fellows come up this side to meet us we will know where to find you." Bath is 14 miles from Morant Bay. Mr. Mackay states that on his return to Bath in the afternoon he found an immense crowd of 1,500 to 2,000 people collecting from the different negro settlements.

Thomas Girvan, an engineer at Plantain Garden River estate, states, that on the forenoon of the 12th October the labourers on the estate were surrounding the grindstone in noisy groups grinding their cutlasses, and were using very threatening language to the manager and book-keepers. Plantain Garden River is 21 miles from Morant Bay.

Mr. Alexander Chisholm, manager of Golden Grove estate, states, that about June last there was a great gathering of all the labourers from the neighbouring estates at a Baptist meeting house at Stoakes Hall; that he went there but could not get near enough to hear what was said inside, but that a black man named Morris Brooks said to him " We " will soon turn buckra ourselves;" others used threatening language and he was compelled to ride away.

It is very clear from the evidence of many of the managers, book-keepers, or others that the labourers in the neighbourhood of Bath (14 miles from Morant Bay) and of Plaintain Garden River (21 miles from Morant Bay) were quite aware early on the morning of the 12th October of what had been going on at Morant Bay the previous evening, although the managers, book-keepers, and others were themselves quite ignorant of anything having taken place.

Enclosure No. 4 contains statements tending to show that disaffection, a bad spirit, or evil intentions were general and wide spread, or that anticipations of trouble or apprehensions of danger were very generally entertained.

Beckford Davis, clerk of the peace St. George's, states that the black people in that parish openly expressed themselves in the market place and elsewhere as being ready to join the Rebels if they came, and to destroy the whites.

G. B. Smith, justice of the peace, states, that he was informed by a respectable black man that he was not safe at Green Wall estate on the borders of St. David, that the " White Horses people were quite ready to join Paul Bogle."

Rev. J. Hildebrand, island curate in Manchester, states, that he has personal knowledge of rumours of intended risings amongst the negroes having been in general circulation in his parish for a long time; that St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, and St. James were specified as the places where the risings were to take place; and that prior to August last a black man from St. Elizabeth brought his two daughters to the mountains of Manchester and left them there, stating as his reason that there was going to be a great row in his own district and he wanted them out of the way.

Mr. Hildebrand also states that illegal drilling was extensively carried on in a part of the parish of Manchester.

J. A. Lord, late inspector of police for St. Thomas-in-the-East, states, that on the morning of the 13th the road between Fair Prospect and Port Antonio was lined with negroes evidently awaiting the signal for the outbreak, that within a few hours after pillage and burning actually commenced, and the Rebels sent messages to Port Antonio that they were coming there on the 14th. Being delayed however at Manchioneal and Mulatto River plundering and destroying property the troops were enabled to arrive at Port Antonio early on the 15th and thus defeated their plan.

Rev. J. Cork, rector of Westmoreland, states, that at Mesopotamia estate (nearly in the centre of Westmoreland) a coolie was asked "If he heard that war had begun against " buckra, that it would be sure to spread, and that the negroes desired to know on which " side the coolies would fight." Coolies were located in considerable numbers at George's

Plain estate in the neighbourhood, and the same question was put to them. Again directly after the news of the insurrection reached Porter's district in the same parish there was great excitement amongst the negroes, who began to sharpen their cutlasses and old bayonets, but as precautionary measures were at once taken they had no opportunity of carrying out their evident evil designs.

A Mr. Grierson was riding home from Savanna-la-Mar and met a party of negroes riding abreast and occupying the whole road. They would not make room for him to pass and jeered him as he took to the trench. There was then a military and naval force at hand, but Mr. Grierson was afraid to take any steps to punish such obstruction.

A black man from Hanover selling provisions at Town Head market took a drink with his companion (also a Hanover man) at the shop of Mr. J. Buckner, his toast being "He "hoped every mulatto man and buckra in the country would soon be governed by "nigger."

After the insurrection broke out a man named David Barham went into Buckner's shop, was exceedingly insolent, and said, "If he stopped there until night he would "make every damned mulatto in the quarter smell hell," (a favourite expression of the negro).

Rev. Charles Magnan, stipendiary curate in Westmoreland, states, two men in the King's part of this district said they wanted Jamaica to become like Hayti, and if the Rebels only came that way they would join them; and two young women, daughters of a respectable brown person, were told by two men whom they met when walking out, that their heads would be cut off at Christmas.

H. Prendergast, justice of the peace of St. George's, asked the people (after the August holidays) why they did not turn out to work, and was informed they were "waiting for "the new law."

Mr. Shaw states that a similar expression was used in Metcalfe, only there it was stated that a band of people were coming round by way of St. Thomas-in-the-East with a new law to compel the planters to give 2*s.* or 3*s.* per day wages.

Mr. Shaw further states, as an indication of the feeling existing, that when the news of the outbreak reached the district a rural constable at once repaired to Annotto Bay and gave up his badge and baton.

Rev. H. Browne, rector of Metcalfe, who was in Port Antonio at the time of the outbreak, states that he believes none would have been left alive in that town on the night of Sunday the 15th October had the "Wolverine" not arrived that morning with troops.

Rev. Mr. Hime, island curate of St. George's, states that amongst the labourers of the estates of Lawlayton and Spring Garden a general feeling was evidenced in favour of the Rebels in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and that he has little doubt if the opportunity had offered they would have joined them.

The Hon. L. Mackinnon, custos of Vere, states that his parish was the very powder magazine of sedition, and that it was only by sending down daily to notify to the black people the examples being made in St. Thomas-in-the-East that they were kept quiet until a detachment of troops could be obtained; that he was warned by a respectable old black man to take precautions, and that the head man at Pusey hall openly avowed his desire to seize the arms of the police and begin the row in Vere.

Mr. Mackinnon asserts his full belief that the people would have risen if an opportunity had been afforded.

Rev. T. Orgill, island curate of Portland, expresses his opinion that the intention to rebel was general, based upon the facts that the insurrection travelled 40 miles in two days, the readiness with which the insurgents were joined in their progress, and the easy conversion of multitudes hitherto peaceable into insatiable robbers and even murderers when their victims could be overtaken.

The Hon. B. Vickers, custos of Westmoreland, states, that considerable excitement and disaffection was openly manifested in the Blue Fields district, threats were made to fire the town at Savanna-la-Mar if a certain case about to be tried was not decided as the blacks wished. Mr. Trench, who was to defend the obnoxious party, had his life threatened, and the lawyers and many others attended the court armed with revolvers. Considerable disaffection was also manifested in the neighbourhood of Lamb's river. In the Darleston district considerable disaffection prevailed, and a large number of old muskets and other fire-arms had recently been repaired by the black people. Mr. Vickers expresses his opinion that a repetition of the scene enacted at Morant Bay court house was only averted by the presence of military and ships of war.

J. Patterson, justice of the peace of Monklands, states that the people in the upper part of the parish of St. David's were all ready to join in the rebellion.

AICA.

Mr. W. Miller, justice of the peace, states, that the blacks held courts of their own in the interior district of Manchioneal and in the Blue Mountain Valley district, and punished offences by money fine.

D. P. Trench, inspector of revenues, states that the impression is universal that the outbreak at Morant Bay was precipitate and thereby prevented a general insurrection and wholesale murder of the white and some of the higher class of the coloured inhabitants.

Douglas Johnson states that the Rebels reached Monklands (17 miles from Morant Bay) on the evening following the massacre. They were armed with guns, swords, and cutlasses: a man named Gordon acted as clerk and put down the names of those who were compelled to join them. They plundered the store at Monklands.

Richard Ogilvie states he was tied and handcuffed and carried before Paul Bogle, who held a court at Mount Lebanus chapel. Hearing that the soldiers were at Monklands Paul Bogle blew his horn and called up his men to fight the soldiers.

Eliza Ford states that at Monklands the Rebels compelled Mrs. Patterson to kneel down and swear that her husband and another man had not been engaged in cutting slugs to meet the Rebels, also that many men were compelled to join the Rebels under threat of having their heads cut off.

Thomas Higgins states, Minot said "If I had men to sanction me, as Gordon had, "Jamacia would either be worse or better; I hear the war is in Browns Town, just the "right place it ought to be."

Rev. D. Morris, rector of St. James, states, the sense of insecurity in Montego Bay before the arrival of the naval and military protection was of a general complexion. If the insurrection could have presented a successful front for even a very few days it is impossible to say how frightful might have been the consequences. There seemed to be a disposition to speak of the affair as a "war" rather than an insurrection.

Rev. S. R. Ward, American missionary, reports that S. Clarke in speaking of the rebellion said, "Everybody, Sir, seems to be in it." He adds that from Morant Bay they separated in several distinct bands with the single purpose of carrying out their fiendish designs east, west, and north of Morant Bay, and that they ceased not to murder, plunder, and destroy until the iron hand of the military was laid heavily upon them. Mr. Ward is himself an educated black man.

The Hon. S. Rennalls, custos of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, reports, that three or four instances occurred in his parish in which parties were convicted of using seditious language, "Such as, they were waiting for the rebels to come, and they would join and "fight." A man in Metcalfe, where he also had property, threatened to burn it down and attack himself (the custos) after having disposed of some others. Several anonymous and threatening letters were also found.

Mr. Stewart, inspector of police for St. Mary's, St. George's, and Metcalfe, expresses his belief that the greatest disaffection and inclination to resist the laws on every occasion prevails all over the Island.

Rev. C. Douet, island curate of Bath, states his belief that the spirit of sedition was general before the outbreak, and that this is proved by simultaneous risings in Bath, Manchioneal, &c. &c.

The Hon. R. Nunes, custos of Trelawney, states, It does not admit of a doubt that the unfortunate outbreak of 11th October was a premature development of a premeditated and organised arrangement, and that the original intention was not to limit the insurrection to the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Captain Kent, R. N., stipendiary justice, Port Royal district, states, that several months before the insurrection he openly expressed his expectations of some fearful doings.

T. Hart, inspector of police for St. Ann's, reports that, when the rebellion became known, the people of the western district of St. Ann's were very much excited and troops had to be sent. Mr. Hart further states that several people in St. Ann's were anxiously awaiting the result of the outbreak in order to encourage a rebellious spirit in that parish.

J. Harrison, attorney of Hordley, states that the Plantain Garden River Rebels were a distinct lot from the Morant Bay ones.

A. Nairne, inspector of police for Kingston, reports, that the seditious spirit of the rebellion had it not been crushed out would have assumed a general character. He had reason to suppose that disaffection and seditious feelings extended to other parishes besides St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Rev. J. Downie, acting rector of St. John's, states, that during the three years he has been in Jamaica he has constantly noticed with surprise the very insolent and defiant bearing of a portion of the black population, a bearing the very reverse of that attributed to them in England; he states his firm conviction that the spirit of disaffection was not confined to St. Thomas-in-the-East.

E. N. Harrison, serjeant-major of volunteers, states, that the Plantain Garden River district, Duckenfield, and Golden Grove were plundered chiefly by their own negroes and those living near.

The Hon. C. Royes, custos of St. Ann's, states, that rumours of seditious language and threats were plentiful, but only in one instance could he trace them to an authentic source. Many of the negroes hoped the rebellion would not come there, but none said it should not.

Rev. C. Hall, rector of Clarendon, states, there was only one indication in his parish of an insubordinate spirit, an attempt to set fire to the court house. He considers none but those who live at a distance safe from danger could term the rebellion a local riot.

T. Mitchell, inspector of police for Trelawney, states, that shortly after the outbreak at Morant Bay a spirit of disaffection appeared in his parish; one man said If he had twelve like himself he would go on a certain day into the shops and cut off the heads of every white man in Falmouth; another said The rebels from Morant Bay would soon be at Hampshire, and he would shoot all the white men about that district.

Charles McLean, clerk of the vestry, St. David's, states, that ill feeling and dissatisfaction on the part of the labouring classes was daily increasing; decisions of courts of law were held in no respect; proclamations and messages from the Queen were treated with contempt and called lies, red lies.

James Sullivan, a labourer, states, that on 12th October a man named Chrystie, in St. David's, said publicly, "I hear they kill the Baron at Morant Bay, and I am going to "sharpen my cutlass back and belly, and go down there."

The Hon. J. Hollingsworth, custos of Manchester, reports the arrival on the 28th December of nine prisoners charged with conspiracy to commit murders and arson. They were brought in by the Maroons under magisterial warrants.

P. Harrison, senior magistrate of St. Dorothy's, reports, that on the 13th December eleven men were brought before the justices for illegal drilling and were committed for trial.

C. Brown, assistant geological surveyor, states that whilst engaged on the survey of St. Elizabeth in May, June, and July last, he could not help noticing a spirit of disaffection was abroad. At Ginger Hill no amount of money would induce any one to act as a guide to him. Mr. Brown states that the 1st August was fixed by the negroes for an outbreak, and that he has not the slightest doubt an extensive revolt was planned. The steps taken by the Government at the time frustrated this. Mr. Brown entertains no doubt the seditious spirit was general and wide spread.

Sir W. Fitzherbert's son states that at Blue Mountain estate, 7 miles from Morant Bay, on going out early in the morning he saw six negroes grinding their cutlasses and soon afterwards others. Before he could get his breakfast the Rebels were upon him and cut down his book-keeper by his side; he himself narrowly escaped. In answer to a remark that he was a stranger in the country, the blacks said They did not know one buckra from another and would kill all. Mr. Fitzherbert was of opinion the outbreak began sooner than it was meant to do, he had heard that all the parishes were to begin together on the 26th December.

Rev. J. Williams, rector of Spanish Town, and acting archdeacon of Middlesex, after labouring for thirty years, during which he has had much experience amongst the blacks, says that "As a body there is little they desire so much as the complete possession of the "country, and that you could not find one in a hundred that would not put forth his "hand to effect his object (if it could be done safely, that is, without detection) by the "destruction of the white man; because they regard him as an oppressor, inasmuch as "he is in possession of what they imagine belongs to themselves by right, and by the "secret will of the Queen and people of England.

"I believe the seditious feeling to be so prevalent among them that opportunity alone "was lacking the other day to have brought about a general massacre of the whites; "and that to the prompt and decisive measures (which a section of the English press "terms sanguinary and merciless) of the Governor and of those who acted with him "and under him, we owe it that the lives of the white men throughout the Island were "not sacrificed, and their wives and daughters not violated."

Rev. A. Davidson, rector of Hanover, firmly believes that a seditious spirit and great disaffection towards the white population has been and still is everywhere prevalent; he believes that the spirit of rebellion has been general amongst the black population throughout the Island. He bases his opinion on the general demeanour of the blacks at the time the rebellion broke out; on threatening letters which have been written; and on

declarations made by blacks themselves that should a rising take place in the parish they would join in it too.

J. F. Danvers, who was just appointed sub-agent for immigration a little while before the rebellion broke out, states that from his travels (in October) through St. Ann's, Trelawney, and St. James, he can safely say that the bad feeling was not confined to St. Thomas-in-the-East alone. He heard that the negroes intended destroying the coloured population as well as the whites, with the intention of having the Colony to themselves.

J. Patterson, justice of the peace, proprietor of Monklands, states, that for a considerable time prior to the rebellion the blacks were sulky, impertinent, and unwilling to work. Meetings had been held in all the negro settlements for a long time before the outbreak. Believes that the people in the upper part of St. David's, and in his own parish, are quite ready to join in another rebellion should a fit opportunity offer.

D. Ewart, stipendiary justice, thinks there was a preconcerted insurrectionary organisation, which Bogle and his followers carried into effect by riot, plunder, and blood on the 11th October, and three days after.

Rev. Bassett Key, island curate in St. Elizabeth's, is strongly convinced that the whole negro population were and are in a disaffected and rebellious state; he refers to the capture of several men near Keynsham for holding meetings whereat schemes of murder and plunder were canvassed and agreed on; he reports that persons have been heard to say that the troops would soon be gone, and then those who brought them should get what they wanted; and that had not the arrests mentioned been made it was the intention of the seditiously disposed to have cut off communication between the camp and the rest of the district by destroying the bridges.

Many members of Mr. Key's own church, who are communicants, live in the districts where the meetings have been held, and must, he says, have known of them, but not one has come forward to tell. The "old time" negroes express a very bad opinion of the present generation. Mr. Key speaks of the extreme ferocity of the negro character, and gives several instances of brutal cruelty to their children. When riding out to Stewart Town in Trelawney in December last, Mr. Key overtook six black men in the dark, marching two and two, with very bright sharp cutlasses and little bundles strapped between their shoulders, evidently not returning from labour.

In Montego Bay he was informed by a clergyman that before the troops arrived persons were heard about the streets saying, "Six black birds to one white pigeon." "You are the smoke, wait till the fire comes."

Mr. J. Harvey, attorney for Colonel Dawkins's estates in Vere, states that a servant girl in his employ heard a man in Vere say in reference to the chopping or cutting up the white men in St. Thomas-in-the-East, "So we want (or would do) to do with them down here."

R. Buchanan, acting stipendiary justice, St. James, is of opinion that the outbreak at Morant Bay was part of a predetermined and deliberate movement prematurely developed, and that a general revolt was intended at a later and not distant period. Threatening and warning letters were received in the district; acts of arson also occurred in St. James', and seditious and threatening language was uttered in the presence of a crowd and elsewhere. Instances are given of both. Mr. Buchanan believes the spirit of disaffection still to exist, and be only kept under by the presence of the troops.

Rev. H. Scotland, island curate, St. John's, reports, that a respectable black man, a shoemaker, living near him, but until lately resident in St. Thomas-in-the-East, where he married, informed him *before the outbreak* that the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East were remarkably well off; rich in land, canes, pigs, horses, and even cattle, but were a very lawless set of people; at various times he recounted several acts of savagery committed by some of them upon the persons or property of the higher classes there, and on one occasion, when returning some newspapers lent by Mr. Scotland containing an account of the accidental burning of Lyssons great house in St. Thomas-in-the-East, he remarked, "Well sir, I see those people have burned down Lyssons great house. "They are a wicked set of people up there; they have made up their minds to burn "down every great house in the parish; I know they have, sir; a bad set of people; "that's a reason for one why I came away; I could not live among such a set of "people."

Rev. J. Stone, M.A., rector of St. Elizabeth's, believes that the spirit of disturbance was general; that numbers in every parish were ready, not only to join in the rebellion, but who would have induced the better disposed to join them too. Notices

also the very insolent conduct of the blacks, especially the young men. Has heard that inflammatory speeches were made on various occasions.

W. Downer, inspector of police, St. Andrew's, believes the rebellion was prematurely developed, and that it was an organised insurrection, in progress of formation, at least throughout the entire county of Surry, if not the whole Island; has been of opinion for two years past that something of the kind was in progress. Considers the people in St. David's, Port Royal, and St. Andrew's were ready for revolt. In 10 days 18 persons were taken up in his district for seditious and threatening language, and in almost every instance were convicted and punished. Soon after the outbreak first became known, on 14th October, a respectable white man put a civil question to a black man named Thompson, who was passing with his companions, when Thompson turned round and poured upon him a volley of the most disgusting abuse, and wound up with these words, "You damned white-livered son of a bitch, you don't know what is being done to "windward. You won't take warning; never mind, my boy, it is coming here, and "you'll all smell hell." This was said near the police station, in the hearing of 20 or 30 negroes, who received it with shouts of approval.

The following day a man was brought in taken in the act of urging the people at Molyne's estate to join him in rising at once and killing all the white men, saying that if only five of them would join him, he would make them do such things that Morant Bay would be fun to it. The other blacks only refused to join him because they said "Buckra is too strong for us down here."

That a rebellion was contemplated Mr. Downer feels satisfied, from the insolence and insubordinate conduct of the people. On one occasion some time before the outbreak when a man had been turned out of the police station for misconduct, he went round to the front of the inspector's office, and shaking his finger at him said, "This is your day, "but my day will soon come; then look out."

Mr. Downer mentions that a Mr. Pearson, a subordinate officer in the commissariat, whilst crossing the Kingston harbour in a boat some three weeks before the outbreak, was informed by the boatmen there was going to be a rebellion, and warned to take care of himself.

As a proof that the rising at Morant Bay was not merely local, Mr. Downer states that within three days the whole population of the parish was in arms; that one band was in full operation in the work of destruction at Monklands; another at Bath; another in the Plantain Garden River district, and another at Manchioneal, proceeding onwards and threatening Port Antonio. Mr. Downer also gives the deposition of Charles Oakley that on the 9th October at a meeting at Stony Gut, Paul Bogle and others made the arrangements for meeting at Morant Bay on Wednesday, the 11th, as the time was come for them, and all who had guns or cutlasses were to bring them.

B. Davis, clerk of the peace, St. George's, states, that in that district persons openly expressed themselves in the market-place as ready to join the Rebels if they came, and destroy the whites. He says no one in St. George's questions the fact that the blacks of the parish were ripe for revolt, or doubts that a spirit of disaffection existed and still exists in other parishes.

D. P. Trench, inspector of revenues, states, the gang who attacked Amity Hall and murdered Mr. Hire came from the Bath district, co-operating with the people of Plantain Garden River. Mrs. Major, wife of Dr. Major, who lived in the top house on the "Rhine," (Gordon's estate), told him that about 8 o'clock on the evening of the 12th October she saw a "flambeau" held out of a window at the bottom house on the "Rhine," (occupied by Laurence, Gordon's overseer,) and some time after this signal a large number of Rebels gathered on the spot. Mrs. Major had no doubt these were the same people who murdered Mr. Hire and pillaged Amity Hall between 10 and 11 the same evening, as she heard the gang as they started from the Rhine openly and loudly declare that they would have Mr. Hire's head that night.

After the murder the Rebels prevented a faithful servant from burying Mr. Hire's body, stating, they had orders from "head-quarters" to dig a hole and throw the body in, which they did. Mr. Trench adds, that from all he has seen and heard, he cannot doubt that the suddenness and readiness with which the entire black population of the parish betook themselves from their daily avocations, and co-operated together in the barbarous work of murder, plunder, and arson, they were instigated by the pressure of obligations deliberately entered into, and predetermined by a consideration which assigned to every Rebel section their particular line of action in the bloody work. The Bishop of Kingston gives an instance of his own servant having heard of a conspiracy to destroy all the whites at Christmas, but who was unable to obtain any details, not being trusted apparently by those engaged in or knowing of it.

JAMAICA.

Captain Kent, stipendiary justice, Port Royal district, states, there is not a doubt on my mind that an organised movement was to take place at Christmas when all were assembled in their churches on that sacred day, and that not a white man was to be spared.

Rev. S. R. Ward, American mission, states, that Samuel Clarke spoke to him of "the "haste and impatience of the Rebels, and that as in the Baptist churches all wished to "preach, so it was among them," and that from this he gathered that Clarke knew Bogle and his associates acted before the time.

Rev. D. Morris, rector of St. James, states, that he heard of one or two cases in which threats had been held out to individuals or arrangements postponed with a reference to Christmas or the new year.

James Wilson, book-keeper on Golden Grove estate, states, that two or three days before the rebellion broke out, having occasion to speak to Edward McTarvish, the head cane-hole digger, about bad work, he was very abusive and said, "Wait a bit, you "mulatto fellow, your time is soon coming: Christmas will do for you, I will then let you "know what I can do with you at Christmas; if I don't shoot you, Wilson, the devil shoot "me." The same man soon after the outbreak subsequently chopped Wilson with his cutlass.

John Brown deposes, that John Pringle Afflick, a Rebel leader, on being taken into custody, stated "He did not expect to break out then, as it was to be the second day "of Christmas when they were to break out."

Diana Blackwood, the faithful negro woman who saved the ladies of Hordley setate at hiding them, deposes, that the Rebels said "they must kill all the buckra; Christmas time "was the time, but as they broke out at Morant Bay yesterday already they must have "buckra life and have the estate and be 'busha' and 'book-keeper' themselves."

Hon. J. Hollingsworth, custos of Manchester, bears testimony to the defiant and insolent demeanour of the young men and women, indicating general disaffection through the Island, and considers but for the premature outbreak a scene of carnage would have ensued frightful to contemplate.

Dr. Moore, LL.D., rector of St. Mary's, bears very similar testimony.

J. Palache, inspector of police for Manchester, reports, that a black man named Chambers told two magistrates and himself that had they been at Morant Bay they should have been shot or served the same as Mr. Price.

Mr. Gilbert Shaw confirms Inspector Stewart's statement that Mr. R. Swire in passing through the estate works was informed by the negroes, "You can go, but by this and "Christmas your white cap will turn red," referring as he supposes to bloodshed.

T. Mitchell, inspector of police for Trelawney, states, that people in his parish were punished for threatening their employers that "the 25th December will soon be here and "then you may look out," and another person for declaring that "on the 25th December "he would burn down Deeside cottage."

Charles McLean, clerk of the vestry, St. David's, mentions that emissaries from St. Thomas-in-the-East (Benjamin Campbell particularly) had been amongst the people, asking "if they did not know the good work had commenced at Morant Bay, and if "they were not going to begin." The families leaving the parish were jeered and laughed at, "Ah, you are going, you will never come back, we must have our rights."

I have already adduced several instances of the administration of unlawful oaths binding persons to join the blacks against the whites, and thus clearly showing combination and conspiracy.

George Fuller Osborne, senior serjeant of police, gives similar testimony, that he was made by Paul Bogle to take the oath at Stony Gut on Tuesday the 10th October.

John Spence gives evidence that two weeks before the rebellion Joseph Robinson, Alexander Taylor, Edward Gordon, and McLaren asked him to attend a meeting at McLaren's house at night, that plenty of people from Dumfries, Nutt's River, and other places, all black men, attended; that oaths were then administered by McLaren on a Bible, and all who refused to join were thrust outside. Spence was asked to take the oath, but refused; he was informed by Alexander Taylor that the meaning of the oath was, "They wanted back lands to work without paying rent, and they were to "kill the buckra."

Francis Gordon deposes that about three weeks before the rebellion he saw oaths administered to persons by McLaren at his house at Church Corner.

H. Guscott, senior magistrate of St. George's, states, that intercommunication was taking place between the St. Thomas-in-the-East people and those of St. George's. That a man named Francis Stewart, from St. Thomas-in-the-East, was engaged in St. George's in making a list of names and making collections, and that he invited

persons to return with him to attend meetings at St. Thomas-in-the-East. Francis Stewart was subsequently taken at St. Thomas-in-the-East and hung for being actively engaged in the rebellion, so was a man from the St. George's parish, no doubt one of those whom Stewart had induced to accompany him.

Mr. A. Mudie, schoolmaster and organist of Morant Bay, states, that for some weeks prior to the outbreak he had noticed gatherings of young men from Staunton estate, Nutt's River, and Dumfries, who were on their way to Stony Gut chapel; also that persons from Thornton and Wood Hall were in the habit of visiting these meetings. Sometimes the meetings were held at Nutt's River negro houses.

Colonel A. Fyfe gives a list of names of persons who on the Saturday before the "murder day" were, according to the testimony of John White, marched down by a man named Cameron to meet Paul Bogle at Stony Gut, and that on the Wednesday Paul Bogle and Cameron with their respective gangs met at Stanton cross roads.

Colonel Whitfield, in a letter dated 20th November, states his belief that a seditious and disloyal spirit pervades the entire Island, that a considerable amount of intercommunication has been and is taking place between the disaffected in the different parishes, for he observes men of sullen and dissatisfied looks riding about the country in all directions. He also states his opinion that in all probability the negroes would rise if it were not for the presence of the military.

The Hon. J. Hollingsworth forwards the depositions taken against nine persons for conspiring to commit murder and arson in the parish of St. Elizabeth.

Mr. D. P. Trench, inspector of revenues, reports, that he was credibly informed that the Rev. E. Hewitt, Baptist minister at Mount Carey, St. James, upon being asked (about July or August last year) by the custos of that parish, if the black population in his district were peaceable, replied, "I can answer for my own people, but there are 5,000 disaffected "people in the parish who are ripe for rebellion if they only had a leader."

With regard to the black people having expressed an intention to exterminate all the whites and brown people, there is abundant testimony. Encl. No. 5

Mrs. Herschell heard the Rebels at Potosi say they were going to kill all the white men, but were not going to hurt the white ladies, but reserve them for themselves.

R. Kirkland, justice of the peace, heard the Rebels at Bath state "they would "cut the throat of any white and coloured man they found; that every white man's "throat must be cut, but the estates and women saved."

Mr. Harrison, of Hordley, heard the Rebels say "One white devil is dead, give it them "all, don't spare one;" again, "We will rip up the women and children, as we can't get "the men;" again, "Mind the back door, don't let one of the damned women go, we will "rip them up this night;" again, "The women must have gone into the trash house, we "will burn it down and roast them all up;" again, after breaking into the liquor store and drinking, "Never mind de buckra women and pickinny, we get dem bye and bye "when we want them."

John Brown, headman at Hordley, whilst hid in a tree saw the rebels searching for the ladies and children, and heard them swearing "If they catch the smallest pickinny they "would kill it, as buckra must all die this time."

Diana Blackwood, who hid the ladies and children at Hordley, heard the Rebels say after going to the liquor store, "We don't want the buckra women, we can get them "when we like, and know what to do with them."

William Lake deposes that the Rebels informed him "they were going to the Bay "to kill all the white, brown, and black that will not join them, but those of the browns "and blacks that will join them they will not kill."

The Hon. John Salmon, president of Privy and Legislative Council, states, that in St. Elizabeth's a black man whom he did not even know expressed his intention "to cut off "his head" as one of the first in that district.

Dr. Moore, rector of St. Mary's, reports that a black man in that district said "The "throats of all the whites should be cut."

Mr. Hart, inspector of police for St. Ann's, learnt that in many of the villages the people said "The white inhabitants must be destroyed."

Julius Hebbert deposes that on the night of the massacre the Rebels "came up with "swords and guns, and some of them covered with blood. They said they had killed "the white people, and would kill them all down to the last sambo."

Mrs. * * * * * heard the Rebels cry, "Jamaica is done for "ever, we will lay every white man on the ground, among them the Governor." She was entirely stripped, and only escaped with her life because some one pointed out she was a handsome woman, and asked the man who was threatening her "Don't you want "wife?"

MAICA.

A Miss * * appears, according to the evidence of Isaac Taylor, to have been brutally treated, and it is probable that his evidence does not disclose the worst.

Dr. Major states it was admitted that "orders were given by the leaders to kill all the "males, and save all the females, as they would take them for themselves."

The Hon. P. Georges deposes that, whilst wounded and lying concealed, he heard the Rebels declare, that not a white man nor brown man should be alive at Christmas.

Thomas Bunting, store-keeper at Manchioneal, heard the Rebels in front of his store "stating that the whites and coloured will all soon be got rid of." Ten inhabitants of Manchioneal depose that they heard the Rebels say "They would destroy the white and "coloured classes and take possession of their estates and other property."

T. L. Byles deposes that Goldson of Kingston, at the Underhill meeting in Spanish Town, declared that "the time was fast coming when every white person's throat would "be cut."

l. No. 6.

Such is the general tenor of the documentary evidence now submitted. I attach the entire letters or depositions from which the extracts are made, and many others which I have not had time to include in my hurried analysis. All the documents are deserving of a most attentive perusal in full, and will throw much light upon the character and tone of thinking of the negro population. It must not be forgotten that many of these papers are written by men who have spent a lifetime in the West Indies, and whose avocations and daily duties have necessarily made them intimately acquainted with all the characteristics of the negro race. Many are from earnest and zealous ministers of religion, whose lives have been devoted to an endeavour to improve and elevate the blacks as a people, with what result let the documents now sent and those formerly transmitted in my several despatches relative to Dr. Underhill's letter testify.

There are some few general points to which I must more particularly refer, as they have been greatly misrepresented in England.

Very incorrect statements have been circulated in reference to the number of executions and the total destruction of life generally. Sir Leopold M'Clintock, in an official report to the Admiralty, says, "at least 800 were shot, chiefly by the Maroons, and 1,500 "would probably be a moderate estimate of the total loss of life."

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part 2,

In my Despatch No. 334* of the 23d December 1865, I transmitted a return by Colonel Fyfe, commanding the Maroons, showing that only 25 had been shot by them, of whom nine were killed in a skirmish.

I at the same time enclosed a statement of Sir Leopold M'Clintock, in which that officer himself frankly admits, in answer to inquiries put to him as to the data upon which his opinions were based, that they were founded upon no other or better information than newspaper paragraphs, common rumour, on the statements of officers who had been to Morant Bay, but whose names, or opportunities of acquiring correct information, or whether they were serving ashore or afloat, he does not state.

Other persons have stated that 2,050 were killed, and I am informed, that the streets of London were placarded with "3,000 negroes executed, eight miles of dead bodies." Such statements are almost too ridiculous to be noticed, only that they produce a very mischievous effect upon the minds of persons at a distance from the scene, wholly unacquainted with the true character of the events which have been transpiring, and uninformed as to any actual details. It must always be a difficult matter to judge with any degree of accuracy as to the number of persons shot in the bush in putting down a serious and wide spread rebellion, and in most cases this estimate will be greatly exaggerated, the very officers themselves who are engaged in the service unwittingly help to create an exaggerated impression. A single instance will illustrate this.

In a report dated 15th October, addressed to Major General O'Connor, Colonel Hobbs states as an absolute fact, "We have, however, killed between 15 or 20 of them at "extraordinarily long distances."

Having been called upon for further information and details, Colonel Hobbs reports to Major General O'Connor on the 29th December, "The 15 or 20 supposed to be shot "were armed Rebels whom we surprised in the chapel, in the act of administering the "oath, they got away across a deep ravine, and were running up a lean hillside towards "an earthwork with a flag flying, *when the advanced guard fired a volley*, they SAID "they killed from 10 to 20, distance about 800 yards. NO ONE CROSSED THE RAVINE TO "COUNT THEM." It thus appears that the report of 15 or 20 deaths rests upon the mere supposition of the common soldiers who constituted the advanced guard, and thought they killed that number. But there is no proof that even one was killed. Black people trying to escape along or over a hill (which, if like the rest of Jamaica hills, would be more or less covered with bush or jungle) may readily disappear or seem to drop without being in reality shot, when fired at from a much less distance than 800 yards.

This instance will show how uncertain are even official reports of killed, when the dead bodies are not actually seen and counted, which is rarely if ever the case. JAMAICA.

I have myself no means of judging of the probable number killed, but in talking over the matter with Colonel Elkington, an experienced officer, through whom the military reports were received, I understood his opinion to be that 500 would be the very maximum, and of these 251 are shown by the returns to have been executed under sentences of courts-martial. Nor do I think that this amount of life can be considered as excessive considering all the circumstances of the case; the extent of country through which the rebellion spread; the numerical amount of population within it; the fact that a large portion of this population was actively engaged in plundering, burning, and murdering as far as they had opportunity of doing so, whilst none attempted to stay or resist the progress of the rebellion; the smallness of the means at the disposal of the Government to hold the district which was in rebellion, and at the same time afford protection to many other distant and widely separated districts where outbreaks were considered to be imminent, and the consequent imperative necessity of making such an example of the insurgents of St. Thomas-in-the-East, as should strike terror, and thereby deter the black population from attempting to raise the standard of rebellion in other districts.

The Rev. D. Campbell, rector of Kingston (who for many weeks immediately after the rebellion undertook the religious duties of the parish, and came into frequent and unreserved communication with the people,) informed me that he felt satisfied that the loss of life had not been nearly so great as was supposed, and he remarked to me that one proof of it was that very few wounded persons were to be seen or heard of, and that of course if a large number had been killed in the field there would have been a still larger number wounded.

And this would especially have been the case where soldiers fired at such long distances as are reported by Colonel Hobbs.

I append a map showing the positions occupied by the military and the marches of the troops, and the Maroons, through the country (the former in red, the latter in blue lines). Encl. No. Map.

From this it will be seen that the entire country to the east of a line between Kingston on the south coast, and Annotto Bay on the north, containing between 700 and 800 square miles, was occupied and traversed by troops or Maroons.

That some acts of wrong and injustice should be committed, and that in some cases the innocent may have suffered with the guilty, are incidents inseparable from the military occupation of a country in open rebellion; they could neither be foreseen nor prevented; they can only be lamented. Nor are such occurrences fairly chargeable against the authorities directing the general movements and policy, but necessarily unable to know the nature of or control all the subordinate details throughout such an extensive tract of country.

For the general policy pursued for the occupation of particular points by troops; for all the principal movements of such troops; for the proclamation of martial law, and the continuance of military tribunals until its termination; for the arrest and removal to Morant Bay of Mr. Gordon; and for not interposing to stay the execution of his sentence when condemned, I, and I alone, am responsible. I firmly believe all the steps taken to have been necessary for the public safety; and this was the consideration which above all others it was my duty to think of first and chiefly.

Any other or less decided course would, I feel convinced, have led to further outbreaks in other parishes, to a repetition of the atrocities perpetrated at Morant Bay, and to a consequent increased severity of eventual punishment to the insurgents.

That the steps taken were, under God's good providence, the means of averting from Jamaica the horrors of a general rebellion, and that they saved the lives and properties of Her Majesty's subjects confided to my care, is not my opinion only, but the opinion of the large majority of the intelligent and reflecting portion of the community, and this opinion has been plainly, fully, and deliberately expressed by the two branches of the Legislature in their legislative capacities, as well as by the ministers of the Church of England, of the Roman Catholic Church, and of the dissenting denominations, by the custodes, magistrates, and vestrymen of parishes, by planters, professional men, and artisans, and by the ladies and women of the Colony as a body; in the numerous and eloquent addresses expressing gratitude and thanks with which I have been honoured. Encl. No.

Surely those resident in the Island, many of whom have spent a lifetime in it, of all classes, religions, and politics, possessing a knowledge of the country, and intimately acquainted with the character of the people, are, and ought to be, the best judges of the

MAICA. imminency of the peril from which they have escaped, and of the necessity for adopting the steps which were taken to avert it.

Nor could a stronger proof be given of the full conviction of the colonists of the reality of their danger, and the importance of taking steps against the recurrence of any similar risk than the fact that the Legislature of the Colony voluntarily resigned the functions and privileges which they had enjoyed under a system of representative institutions for upwards of 200 years in order to create a strong government, and thereby better provide for securing the safety and welfare of the Colony in future.

Copies of the various addresses presented to me are herewith attached.

Great stress has been laid by a portion of the English press upon the fact as they allege that no lives were taken by the rebels after the first outbreak at Morant Bay on the 11th October. This, however, is not strictly correct; Mr. Cockrayne, a book-keeper at Sir W. Fitzherbert's, was killed at Blue Mountain estate, seven miles north-west of Morant Bay, on the morning of the 12th October; Mr. Hire was killed, and several others left for dead, at Amity Hall, 20 miles from Morant Bay, in quite another direction (to the eastward) late at night on the 12th October. That other persons were not subsequently killed is due, not to the mercy of the rebels, but to the fact that for the most part their intended victims had escaped into the woods or cane fields, or out to sea in canoes. Let the words of the rebels heard by Mr. Harrison of Hordley estate, the warnings given to Mr. Hinchelwood of the Mulatto River, and many other facts and statements given in the correspondence declare what would have been the fate of the white men and ladies and children had they been got hold of.

It must be also borne in mind that whilst the rebellion broke out in the afternoon of the 11th October, troops were landed at Morant Bay the following morning, and had been pushed on to Port Morant, Bath, and the Rhine (the latter place 17 miles from Morant Bay) by the evening of the 13th, and that on the morning of the 15th other troops were landed at Port Antonio ahead of the rebellion and marched back upon it to meet it (at Long Bay) the same day.

There was, therefore, little time or opportunity for the Rebels to destroy more life. That they had the disposition and the intention to do so is, I think, abundantly shown by the documents attached.

Much has been said also about the non-resistance of the Rebels.

They did challenge and have a skirmish with the Maroons and they occasionally fired at the troops, but it was not their policy to meet an organized armed body. Having devastated the estates they retired to the woods and mountains from which they could at any time make a raid against unprotected persons or property. No doubt they thought the troops would soon be removed, and at first they certainly thought also that the Maroons would join them, in which case it would have been very difficult to dislodge them. But the Maroons were faithful and their skill as bushmen enabled the Government to drive out and capture the Rebels from the interior fastnesses.

It has been asserted that threatening letters or speeches are not indicative of a spirit of disaffection or an intention to commit aggression, that when people mean mischief they do not proclaim it beforehand. Such however does not appear to be the character of the negro. The intention of the Rebels to go to Morant Bay on the 11th was openly announced by them the day previous, and Thomas Spencer Travers states that after rescuing the prisoners on the previous Saturday the people "went about the market threatening "that that was nothing, they would see what would happen on the vestry day." This threat was but too fatally carried out. Mr. Aaron at Montego Bay was threatened that his store should be burned, and it was done.

The Rebels openly threatened to burn down Mr. Hinchelwood's house and take his head, the first part of the threat was fulfilled and the latter would had he not escaped in time.

A large number of the reports now forwarded speak of the conduct and bearing of black people as being less industrious, less orderly, and less respectful than formerly, and as often exhibiting gratuitously offensive, insolent or defiant demeanor. They speak of the utter disregard of right, law, truth, honesty, or morality, of sullen vindictiveness and savage brutality, of excitement caused by imaginary wrongs sedulously preached to them by others, of agitation stimulated by designing demagogues, of statements calling their attention to their numerical strength as compared with the white population, and of the holding up to their view the results accomplished by the black race in the neighbouring republics of Hayti and St. Domingo.

Can it be wondered at that an ignorant, uncivilised, and grossly superstitious people, knowing the isolated and unprotected condition of the few white families scattered

amongst them, should be tempted to rebel or should imagine that they could obtain possession of the country for themselves? JAMAI

The prompt suppression of the rebellion and the severe punishment which followed had produced a most beneficial effect; order, industry, and respect were once more observable throughout the country; but the unfortunate course taken by a portion of the English people and press, and which has widely been made known out here, has undone the good accomplished and again created a degree of excitement, irritation, and disaffection which it will now be difficult to allay, and which in all probability will entail upon the British Government a heavy expenditure for a long time to come in watching and protecting a Colony teeming with such elements of disorder.

Already it has been stated that armed blacks have been met on the public roads attempting to waylay or intimidate persons coming down from the country districts to give evidence before the Royal Commissioners, and Sir Henry Storks has felt it necessary to issue a notice on the subject. I would respectfully call attention to the opinions expressed by men of character and experience in many of the documents now transmitted in reference to the present state or future prospects of the Colony.

The black people may be willing to run the risk of another rebellion if they are led to believe that the sympathies of England are with them, and that they are not to meet with the punishment justly due to so heinous a crime should they prove unsuccessful.

I must now close this very lengthy communication and at the same time express my regret that time has not permitted me to analyse more carefully and to report more completely and connectedly upon the various points of interest or importance brought under notice in the many valuable reports and statements which have been furnished to me. But these documents came in from time to time and many have only reached me whilst preparing my report.

I could not imagine that I should have been called upon to defend myself against attacks made by my fellow-countrymen at home for acts done in good faith and from a sense of duty and which were recognized on the spot by those most competent to judge as necessary, just, and merciful as a whole, or I might have made preparations for doing so earlier and might also have collected other details which came under my notice during the rebellion, but which not having been then recorded cannot now be adduced.

I will only add that I thought little of the almost unceasing and harassing labour, or of the constant and intense anxiety which I had to encounter during the outbreak and for long afterwards, or even of failing health which such an overstrain of the system induced, because I felt conscious I was faithfully discharging my duty and doing good service to my country; but I confess I have felt most deeply the doubts and implied disapproval which have since been cast upon my conduct.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Sub-Enclosure 1. Sub-Encl.

Dr. McCatty to Governor Eyre.

Sir, Goshen P. O., January 16, 1866.

I hasten to sympathize with your Excellency in the treatment you have received by the fanatical portion of the English press.

I am a medical man, and have practised among the black people of this Island in the parishes of Clarendon, St. Elizabeth, and Manchester for over eight or nine years. By shaping my practice to suit their wants, I have succeeded in getting the confidence and good-will of a large number of these people.

About the months of June and July last year I was warned by several persons from various portions of the parish of Saint Elizabeth that I had better go down to Black River in August, as something was going to happen; that they were sure that nothing would trouble me, but massa had better take (sic) nigga advice and go away.

On my asking the meaning of this advice, it was just "Massa, you had better do what me tell you."

I was also shown a letter, but with my sacred promise that I would never divulge either the name of the writer or the person written to.

It was to a young black man from his friends in a north side parish. It was a long letter on various subjects, but one item as follows: "You will shortly hear a great news. We are going to do a good "thing in August, and hope we will find friends ready in Saint Elizabeth's to unite hand in hand with "us." I have since seen the young man alluded to, and tried to persuade him to allow me to make the letter public, but as it would implicate his relations he refused to do so.

I have further to state to your Excellency that a head constable, living in the Newport district of this parish, one Adam Smith, a respectable black man, has been since poisoned because he gave information to the custos as to the intentions of the people in August. I have just completed an analysis of his stomach and intestines forwarded to me by the coroner. I found arsenic in large quantities.

MAICA.

I mention the above facts to your Excellency with the hope that they may be of use to you during the sitting of the expected Commission.

I hope your Excellency will feel satisfaction in knowing that all the white and coloured persons throughout the parish feel the deepest gratitude to your Excellency for your prompt decision in at once stamping out the flame of rebellion, which I feel and know positively would have burst out all over the Island.

It only required hesitation on your Excellency's part.

Your Excellency is at liberty to make any use you may think fit of this communication, however disagreeable to me to have my name brought forward in a matter of this kind.

I have, &c.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre,
Governor of Jamaica,
&c. &c.

(Signed) Alex. G. McCatty,
M.D. and J.P. for the parish of Saint Elizabeth.

Statement of John Lewis.

Morant Bay, January 13, 1866.

The information of John Lewis, beadle of the parish church in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica, states, that on the 11th day of October 1865, when the rebels came into Morant Bay I was in front of the court house and witnessed what was going on, and when I heard the great noise opposite the police station, and I ran to see what it was about. I saw all the Rebels take charge of the station, the females were all pelting the place. I was so frightened that I ran back in front of the court house to call Mr. Alberger, the police inspector: and when I returned with him sergeant McKenzie of the police force; there was no possibility to speak to them, and I heard them say Let us go to Mr. Stephen Cooke, but so many voices spoke that I could not now tell who it was. Both male and female were armed. I immediately ran back again to the front of the court house, and mentioned to Mr. Stephen Cooke that they were swearing to go to his house to kill him, and the mob proceeded to the parade. I heard Captain Hitchins, of the volunteers, tell the volunteers not to fire until the order was given to them. The Rebels commenced first to attack the volunteers by firing stones, &c. at them. The volunteers did not fire until some time after. I heard Captain Hitchins distinctly state that no man should fire unless ordered, and they did obey him. After the volunteers commenced to fire I got frightened and ran away to my house, and while running home I was attacked, for not remaining as a black man to assist in the murderous plot, for not joining in the wicked designs. The Rebels came to pull down my house, saying that I was a buckra friend, and my house must be destroyed, but a part of the Rebels prevented the other part doing any injury. I know that G. W. Gordon visited St. Thomas-in-the-East frequently, and had nightly meetings at which only those who took an oath were permitted to attend.

I have great confidence in the white people, and have never suffered one grievance at their hands although I am 67 years of age.

Witness. Read and explained by
Paul Naechalleck, J. P.
Morant Bay, January 13, 1866.

his
John × Lewis.
mark.

Mr. Ashwood to Governor Eyre.

My Dear Sir, Kingston, Jan. 6, 1866.

Since I had the honor of writing you on the 4th I have had an interview with Mr. Henry Mais, of Claremont, in St. David's, who tells me that he can find one or more persons who can give evidence to the effect that numbers of persons were murdered by the rebels of their own class in their own villages for refusing to join them in the rebellion they contemplated. This may be somewhat exaggerated, but it conforms to the report made to me by a man named Prendergast, whom I captured in St. David's. I am also inclined to think the sham courts they were reported to have held some time before the rebellion may be traced to their ultimate determination to be independent. Mr. Mais also says he knows the man who begged to have Mr. Walton saved, and will declare that Paul Bogle was present, armed with a hatchet and cutlass, and ordered silence, saying, "I am king now; say another word and "off goes your head." I am sure if you ask Mr. Mais he will at once get you certificates to this effect.

I have, &c.

His Excellency E. Eyre, Esq.,
King's House, Spanish Town.

(Signed) W. Ashwood.

Jamaica, s.s.

Personally appeared before me, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish of Port Royal, this 18th day of January 1866, Johnson Harris, fisherman, and maketh oath and saith:—

That he had been on a visit to the Maroons of Moore Town, and on his way returning home heard several people saying that "a number of people were killed by the Rebels because they would not "join them against the whites."

Sworn before me, this 18th January 1866.
H. Mais, J.P.

his
Johnson × Harris.
mark.

Jamaica, s.s.

Personally appeared before me, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish of Port Royal, this 20th day of January 1866, Thomas McKoy, pilot, and maketh oath and saith:—

I was present at the commencement of the murderous outrage on the evening of the 11th of October last at Morant Bay. I saw a lot of armed men beating to death the late Mr. Walton, near the Wharf

House. I begged them for "mercy sake to spare the gentleman," when Paul Bogle boldly came forward, armed with hatchet and cutlass, and said, "I am king here; another word, and I will take off "your head." I felt alarmed, and answered, "I beg pardon, massa," and was glad to make my escape to a place of safety. JAMAICA.

No one, when I left the Bay the following morning, dared touch or remove a body of any of the murdered gentlemen under pain of death. The Rebels still kept possession of the Bay.

Sworn before me, this 20th day of January 1866. THOMAS MCKOY.

H. MAIS, J.P.

JAMAICA, S.S.

Personally appeared before me, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish of Kingston, this 18th day of January 1866, Joseph Exstall, labourer, and maketh oath and saith:—

That on the morning after the murderous attack at Morant Bay, St. Thomas-in-the-East, I was employed to take charge, at Lysson's estate, of two horses, the property of my employer, Mr. Henry Mais, of Claremont, parish of Port Royal, and to convey them home, after seeing my employer safely on board the cutter "Eleanor," lying in Lysson's Bay, where he had gone for refuge. I found I could not venture to take the horses through the Bay, as the Rebels still lurked about the neighbourhood and road leading into Morant Bay, caused me, accompanied by a young man of the name of Thomas Leslie, to take them by way of Port Morant. On arriving at the cross road I fell in with a gang of Rebels; they were breaking up Mr. Shortridge's cart, that was conveying supplies. They stopped me, and demanded of me where I was going, searched my bundle for papers, and made me take an oath by swearing to God, with Bible in hand, that "I must join them to kill the whites," and if they thought that the horses belonged to a "white person, they would instantly put me and the horses to death." I was also obliged to swear that the horses belonged to me before they would allow me to pass on. These threats were used to me at "Friendship" and "White Hall," on my way home. I found the Rebels very savagely inclined towards all colours.

Witness,

MAURICE LEVY.

his
JOSEPH × EXSTALL.
mark.

Sworn to before me this 18th day of January 1866, the same having been read to him.

JOHN J. HART, J.P.

STATEMENT OF J. HINSCHELWOOD, ESQ., J.P.

I LEFT my property, Mulatto River, 17 miles distance from Port Antonio, about 2 p.m. on Friday 13th Oct. 1865, in company with my wife and sister.

I was obliged to fly from my house in consequence of information received from several parties that they heard the Rebels were coming to cut off my head and burn down my house.

On Thursday 12th Oct., about half-past 1 p.m., Mr. Bourne, manager of the Cotton Company, rode into Mulatto River, informed me that a servant sent by Mrs. Herschell from Potosi to her father at Boston, in passing through Manchioneal, reported that the negroes had risen at Morant Bay, and killed the custos, the volunteers, all the white people, set fire to the court house, and burnt down the town. Mr. Bourne offered me his services if, as senior magistrate, I expected to get up any force against them. I told him we had no arms nor powder, and the police were all at Morant Bay. He left about 7 p.m. The same evening Mr. Groves, the overseer of Wheelerfield, rode up, and requested a horse to help him on, as he had an express to the Governor. He confirmed all we had heard, stating that Rev. Mr. Herschell was among the killed. Having carpenters and masons just completing some work they were doing, I was attending them on the 13th Oct., when the Rev. Mr. Foote drove past, and called from the bottom of the road to come along, follow on to Port Antonio immediately; they are now at Manchioneal, coming on. Master Edward Minot, the beadle of St. Mary's church, was with me in my writing room, said "You had better go at once. I hear those people will have your head, and though "plenty of we negro would help you, not one of we dare lift our hand for you. I dare not; those "blood-thirsty people, mad as they are, would cut us to pieces." My wife then caused me to agree to leave, and I said, "If we are to go, we had better go at once." We then got our silver into a case behind the carriage, and saved that, pulling out the clothes, desiring the servants to pack up everything into the trunk, &c., and to come away at daylight in the morning. We then made the best of our way to Port Antonio, and on board the "Reunion," Captain Tracey, when the vessel ran out of the harbour and made a little offing, we saw Mulatto River in flames.

The sacking of the house commenced soon after our leaving, at 2 o'clock, and I hear the house was in flames at dusk. It is completely rased to the ground, not a vestige of wood-work remaining; nothing but the massive walls of the olden time standing.

(Signed) JNO. HINSCHELWOOD.

Mulatto River is 35 miles distant from Morant Bay.

(Signed) HENRY WESTMORLAND.

Sub-Encl. 2.

Sub-Enclosure 2.

HENRY THEOPHILUS BOGLE.

I WENT to the meeting at night in October last, about two weeks before the rebellion. My uncle Paul sent to call my father, Moses Bogle. I went to see my uncle at Stony Gut, and he took me and his son to the meeting after 7 o'clock. The meeting was over after 9. Craddock was there, and Bowie. Craddock was the one that gave the oath to the people. He gave it to about 12 that night. I took the oath. He said the oath he is going to give us we must take care of, and not tell to anybody. He said if we told it the belly would swell. We must take this oath before God and man, and we should be told at the public meeting what we were to do. Paul Bogle was the chairman of the meeting. Craddock spoke to the people. He said that one captain had 50, and another had 50. He said when

AMAICA. Friday came and the wages were to pay, the captains would go down and see what wages was pay. Old Bowie was one of the captains; Mr. Claven and William Bogle were the secretaries; Archie Bailey was another captain; Joseph Kellett was another captain; Abraham Anderson was another; Moses Bogle was chairman at the Bay. Craddock said the white people in St. Thomas-in-the-East take too much advantage of the black people, because if a black people work if they want to give you 2*s.* or 3*s.* for your work, them give you, though they owe you more. They must write to Mr. Barrant (the Baron) that they don't get their wages, and he must send to the Governor, and if they don't get satisfaction they must broke out. Craddock said that when the public meeting was to be held they should write down to Kingston to send to the rest of the gentlemen. There were two more meetings held at the chapel, but I did not go to them. Paul Bogle's meetings began to be held after Mr. Gordon's meeting at the Mineppe tree. Paul Bogle and Mr. Gordon were like brothers, and Mr. Gordon was often in my uncle's house, and my uncle used to go to Spring to him. I was not at the meeting at the Mineppe tree. My cousin, William Bogle, told me that Mr. Gordon said at the meeting too much advantage was taken of the black people in St. Thomas-in-the-East; he said the people must take the back lands without pay for them. Sometimes on Sunday after chapel Craddock used to sell newspapers at the chapel door. Craddock said Mr. Gordon sent the newspapers. I bought one for 3*d.* It was the "Watchman" newspapers. On the Monday night before the rebellion I was at Millington. I heard the shells blowing. I heard the big shells blowing on Tuesday morning, and I ran down to Stony Gut. When I came down I saw Fuller the policeman, and somebody was choking him, and I and a man named Pinnock begged them to spare beating them. I do not know if Fuller heard me. They kept the policemen and gave them the oath, and made them swear that they would join them. They let the police go about 4 o'clock. After the police left I went home to Millington. After 8 o'clock all was quiet at Stony Gut. I was not there. On Wednesday morning I went to Stony Gut and I saw them writing a paper, the man who was writing was David Richards, schoolmaster from Torrington. I asked William what they were writing. He said they were writing papers to go to Mr. Barrant (the Baron), saying that the price them giving the black people is too small. I went to William Bogle's, and after I had breakfast I said, Well, I'm going to my ground. William said, I must make haste and come back, for the volunteers were coming up here to-day. Well, I said, all right. I went to my ground. When I dere in my ground on the Stanton Road I heard the shells blowing and the drum playing. When I in the ground, I see some Africans from Stanton running down the hill with cutlasses. I say, What you going to do? They say, They going to the Bay.

By and bye two men come and say, Why you not going to the Bay? I went out and met my uncle with about 300 men, and a man come on a mule and say, "Don't go to the Bay or you'll get yourself killed, "the volunteers is in the Bay." My uncle and the men turn back again. I went with them. By and bye my uncle got a letter from Bailey the volunteer, saying they should come, and he went; I did not wish to go with them, but they said who didn't go was to kill.

I heard Bowie say one evening that white people should be killed, that in his country they killed the whites. Bowie was an old Spaniard.

I was at the Bay when the volunteers fired, as soon as they fired I went away, I can get proof that I went home. In the martial law they took me out under the Guineppe tree to see if any one could give witness against me, but there was no witness, though people said to me that all the Bogle should hang, even the black people self say, no seed of Bogle must be left alive.

N.B.—He added that he was released, and afterwards taken up on the evidence of some one who had seen him in the Bay with a cutlass in his hand. He explained that he had the cutlass. He was working with it in his field when they took him to Stony Gut.

The above statement was voluntarily made to me by the above-named H. T. Bogle at the Morant Bay prison, on the 30th December last.

D. H. Campbell.

Julius Hibbert.

I was present at a meeting at Somerset, in August last, at the Baptist meeting-house. Francis took the chair. George Clarke came to it, he told the people that Rector Cooke and Stephen Cooke got all the money for the small-pox. Mr. Bowen got 5*l.*, and Mr. Patterson 5*l.*, they must go to them and get some of it, for they kept it all to themselves and would not give any to the black people. They must go and demand the money and use his name; he said by this and Christmas they would make some of the white men take off their shoes and walk barefoot. He said he had a letter for him from Mr. George Gordon, but he had left it at Font Hill. He said Gordon would come and hold the last meeting at Somerset, and it would be greater than the first one. I was not asked to go to the meeting, but I heard the singing and went in. Alexander Bailey was there. Clarke asked him to accuse the white men, but he would not do it. Clarke said they must go and work the backlands, and if the overseer put any stoppage on the road they must chop it down and go through, and if they press any charge he would answer for them at the court. Some of the people complained to him about their wages, and why them working for 1*s.* a day, and instead of 1*s.* a day them get 9*d.*

Some of them didn't like to hear him speak so much against the white men, and they get up and grumble, and some of them walked out; and him say that as the people don't like to hear it, he would not divulge the secret to them now.

There was another meeting at Somerset on Monday night, 9th October. I was not there, but heard them singing. McClaren was there. I asked next day a young man what took place, he said The secret he had heard he was not to tell his mother, for he had taken oath he would not tell. His name is Thomas Reid. He was not at the Bay on Wednesday, and did not come out at all during the rebellion on Tuesday. They blew shell to call the people to Stony Gut on the Wednesday. I was at Monklands at work and did not go to the Bay; on that night the people came up with sword and gun, and some of them covered with blood. They said they had killed the white people, and would kill them all down to the last sambo.

On Thursday morning I went to Mr. Downie, overseer of Island Head, and told him what I had

heard the people say. I advised him to go through the woods and hide, but he would not do it. The people came on Thursday and threatened his life. They said they would come back for him on Friday. He went to the woods on Friday morning ; I helped him to hide in the wood. On Saturday the Rebels took me prisoner at Somerset ; they took me to Monklands. Archie Graham was captain, he gave evidence against me ; he said he saw me with powder, and washing the gun. I had the gun, I took it from Thomas Ress. I told him to give it up to me because it was the overseer's property ; he had taken it from Mr. Downie on Thursday. He gave it up to me. I carried the gun to Mr. Downie's on the Tuesday after the martial law, and put it in the great house. He got it when he came back from Kingston. I and my father were watching the house.

On Saturday night I made my escape from the Rebels.

WILLIAM FULLER, Policeman, being duly sworn, states,—

On Tuesday the 10th day of October last I went in company with policemen William Lake, Charles Jacobs, George Fuller Osborne, Robert Mackay, and Andrew Miles, and constable James Foster and Richard West to Stony Gut, to assist in executing a warrant against Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, William Bogle, Henry Bogle, Archy Baily, Lewis Miller, Charles Geoghegan, and several other persons for riot and assault in the market at Morant Bay on Saturday the 7th October last. When we reached Stony Gut Paul Bogle was standing up in his yard. He asked to have the warrant read to him. It was read to him. He said he would not go. Private George Fuller Osborne then said to Paul Bogle, "You are my prisoner." As he said, William Grant, known as Captain Grant, called out "men" immediately; about 300 men came out from the cane piece adjoining Paul Bogle's house and from Paul Bogle's chapel. They captured me, and made me a prisoner. The men were armed with cutlasses, spikes, bayonets, knives, and sticks. They handcuffed me, and told me I must take an oath. I asked the reason why they gave me an oath. They said, "Skin for skin." Paul Bogle gave me the Bible. He said I must kiss the book and say, "So help me God, after this day "I must cleave from the whites and cleave to the blacks." I was compelled to take the oath, because they told me if I did not they would take off my head. They held cutlasses over my head. Paul Bogle said, whether I joined him or not, when he came to the Bay he would carry me away with him. They also took Jacobs and Foster into custody. Jacobs and myself were handcuffed together; after the handcuffs were taken off they let me go. I then returned to Morant Bay. I saw the oath administered to several that joined Paul Bogle, the same oath that was administered to me, and their names were taken down by a man named James Richards Smith, since hung. The same day I saw the custos Baron Ketleholdt at Mr. Cooke's office, and told him what had taken place that day at Stony Gut. I was sent off that same night with a letter from the custos to the Governor.

Taken and sworn to before me this 5th day of January 1866 at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. EWART, S.M.

(Signed) WILLIAM FULLER.

JAMES FOSTER, rural constable, on his oath saith as follows :—

On Tuesday the 10th October last I went up to Stony Gut to assist in the execution of a warrant against Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, and others for a riot on the Saturday previous. When we got to Paul Bogle's house he was standing up in his yard. As we went up he said, "Good morning, gentle-"men; what has brought you here." The policemen said, "We have brought a warrant for yourself "and some men." He said, "Read the warrant." After the policeman read the warrant, Bogle said he would not go. George Fuller Osborne, one of the policemen, clapped Paul Bogle on the shoulder three times, and said, "You are my prisoner." As Osborne Fuller was turning to go away, Paul Bogle laid hold of him, and cried out, "Men, help here; turn out, men." Captain Grant immediately sounded the shell, and the drum commenced beating. Captain Grant said, "Troops turn out; we will "know what brought these fellows here to-day. We will kill them." There were over 300 men came out of the cane piece and chapel and surrounded us. The men had cutlasses, sticks, and lances. I ran away. They ran after me, and brought me back. I was struck over the head with a stick. They took away my staff and badge; they tied my hands behind me. Paul Bogle said, "We must kill this "day one out of the four that we have in custody." James Dacres put a hat on my head, and said, "Look at his skin; save him, Paul." Paul had a double-barrel gun loaded. He came up to me, and said, "I have a great mind to drive it into your breast." Moses Bogle said, "Don't kill him. We will "keep them here as long as we like, and if the white men want them they must come for them, and "then we will let them go and keep the white man." After this, Colonel Bowie, as he was called, said they must kill us, because the white people will know what they were doing up there. He ordered the shell to blow, and the men to go to drill; three gangs turned out, with sticks, cutlasses, and lances, and three guns. At this time the drums were playing and shells blowing. I saw seven men go into Paul Bogle's room; they all had cutlasses. Paul Bogle spoke to the men in a language I did not understand. The men then took the oath ; they kissed a large book, the Bible. Paul Bogle gave each of them a dram of rum and gunpowder, which they drank. I saw the rum and powder mixed myself in a large bottle. Bogle ordered something for me to eat. I refused to eat anything. He also ordered something for the police to eat and drink, but they refused to eat or drink. Paul Bogle gave me the Bible, and told me to kiss it. I said, "What for?" He said if I did not kiss the book I should not go home ; he said he would behead me. I asked him to tell me the meaning. He said they were coming into the Bay, but what day he did not say. When I kissed the book Paul Bogle said, "Foster, "remember nothing but the truth." After I kissed the book Paul Bogle said, "Now, Foster, so help "me God, if I catch you or one of these police that is now in custody the day when I come into "Morant Bay I will kill you." After this they let us go away.

Taken and sworn to before me this 5th day of January 1866 at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. EWART, S.M.

(Signed) JAMES his × mark FOSTER.

STATEMENT of E. N. HARRISON, Serjeant-Major, St. Thomas-in-the-East Volunteers.

On Wednesday morning the 11th October 1865, I received by one of the bandsmen of our company the following circular from Captain Hitchins:—"The custos has called out the volunteers on actual "service, and all who do not attend will be tried as deserters; you are requested to be at head-"quarters immediately." I inquired of the messenger what was the matter; he said "He had heard "there was a riot at Morant Bay." I then said, "Are the people fighting against each other?" he said "He believed so." I said "Well, we will have to go and restore order." I got my horse, which was near at hand, and, taking half a cup of chocolate, mounted, and went to Duckenfield for my brother William, who was a serjeant in our company, and also private Rutty, both of whom were employed as book-keepers on Duckenfield estate. I found them in uniform, and I hurried them to get their horses, and taking a mule, which my brother William led, we proceeded on our way to Bath through Stoakes Hall, calling there for my brother Richard, also a serjeant in the company. When we got to Bath I found the other volunteers had already gone, and on inquiring if Captain Hitchins had left any message for me was told, he mentioned that "I and any others must come on quickly and we "would overtake those on before." I went into the armoury and got my rifle, the other three also taking theirs; and thinking it safer to be sure of ammunition, I took twenty rounds myself and gave my two brothers and Rutty each twenty also. We then mounted and galloped on to Morant Bay, and as we went we saw several people on foot running on to the bay armed with sticks. We overtook Captain Hitchins and the other volunteers a little before we came to Retreat, and soon after the custos passed us, driving on his way to Morant Bay. When we came to Nutt's river Captain Hitchins ordered a halt; we dismounted and fell in. Ten rounds of ammunition were then served out to the men, and Lieutenant Hall, hearing that we four who had come last had twenty rounds, took away ten rounds each, which I felt a little, as being serjeants we could be entrusted with them, but I kept silent about it; better had they been in our possession, as I heard after that the rebels got hold of all those that had not been served out soon after they attacked us. Having shown the men how to load with ball cartridges, as they were mostly recruits, we marched off in fours with unloaded rifles, our drum corps playing on to Morant Bay. On our way I observed that several people were following and surrounding us, and one man with a cutlass seemed very irate, so I quietly went up to Captain Hitchins and said "I thought so small a body of men were very insecure, marching without our swords "being fixed;" he said, "Yes, I think so," and ordered us to fix swords. We then marched on; and by the time we got into Morant Bay most of the people dropped back, and we entered the Bay finding everything quiet, a few women only dancing before us to the music of our drum corps. We were marched into the parade and halted, Captain Hitchins going to the custos for orders. He soon returned, and we went to the tavern, where we had something to eat. While in the tavern I heard one of our volunteers, Andrew Marks, who resided at Morant Bay, and others of the Bay corps, telling how that prisoners had been rescued by people at Stony Gut, and how the policemen who went to take up some of them were treated, and made to swear allegiance to them, and that on this day there were about 500 people gathered in arms, with guns, cutlasses well sharpened, and sticks, ready to resist any authorities that were sent up there to retake these prisoners; that they knew the volunteers would be at Morant Bay, but that they did not intend to come to them, but they hoped the volunteers would come up to their place. I also heard that the custos, fearing there would be something wrong as the people behaved so ill in the court-house and in rescuing these prisoners, he had sent for the military. Hearing this I said, "Well, after all I hope we won't have any disturbance," and I made up my mind that things would be quiet. After we had finished eating Captain Hitchins said, "Now, "I think, we had better go to the court-house," and ordered us to fall in; we were joined by about nine or ten of the Morant Bay volunteers, and marched to the court-house, and halted directly in front of it. Captain Hitchins then said, "Serjeant Harrison, I think the men had better be put "through a little drill, such as firing by sections, in case we may be required to do so." I said, "I am afraid as they are not well up in drill they won't manage section or file firing, but I think a "good plan will be to give the order, 'No. 1, rear rank fire a volley,' and on the word 'ready' the "front rank must kneel, as per regulation, and the rear rank fire over their heads, and as soon as they "had fired, then No. 2 rear rank in the same manner, and if the rear rank of No. 1 had not loaded in "time, then No. 1 front rank should fire." They tried it going through the motions and used their snap-caps, and they did it very well. I next put them through forming close column of sections and company square, telling off the two companies as one; by the time the officers got inside I found they were too crowded, and thought they would not do much in that position. After they had done this they were ordered to fall out and sit down, but to keep close together in case anything should happen. Whilst the companies were in front of the court-house I saw Lieutenant Cooke in his uniform, but he did not take charge of his company. I also saw Serjeant-Major Judah, dressed in his uniform, with a book in his hand, and flourishing a cane about; I ordered him to come and take charge of his company, he told me "He had not come out to do duty to-day, and felt unwell," and he coolly walked off, leaving me to put his men through their drill, so that No. 2 men had no commander. Captain Hitchins, who must have heard particulars of what the people had been doing from the custos, then ordered our bugler to keep a look-out, and if he saw any people coming to blow the bugle. At this time everything was perfectly quiet, nor were there any people congregated in a mob or showed any sign of disquietude, and the vestry was sitting. After we had sat down a little, and Captain Hitchins was talking to my brother and self, I heard some one shout out "They are coming," and several voices echoed "They are coming;" I heard their drums beating and one bugle sounded, and we fell in close in front of the court-house, and were ordered to load with ball cartridge, which as we did the rebels came in sight, turning the corner of the short street leading into the parade, where they stopped for a second or two and then advanced. The custos, who, with the magistrates and vestrymen, had by this time come out on the step, now waved his hand to them, saying, "Keep peace; go back; keep peace." Seeing they continued advancing Captain Hitchins said "Read the Riot Act; read the Riot Act;" some one gave it to the Baron, he still saying "Keep peace." But they never heeded him in the least; and on they came upon us with guns, bayonets on sticks, cutlasses, and heavy sticks. The

volunteers all this time had remained perfectly still, but were at the capping position; and when the Rebels were about fifteen yards from us the custos, who had tried all he could for the people to keep peaceful, commenced the Riot Act, and I believe he could hardly have read more than two or three lines when they came up within a few yards of us, throwing stones, and striking at our bayonets with their sticks. Immediately as the stones were thrown the volunteers fired, but so furiously were they attacked, and seemingly so surprised at the Rebels marching close up to the muzzles of their guns, that their volley had but little effect, and on looking out of the court-house window soon after I went in I only saw two or three wounded. It is my belief that the Rebels fancied we had no ammunition that made them so bold in attacking us. I was in rear of the company, and I turned to fire at some who had diverged from the front and come in rear to attack us, and directly as I fired I received a blow in my mouth from a stone, which cut my lip and broke out a tooth; almost at the same instant I received blows on my head and on my left arm. I made a charge with my bayonet and they fell back, making numerous blows at my sword and rifle, which split the barrel, bent the ramrod, splintered the stock, and knocked off the upper band. The attack of the Rebels, the volley of the volunteers, and the retreat of both could not have taken up more that about two minutes. I felt a little stunned from the blows but kept my ground, and on looking round to see if any was near I heard the voice of Captain Hitchins calling "Harrison, Harrison, come in here." I turned round and found he was under the court-house in Mr. Cook's office. I went to him and putting down my split and useless rifle got another; the body of private Ross was then brought in. He had been knocked down, and seemed to have had his brain contused, his eyes were encircled with a large blue mark, and he was at his last gasp. Captain Hitchins said, "Poor fellow, I fear its all up with him." I heard some of the volunteers upstairs in the court-house, and my brother William among the number, to whom I called out to open the door; Captain Hitchins, myself, my brother Richard, and a few others then got upstairs, getting a shower of stones as we went. When we got upstairs I saw the custos, Mr. Georges, Mr. McPherson, Alberga, Warmington, and a few other gentlemen, and about 10 other volunteers; Lieutenant Hall I found with Reid and Rutty were in Mr. Price's house. The Rebels after dispersing as a body got behind the houses that are around the court-house and kept up a fire at us, we firing at any we saw actually firing at us. The custos was very lenient indeed to the Rebels, ordering us not to fire unless we saw them firing at us. He even sent out a man with a white handkerchief, telling them that he wished peace, and to send and let him know what they wanted; but they would listen to no reasoning or message and seemed determined to slay all of us they could lay hold of as they had us hemmed in on every side. We were entirely surrounded by them, look whichever way you would you saw men with guns, cutlasses, and stones. At last we saw smoke coming through the crevices on the housetop of the school-house, and we soon perceived their aim was to resort to their usual method of injuring the whites, namely to burn them out. The fire was set inside the house while they shut the windows, as soon as it caught they opened them for the breeze to fan the flames, and soon it did its work. Some wiseacres have attributed the fire in the school-house to the wadding from the guns of the volunteers, but they seem not to be aware that our rifles are not loaded with any wadding, but simply with powder and the bullet, which would not set anything on fire. The school-house was soon in a blaze and soon after the court-house caught. We knocked down the verandah and tried in that way to prevent the fire catching on the court house but the shingles soon caught and set the court-house on fire. We remained in it as long as we could, and when we saw the roof coming in we thought it time to look for some other shelter. At this time my jacket was covered with blood, and my brother William, who had been wounded in his eyes, had them bandaged and had given his rifle to some one who could see to fire, and most of his cartridges to me. Captain Hitchins asked Dr. Major, who was also in the court-house, to bandage my head, but I refused to have it done. Some of the gentlemen and volunteers jumped through the windows; but it was proposed that the door should be opened and we should go that way. Captain Hitchins went that way, as did myself and one or two others. As I got down a fellow came from behind a house pointing his gun at me; I stopped and raised my rifle, when he ran back and I moved on to Mr. Price's house, where some gentlemen and volunteers had already congregated. The second rifle I had after the first was split and useless, and which I left beneath the court-house along with the body of poor Ross, had the nipple blown out the very first shot I fired from it, thus I had two rifles become useless in my hands. I got a third but no sword to fit, and that I retained till I was shot. When I got into Price's house I saw the lifeless body of Lieutenant Hall; Lieutenant Reid pointed to it and said, "Harrison, poor Hall is gone," I said "Yes, and some more of us will have to go too." Poor fellow his time had not yet arrived, but soon did; he also lost his life; when he spoke to me he seemed quite in a state of despair. While in the court-house I saw a sort of cloud at sea which looked like the cloud of a steamer; I called some one and pointed it out and we began to hope for assistance; a glass was obtained, but we soon found it was a disappointment. When the court-house had caught up Mr. Price's house also soon after caught fire. During this time the Rebels were firing at us fast and Mr. Georges got a shot in his leg; but the Rebels managed to keep behind the houses and sheltered themselves and night was coming on, so I think but few of them were hit though we kept them at bay. Mr. Herschell kneeled down and offered up a prayer, and we had to leave the house soon after that, as the fire had spread over the house and we were in danger of its falling in upon us. We left the body of poor Hall in the burning house, as we had enough to do to mind ourselves. The nature of his death as told me by private Rutty, who saw him receive his death wound, was thus:—He was collector of petty debts at Bath, and a few days previously had levied on a man for debt in the execution of his duty; now this man heard there was to be a row at the Bay and that the volunteers had gone there. He went there, as he said, to kill two persons, Hall and his deputy Garsin. When Hall and Rutty were in Price's house, Rutty saw a man with a gun peeping into the house, and Rutty said, "I see a man with a gun trying to shoot one of us, I think I will fire at him." Hall replied, "No, sir, I am commander here, and I desire that you do not fire, as you will draw their attention on "us." Rutty then sat down and Hall getting up opened the door, as he did so he received a shot in his throat. He shut the door, went behind another door, and leaning against the wall gradually slid down and was dead; and I saw him in that position when I entered. He had been killed pre-

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meditatedly by the same man. After leaving Price's house we went outside the wall of the fort, and on passing one of the cannons I saw McCormack, a poor lame and crippled old man, huddled beneath it trying to keep out of the way of the Rebels and their shot; but I heard that that poor man was not allowed to escape, and I can only account for their killing him was to gratify their fiendish delight in slaying the whites, as I could not think that he could have interfered with those who these Rebels fancied had injured them.

While outside the wall Capt. Hitchins, the Baron, Mr. Georges, and Mr. Warmington, my two brothers, one with his eyes tied up, and myself remained together, lying down a few yards distance from each other, keeping a look-out on all sides. At one time I took up my rifle and jumped into some penguins, but in doing so got on two other fellows who were already there, so I got out again and went near my brothers. I saw Mr. Georges rolling towards the penguins, and the Rebels from the road beneath, whom we could not see, kept throwing up large stones at us, and several came near hitting Mr. Georges, but when he got out of sight into the penguins, where he remained whilst the Rebels were doing their bloody work, as he afterwards told me, I never knew. I also saw the Rebels dragging a young coloured lad named Pieddo, who really behaved well, assisting us, and getting one of the rifles and firing at any he saw firing at us in the court-house. My brother Richard pointed his rifle at them as they dragged him along, beating him most unmercifully, but the Baron and Hitchins would not allow him to fire. Now this young man was not a volunteer, nor did the Rebels know that he ever fired on our side, yet they caught and would have eventually killed him, had he not managed to get away. As I mentioned above, I remained with Captain Hitchins, and with the exception of the two volunteers that had got into the penguins close by, I did not exactly know where the others were. My brother Richard, whilst looking through an embrasure of the wall, received a shot in his left eye, and he fell close by my side, dropping his rifle at the same time. I went up to him, and patting him said, "Poor Dick, keep heart." Soon after this I heard the Rebels say, "Their powder done, come make we go in pon dem," and a lot of them rushed in upon us from St. David's side. Hitchins and my brother ran towards them. I stood up and remained where I was, and about five of them came in front of me, and as each advanced I pointed my rifle at them, so they came to a standstill. At last one fired at me from off the wall, and hit me in my left elbow joint and back, just over the left kidney. I felt a sharp tingling pain with exhaustion, and down I fell on my face, injuring my nose, which commenced bleeding. As I fell one of them came and jumped on my back. He then raised me a little, thrusting his hand into my pockets, and taking from me about three shillings and some two or three cartridges, one of which I wished had been in his head instead of my pocket. I had taken off my jacket, which was all over blood, and had put the few remaining cartridges in my pocket. After searching my pocket he took off my boots and sitting beside me waited a little; another one then inquired, "You sure that one dead?" He answered, "Yes, him quite dead," and having another jump on my back to satisfy himself, he left me to think over what would be my next move. Remaining quietly where he left me, I heard the voice of the Baron saying, What are you beating me so for? What have I done you? Are you going to beat me to death? and so on, his voice being gradually lost to my hearing, as he was dragged along. I next heard them searching the penguins, and soon heard them drag out a volunteer named Mitchell, of No. 2 Company. The first thing they said was, "Give me up your arms," he answered, "I have no arms." I then heard him speak to one of them he seemed to know, and whom he named. He was, however, carried along with them, and I heard after that he, being clerk to Mrs. Lundee, was taken to her store, and they made her pay over half of his salary that was due to him, and they made her give them gunpowder and cloth. Having finished their bloody work there they went nearer towards the stores, and finding things still I got up and crossed the road; whilst doing so, I turned my head towards the wharf and saw a person also going in the same direction. From my brother Richard's account of his escape, I conclude it was he. As I got across the road I was so weak I fell into some soft grass. I felt comfortable there, but being too near the road I got up and went through a track to the sea beach, and I again fell down among some gravel. I tried again, and got on some prickles, and next into stinging ants. I, however, at last got into some soft sand and there I remained till morning. During the night I heard the Rebels at a distance and saw a very large fire, but could not out make whether they were burning a house, or making a bonfire in celebration of their having killed so many white people. After Hitchins and the rest left me, and I was shot, I never saw my brother William, Hitchins, the Baron, or Reid again, dead or alive. My brother Richard told me that William was beaten to death and he heard them all the time. He himself was soon laid hold of and beaten, after his eye had been shot, and he was dragged down the hill, his trowsers and boots taken off and he left for dead. He got into a wood close to the sea beach. Next morning he got into the house of a black woman, whom he knew, and they washed him and got him a shirt and pair of trowsers, and he was taken on board the "Wolverine." To return to myself. At daylight next morning I saw some one coming along the beach, and when he came up he said. "Poor fellow." I asked him to assist me, but he merely said, "You what sort of authorities we have," and walked on. I then got up and walked towards the wharf, but soon fell from weakness. I saw many more people, black and coloured, walking along the beach, but none would assist me, they seemed to fear the Rebels. I got up again and got to a wharf shed where some canoes were, and I saw a young lady there named Miss Benson, and who assisted other wounded volunteers the morning succeeding the slaughter, and who they threatened to kill for doing so. She tried to help me, and went to get some water for me. I fancy she could give some information as to what she saw. I believe she gave evidence at Morant Bay during the trials there. I saw a man named McDermott, and I begged him to take me in a canoe to Lysson's wharf, offering him a pound to do so. He told me he would, and went about getting a canoe, and whilst he was doing so I heard two or three people speaking of how the Rebels had beat and killed Mr. Walton, and they pointed out his dead body close by. The canoe being brought, I was assisted into it and taken to Lysson's wharf. When I arrived there I found Mr. Wallace, who I hoped would have been able to give me some assistance, in a terrible way, and so busy saving his goods from his house at Lysson's close by, and putting them on board his boat, the "Eleanor," that he could not notice me. I now found it would be useless putting me ashore there as the negroes there too seemed intent on murdering every one. Mr. Wallace and family were all going on board the "Eleanor," so I did not

know what was to be done with me. I asked McDermott to row me to Bowden, but he said he could not do so, and whilst considering what to do, one of the men said, If I have any trouble with you I will throw you overboard; but McDermott said, I will put you on board the "Eleanor," and he did so. I had not the pound with me to give him, nor would Mr. Wallace stand security, as I told McDermott I would get him to do before he took me into the canoe, but McDermott did not mind it, and when he put me on the "Eleanor" he said, "Good bye," Mr. Harrison, I hope you will live and soon get better, showing a better feeling than his rebel brethren. On board the "Eleanor" I had a piece of logwood under my sore head as a pillow till some kind gentleman gave me his coat. The "Wolverine" soon after came in and I was sent on board of her along with Brooks Cooke who had been beaten by the Rebels. We were hoisted on board on cots, and I had every attention paid me by officers and men. My brother Richard was also brought on board. My shirt and under-shirt had to be cut off me and were drenched in blood, and my trowsers were all over dirt, and I remained in my cot covered with a shirt. The doctor bandaged my head and tied my arm, sewing up the cut in my lip, and I was so weak that I had to be raised up to take nourishment. We went to Kingston the day after I went on board, and my brother and self were taken to the hospital in the cots on the men's shoulders. I was in the hospital for 10 weeks, nearly six of which I could not get up, my arm was kept up in a splint and poulticed, and several pieces of gravel, with which it appears I had been shot, came out of the arm and back. My arm has now became a fixed joint useless to myself. My brother lost his speech and senses for three weeks, and can scarcely walk even now, his right side having been partially paralyzed. While in the hospital a black man named Travers came there who mentioned that he had seen the whole attack of the Rebels on the volunteers, and that the Rebels parted one body to attack in front and one on either flank; and that he saw the one in front march straight up to the volunteers and strike at their bayonets before the volunteers fired. Serjeant McGowan heard him giving the account also.

I was not long ago employed in Plantain Garden River district as book-keeper, and when I first went down that side I found the people quiet and well-behaved. The last year or so I found a great change in them. They used to work well and earn good wages, but on the same estate afterwards they would not work, and were always dissatisfied and abusive. You might urge them to work, and tell them at the rate they were working, and coming out so late in a morning, that they could not earn anything; they would look sullen as possible, and just go on in the same manner. When pay-day came, and the book was made up and put before the overseer, he would say, "What has come over these "people; they won't work?" and order the book-keeper to add something to their wages, and see if they would do better next week. As soon as the money was paid they would abuse overseer, book-keeper, and estate in everything they thought of, and say they had not received enough money, although they knew full well they had received more than they had actually worked for. We paid up always on a Friday for the same week's work, and if you had not time to see Friday's work, and look at it next morning, you would find you had paid them for work that had been most shamefully done. If you happened to ride along a road where several of them were walking, they would laugh and say something at you, and obstruct you indirectly, and if you spoke to them you were sure to get a shower of abuse. All this led me to believe that we would soon have some disturbance in that part of the country. I once heard a man, whom my brother told me was named McTarvish, and had come into a shop I kept, and which was pillaged by the Rebels, say, "He would like to destroy every Scotchman "and overseer about the quarter, and if it was not for the law he would beat them; but never mind, "war will soon be in Jamaica, some day soon." It may be here remarked that the plundering that was carried on in the Plantain Garden River district was not done by the Morant Bay Rebels alone, but by the people that had been actually working on those estates. Thus Duckenfield was plundered by the Dalvey people close it, and I have heard that they took advantage of being so near to carry away their spoil by the estate's own wains. Golden Grove was attacked by people from Springfield and their own estate's negroes; some of the people from Morant Bay may have been there, but I have heard that their main body went over the Comoo Comoo hills to try and excite rebellion in that direction. Not long ago, before the rebellion, I saw a very seditious placard going the round of Bath, which at the time was said to be some of G. W. Gordon's doing. It was appealing to the naked and starving people of St. Ann's and St. Thomas-in-the-East for their rights, informing them that the custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East was a foreigner, and had no right to be custos; that he had taken their money and shielded the Cookes and Mr. Herschell in their wrong-doings, and telling them to be up and doing; that it was quite time to assert their rights, and that if they would help themselves, God would help them. I believe from what I have heard that Manchioneal was plundered by people living up that side, and that the rebellion that side was only stopped when the people were met and fired at by the soldiers. Had it got to Port Antonio, and passed there, not all the soldiers we then had in the Island could have quelled the rebellion, as it would have soon got into the heart of the country, and the whole Island would have been in revolt. Let all those who now call it a riot, such a one as spread 36 miles from where it commenced, say what they like; more sensible people know it to have been a rebellion, a preconcerted and cruel one too, and all ought to be thankful to Governor Eyre for his promptness and firmness in putting it down. When we consider how great a number of Rebels were at Morant Bay, and the number that must have come together from different quarters to plunder the River District estates alone, and how poor white ladies and their young children, unused to hardships, some without shoes on their feet and almost naked, were driven to seek shelter and from being murdered into the woods before these savages, who but the false philanthropist can say but that the Rebels deserved what they got, or were killed undeservingly. Had the Governor not done what he did the anti-slavery people would have had some cause to mourn for their dear blacks, as the British Government would have had to have almost exterminated them altogether for what they would have accomplished. The three trash houses that were set on fire in the River district on different estates year before last showed a wicked feeling in the people's heart. The fact is, they were too well off. They will work for one week and sit down to rest, as they say, the next, and you will most likely meet them resting in your pastures, living upon your bread fruit, cocoa-nuts, and mangoes, which they steal. You let them off, as it is a great nuisance to bring them up, and as soon as your back

is turned they go and help themselves again, and you may whistle for them to come and work for you until they choose. These are the sort of people so poor and starving that Dr. Underhill says CAN'T get work.

January 6, 1866. (Signed) E. N. HARRISON.

I LEFT home at 7.30 a.m. on the 11th October 1865 for the purpose of going to the vestry, and on passing out of the Rhine gate was asked if I had heard of the disturbance at Morant Bay, and was strongly advised by Mr. H. J. Lawrence not to go to the vestry, but on seeing my determination to proceed, was told that I should hear more particulars in Bath, as Captain Hitchins had received orders at 9.30 p.m. the previous night to be in readiness with his men at 8 a.m. On reaching Bath I found the volunteers (No. 1 company, St. Thomas-in-the-East troop) getting ready, and Captain Hitchins strongly impressing on his men all to be prepared for active service. As surgeon of the company, and not having my instruments with me, I asked the captain if he considered it necessary for me to send for them, when he replied that it was as well to be prepared, but he hoped I should not require them. I immediately sent back to the Rhine for lint, plaister, instruments, &c., and we marched from Bath at about 9 a.m., and reached Morant Bay at 11.30 a.m., where all appeared to be quiet, and remained so until about 3.15 p.m. We were about retiring to partake of some refreshment, when suddenly Mr. Arthur Cooke (one of the rector's sons) came galloping at full speed across the parade to the court-house, and a cry was raised, "They are coming, they are coming," and the next moment we saw an immense crowd of people in the main street. They made a dead stand for a few moments, and then advanced slowly across the parade towards the court-house. The men were all well armed with guns, cutlasses, and sticks, the women with stones, brickbats, and sticks; and a more diabolical, fiendish, hellish set I have never beheld, in fact they appeared more like devils let loose out of hell than human beings. While they were advancing slowly towards us, with hellish glee depicted on their countenances, the custos called for the Riot Act, and commenced to read it, but by this time they had almost reached the steps of the court-house, where the volunteers were drawn up, when the custos gave the word to fire. About seven of the Rebels were killed on the spot, and several others wounded, but in returning the fire the Rebels wounded several of our men, and before the volunteers had time to re-load the Rebels attacked them (in the act of re-loading) with cutlasses, sticks, and stones. Captain Hitchins and some of his men (though under heavy fire at the time) succeeded in getting up the steps of the court-house, where the Baron, the Hon. W. P. Georges, the rector, and his three sons, the Rev. V. Herschell, Mr. MacPherson (the coroner), Baron Alfred, Mr. Walton, Mr. Warmington, Dr. Gerrard, and myself, with others, were shut up. About 10 or 15 minutes after Captain Hitchins and a few of his men had joined us we observed the school-house adjoining the court-house on fire, and in a short time the court-house was also in flames, and never shall I forget the courage and coolness of our captain in those trying moments, and those brave men who were by my side nearly the whole time, viz., Norman Harrison, McGowan, Rutty, William Harrison, Richard Harrison, Graham, and others, who never flinched from their duty, and while I feel most proud and thankful in being associated with them as surgeon of the company, I sincerely hope and trust that our future captain may be as brave (I will not say more brave, for I believe one is not to be found in this parish) as our departed friend and brother, Edward Whitehouse Hitchins, who, though severely wounded and covered with blood, never once thought of himself, but his earnest solicitude for his men was observed by all, and though in great pain himself, only directing me to see to their wounds. To add to our distress, not a drop of water was to be had in the burning court-house. At one moment we saw, or fancied we saw, a steamer in sight, and it is impossible for me to describe our feelings of fear, hope, and gratitude at that moment, for we were reminded (with tears in our eyes) how God preserved that little company in Lucknow in 1857, and offered up our heart-felt prayers to our Heavenly Father that he would rescue us in like manner. My dear friend the Rev. V. Herschell was deeply affected at this time. Captain Hitchins called us together several times to decide on what was to be done when we should be compelled to leave the burning building, but we could not agree as to the mode of escape. The Hon. W. P. Georges, Baron Alfred, Mr. Walton, Mr. Warmington, and others jumped out of the back window, and it was proposed that we should all follow, but this was objected to, as we should doubtless have been shot down one by one as we escaped. I then proposed to Captain Hitchins and the custos that we should make a rush down the front steps, and make for the fort-house, where Mr. Georges and others had already taken refuge. I offered to go down first and lead the way. Captain Hitchins and the Baron immediately consented, and after removing the forms, tables, chairs, &c. with which we had well secured the doors to prevent the Rebels entering, we all reached the fort-house in safety. When we had been there about five minutes the roof of the court-house fell in with a fearful crash. God only knows how thankful we all were to Him at that moment, for had we remained another minute we must all have perished in the flames, as the roof had commenced falling in before we left the building; some of the molten lead from the roof fell upon my hand in passing through. We had not been long in our place of refuge (the fort-house) before it was also on fire, and never shall I forget the indomitable courage of that little devoted band. My dear friend the Rev. V. Herschell was praying alone for some time, and then proposed that we should all unite in prayer to our Heavenly Father, who alone could then save us, and just as we were about to kneel down in that burning house some shots fired by the Rebels came through the jalousies, and wounded the Baron (custos), the Hon. W. P. Georges, and Mr. MacPherson (coroner), and immediately after part of the roof at one end fell in; yet Captain Hitchins thought we might remain in the other portion for another hour, but the heat became so intense that we were compelled to leave it and take refuge behind the parapet walls at the back of the fort-house, where the shots were flying in all directions, as well as stones and brickbats thrown by the women. I returned to the burning building, and found our brave Captain and Mr. Price still there. Mr. Price was a black gentleman, and formerly a member of the House of Assembly, and a very kind, quiet, inoffensive man, and was murdered simply because he was friendly with the whites. The heat was so intense that I could only remain a few seconds, and Captain Hitchins left with me.

It was now dark; the Baron (custos), Mr. Georges, Rev. V. Herschell, Capt. Hitchins, Mr. Warmington, and myself remained for some time together behind the parapet wall; it was at this time that Serjeant Wm. Harrison was shot through the eye, and I shall never forget his remark while I was examining the wound, "Never mind, doctor, I have one eye left," and he still remained on his dangerous post, and continued firing at those infernal wretches. Shortly after this we all separated, when Mr. Georges and myself took refuge in the penguin fence, where I remained for nearly three hours. Mr. Georges returned to the burning building, but was compelled to leave it immediately, and took refuge in Mr. Price's kitchen for a few moments, and again entered the penguin fence. The Baron and Mr. Herschell were murdered within a few yards of the spot where I was lying, and never shall I forget their pitiful and heart-rending cries for mercy after they had been overcome by the Rebels. After removing their bodies to the front of the court-house, they commenced searching for some more of us, and a wretch of a woman discovered me in the fence, and commenced pulling me out by the leg, and called to others to assist her. This woman pulled with such force that the pain I suffered was very great, but I found afterwards it was not my body that she wanted but the boot, which at last she succeeded in getting off. About 12 men answered to her call for assistance, and with cutlasses uplifted said, "Pull him out, pull him out;" but it was no easy matter for me to get out, being entangled in the penguins, and the woman tugging at one foot only. I therefore told the men if they would give me their hand I would come out; they did so, but by some accident I slipped back into the bed of thorns, when they cried out, "No, no, that won't do, chop him, kill him," when I assured them that I could not help falling back, but if they would hold my hand tight I would come out; I was then held secure enough, and as soon as I was on my feet I asked for Bogle, and told them to tell him whom they had got, giving them my name, and saying that I was sure neither Bogle nor Mr. G. W. Gordon would wish me to be injured. I cannot thank God sufficiently for giving me the presence of mind at this moment, for I had only seen Bogle once about three years ago, at Morant Bay, where I gave him some medicine, but I found while concealed in that penguin fence that Bogle was the most distinguished officer in that hellish scene, and though, like the devil, he did not commit the brutal acts himself, led on and gave the orders to his infernal agents, and was the only human being to be appealed to that night, most of the men said, "Don't hurt the doctor, let him go." One of the men then said, "Well, doctor, if we let you "go, you must give us your money." I gave them my purse, saying they were quite welcome to what little money there was in it. A scramble then took place for the money, when one of the leaders proposed it should be given to the foreman.

It was now about 9 o'clock, and I was minus my boot, which the woman would not give up unless I paid her for it, and which I could not do, having given up my purse to the men, but I promised to pay her in the morning if she would come to Mr. Marshallick's store, but she still persisted in keeping the boot until she got the money, when the man to whom I gave the purse took out two shillings and gave to her, ordering her to give me the boot, which I put on, and then asked them to see me safely out. The order was given to "Pass the doctor on to his friend's house" (Mr. Daniel Marshallick's). On reaching the house we found the gates fastened, and the two Rebels who conducted me, not wishing to injure my friend's property, carefully lifted me over the railings, and ordered that gentleman to keep his friend the doctor quite safe; I thanked them most sincerely, and bade them good night. In the short distance, about 200 yards, from the fort-house to Mr. Marshallick's residence we were challenged four times by sentries, saying "Who you got there?" the answer given was "Doctor;" they then asked "Which "doctor?" and my name being given the order was given to pass on. The next morning at 6 o'clock I went over the scene of slaughter with my friend Dr. Gerrard, to examine the bodies and attend to the wounded, and never shall I forget the feeling of horror that almost overpowered me at seeing the mangled bodies of those good, kind, and Christian men, who have been torn from all near and dear to them by the ruthless hands of blood-thirsty devils. May God in his mercy grant that I may never again witness such an awful and heart-rending scene. At about 7 o'clock a vessel hove in sight, and as soon as it was known that troops were on board the few remaining Rebels made off as quick as possible.

The next day (Friday) I offered my services as surgeon and guide to the troops, which Captain Luke was pleased to accept; and I started from Morant Bay with Captain Luke, Captain Ross, and Ensign Cullen and 150 men of the 1st W. I. Regiment, for the purpose of rescuing the ladies and children. We marched to Port Morant, and from thence Ensign Cullen and myself, with 38 men, proceeded to the Rhine. I shall never forget the affecting sight in passing through Bath. Nearly all the people came out of their houses to greet us, and many with tears in their eyes, thanking Almighty God for deliverance. A few maroons had come into Bath an hour or two before our arrival. We reached the Rhine about 5 o'clock p.m., and truly thankful was I to find my wife and family and Mrs. Herschell safe and unmolested. Mrs. Major had sent to Potosi for and rescued Mrs. Herschell in the morning, and her own statement having appeared in print I will not enter into particulars of her sufferings and escape from Potosi. A cart had been sent off for the purpose of bringing the body of her unfortunate husband, but the Rebels would not allow it to proceed. Ensign Cullen placed piquets in the best positions round the house, and strict orders were given to allow no one to pass who would not answer the guard. About 10 o'clock at night we heard the guard challenge a party who were coming up the hill, when I requested Ensign Cullen to allow my servant to go and ascertain who they were (as Mrs. Major had sent for Mrs. Shortridge to come to our house for safety, Mr. Shortridge having been absent from home for two weeks), it proved to be Mrs. Harrison, the wife of Mr. James Harrison of Hordley estate, and children, Mrs. McDermot, and two daughters. It was with very great difficulty that Mrs. Harrison ascended the hill, and when she reached the house I was fearful she would die before I could assist her to the sofa. This lady with her infant, three weeks old, had been exposed to the inclement weather in the bush for two days and one night, with only one or two garments, and in which state she reached our house. At 11 o'clock I persuaded Ensign Cullen to send an express to Captain Luke, whom we left at Port Morant, asking for more men, as about 300 Rebels from Bath passed through the Rhine about half an hour before the troops arrived, and were supposed to be concealed in the hills at the back of our house. A faithful maroon (Captain Bennet) brought us an answer at 2 o'clock in the morning I may here notice that no one but a maroon would have dared or

been allowed to pass in safety), saying his Excellency the Governor had arrived, and the full force would be with us at daylight. We now felt more comfortable, but most anxiously watched for the morning. About 6 o'clock a.m. Captain Luke and Captian Ross with the full force arrived, accompanied by Mr. Shortridge and Mr. Harrison, and I must say we had some difficulty in providing for such a number, about 200 in all, for it is not so easy to get provision in this part of the world as it is in dear Old England; but I am happy to say we managed very well. Mrs. Shortridge and six children, governess, and nurse arrived about 7 o'clock, and never shall I forget the pitiable and heart-rending sight as those ladies and childern ascended the hill up to our house. That heart must be hard indeed that was not deeply touched at such a scene. Some tears of gratitude were shed by those whom it is to be feared have long been strangers to vital godliness. Would to God I could say that all evinced their gratitude to Him at that moment, when so many were assembled under our roof, while many others were still hiding and starving in the bush, some since dead! Nothing could exceed the kindness of Captain Luke, Captain Ross, and Ensign Cullen in attending to the ladies, and getting us all ready for the start.

We left the Rhine at 9 a.m. on Saturday the 14th, accompanied by Mrs. Herschell, child and servant; Mrs. Shortridge, six children, governess and nurse; Mrs. Harrison, four children, and three servants; Mrs. McDermot, two daughters, and Mr. Snaith's child; the two Misses McKay, Miss MacQueen, Mr. Shortridge, Mr. Hire junior, Mr. Harrison, eight of my own family, and three servants, making in all 41; and on our way to Bowden, a distance of about seven miles, we halted at least 40 times; in fact it was "halt" and "proceed" nearly the whole time, as the Rebels were firing upon us from the hills; but thank God not one of our party was injured, and we had the satisfaction of knowing that several of the Rebels were killed, Captain Ross having ordered his men to fire on them.

We reached Bowden about 2 o'clock, and were taken on board the gunboat. (I should have mentioned that when we were at Pleasant Hill information was given that a large band of Rebels were carrying on their work of plunder and destruction at Golden Grove village, threatening death to every one who made the least resistance, and Captain Luke sent a small party of soldiers to the spot. They found the Rebels stronger than they expected, and one of them returned to say that more force was needed; whereupon Captain Ross with 100 men joined them, and in about two hours they returned with 52 prisoners, the most ferocious beings it is possible to behold. Dr. Crowdie, Mr. Chreighton, and Mr. Jackson were rescued by Captain Ross and his party, and joined us, the two latter gentlemen in a most shocking state, frightfully mutilated, covered with blood, and with scarcely any clothing.) We were at Bowden for about three hours before getting on board the "Onyx," and torrents of rain fell which continued almost the whole night, adding greatly to the sufferings of the ladies and children obliged to remain on deck for want of accommodation. I cannot speak too highly of the kindness of Lieutenant Brant, who did all in his power to make us comfortable, but who not expecting to be favoured with such a party had only provided for himself and his men. We reached Kingston at 3 p.m. on Sunday, all in a sorry plight, but truly thankful for our deliverance; the people of Kingston were kind in the extreme. They appear to be a diffreent race of beings from those in this parish, and I am informed by a Christian minister, who has visited nearly every parish in the Island, that St. Thomas-in-the-East is the most degraded and immoral of the whole.

My wife wishes me to say a little of the horrors which she and the dear children, and their Aunt Lizzy, endured from the time I left them on the Wednesday morning until my return on Friday evening. It appears that shortly after my departure Mr. Gordon's overseer, H. J. Lawrence (one of the Rebels since hung), told Mrs. Major not to be alarmed, as I should be perfectly safe. This remark, instead of making my wife more comfortable, had just the opposite effect, and when she told him that I should not have gone to the vestry if she had known of any disturbance, he coldly remarked, "Well, I "opened the doctor's eyes for him before he left this morning." This was said in the presence of Dorothy Johnson, our servant, about 4 p.m. In answer to inquiries, he said, "That the Baron and "Mr. Herschell were doomed, but that I should be safe, as I had always been kind to the blacks, "especially during the late epidemic of small-pox; that they would not kill me, but he had no hopes "for the rest." (At this time no news had come from Morant Bay, which clearly proves that he knew the whole plot beforehand.) At about 6 o'clock they observed the reflection of a large fire in the distance, and shortly after they were told that we had all been burnt to death in the court-house, and you may imagine the state of mind they were all in during the whole of that night. The next day various reports came in, some saying I had been chopped to death, others that I had been taken prisoner by the Rebels, and kept alive to attend to their wounded. In the evening of this day (Thursday) a number of armed Rbeels, supposed by the Rev. W. C. Murray, who was on the road at the time and had just time to turn into the Rhineland while they passed, to be about 800, passed the Rhine singing their infernal song with hellish glee, "Bukra's blood we want, and bukra's blood we'll have till there's "not a drop left in the land," and shouting their watchword, "Colour for colour," and never will this dreadful night be forgotten by my wife and family. They were then on their way to murder Mr. Hire and all the whites they could find, and said they would call upon them as they came back. I believe there has not been one lady killed, but the purpose for which they were spared makes the rebellion still worse than the Indian mutiny, and it is now admitted that orders were given by the leaders to kill all the males and to save the females, as they would take them for themselves. How truly thankful we all ought to be to Almighty God for frustrating the wicked designs of such brutish demons; and I need not tell you how his Excellency the Governor is blessed by every right-minded person in the Island, for having been the means, with God's blessing, of rescuing our wives and daughters from the horrible fate intended for them. Some English ladies have told me that they had made up their minds to poison themselves and daughters rather than submit to such diabolical outrages.

On Thursday, October 12th, 1865, at 10 a.m., Mrs. Major sent our faithful servant, a black girl named Dorothy Johnson, to Plantain Garden estate to tell Mrs. Shortridge to leave the house at once and come to the Rhine, but found that lady and all her family had left only ten minutes before for Hordley, the residence of Mr. James Harrison, who had invited them and promised them protection and safety. The overseers and book-keepers in the employ of Mr. Shortridge immediately repaired to Hordley estate for the purpose of protecting the ladies and children, but these kind and brave men

did not remain there, being sent away by Mr. Harrison, and thus they were left entirely unprotected. Scarcely had they retired for the night, when they heard the yells and shouts of the savages close at hand, and had barely time to escape in their night dresses before the house was filled with these infuriated demons, and without a single gentlemen to escort them. The night was spent in the bush, rain falling heavily nearly the whole time. Early in the morning of Friday they found refuge in the house of Diana Blackwood, a faithful black woman, when the attorney and overseer of Hordley, (who had been the first to leave Hordley, blacking his face, and passing off as a black man's cousin,) made his appearance, and addressing Mrs. Shortridge said "If it had not been for you the people (meaning the Rebels) would not have troubled me at all." The lady could but look with astonishment at the man who a few hours before had invited her to his house, but after he left was heard to say, weeping bitterly, that she deeply regretted having gone to his house. He was not seen again by the ladies (his own wife and children being also in the bush with them) till he met them at my house after the arrival of the soldiers. Mr. David Ford and Mr. Wood acted most nobly at this time, conducting the ladies and children to a place of safety in a deep ravine where they remained the whole day. To shorten the narrative, they were taken up in their own carriage from the road side, and not from Hordley house, to which place you may be sure they never returned. I cannot understand any person in his senses taking the credit of rescuing the ladies and children, when in fact he did nothing whatever towards the attainment of this noble object, and we have all to thank Captain Luke, Captain Ross, and Ensign Cullen who with their brave men of the 1st W. I. Regiment saved us, and without whose guidance and protection we should all doubtless have been shot down or chopped to pieces by the Rebels, and could never have reached Bowden or the gunboat. And now you will no doubt ask what I think of the causes of the rebellion, but I have not time to enter upon this important subject now, hoping to do so ere long, if life be spared. I cannot however close this without mentioning that for many months previous to the outbreak the black people had been exceedingly insolent and sullen, and scarcely a night passed without our being robbed of some of our small stock, and after their meetings, which were frequent, we have been informed that they sometimes regaled themselves with the stolen property on the spot. I had always considered Mr. G. W. Gordon my friend, and a kind and humane man, and it was not till after his execution that I was fully convinced of his treachery and villany, and I was exceedingly grieved to find that he was such a base and cruel man. A letter written by him only a short time before the rebellion stated that my wife and family with myself would all be brought to the same level with the Baron, Mr. Herschell and the Cookes and swept like chaff before the wind. This was the man who had often sat at my table and whom I really considered a true and faithful friend. The last time (August 14th, 1865,) he breakfasted with us he appeared unusually cheerful, and remarked how very successful he had been in the various places he had visited, and especially at the meeting at St. Ann's. I accused him of writing the handbill, in which he spoke so shamefully of the Baron, the Rector, and the Rev. V. Herschell. He did not deny having written it, but said laughing, "Doctor, can you prove it?" Mrs. Major jokingly said, "I will try you without judge or jury, and condemn "you to be hung for high treason." He said, "You cannot do that, I have gone as far as I can, but I "cannot go any further;" she then replied, "I hope we shall hear of no more meetings." On the same occasion it was that he expressed very malignant feelings towards the Governor, saying, "That it would "be a blessing to the country if he were shot," as also others that he mentioned.

(Signed) EDWARD WILLIAM MAJOR, M.R.C.S. Eng.,
Health Officer of Port Morant and Morant Bay,
&c. &c. &c.

JAMAICA, S. S.

I, BROOKS COOKE, sub-collector of customs at the Port of Morant Bay, being duly sworn, make oath and say,—

That on the occasion of the massacre at Morant Bay on the 11th of October last I was on the steps of the court-house at that place;

That as soon as the people came into the square flourishing sticks and rifles, which they had taken from the police station, the Baron von Kettelholdt read the Riot Act, and as the people still advanced, he sent a man named McIntosh to them in order to try and pacify them;

That on the man McIntosh not returning, and the people still continuing to advance, I believe the volunteers loaded;

That when the people came to about six yards off the volunteers they poured in a volley of stones upon them (the volunteers);

That thereupon and not till then some one gave the order "fire" to the volunteers, who discharged a volley;

That the volunteers never fired upon the people until after the people had discharged the volley of stones against them.

BROOKS COOKE, Sub-Collector.

Sworn to before me this 23rd day of December 1865.
WILLIAM LEE, J.P.,
Kingston.

STATEMENT of W. W. McGOWAN.

DEAR SIR, December 23, 1865.

As you have requested me to give a description of the negroes in St. Thomas-in-the-East (Morant Bay) on the 11th day of October.

On the morning of the above-named date I received at Holland estate, where I was employed, a despatch from Captain Hitchins ordering my immediate attendance at Bath head-quarters, for the purpose of marching on to Morant Bay to quell an expected riot. I hastened to obey the call, but living a distance of eight miles off, I found on reaching Bath that the volunteers under Captain Hitchins had already marched on to Morant Bay; I hastened to overtake them, which I did at Harbour Head. The march was hastened as quick as possible. When we arrived at Nutt's River we were ordered to

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dismount for the purpose of marching on foot to the Bay. I observed an unusual number of negroes, both men and women, had gathered together, some with bludgeons, others with cutlasses, apparently restive in their movements, but at the same time attentive to the movements of the company, and followed us into the Bay again, witnessing the several evolutions through which the company were put during the time we remained in the parade. After this we were removed to the tavern for refreshment, after which we were again marched to the parade in front of the court-house, where we were dismissed for a few minutes. (During this time the vestry was sitting.) Myself and several of the non-commissioned men and officers where in the fort, when I had occasion to go into the school-room, where some of the men were, when I saw Mr. Arthur Cook come galloping through the parade and said to me, "The Rebels are coming in hundreds, they are upon you." Being one of the non-commissioned officers I ordered the bugler to sound the alarm, which was accordingly done. Each man quickly flew to his arms, and took up his position in front of the court-house. This was scarcely accomplished when I saw a great body of men, to all appearances numbering about four or five hundred, advancing in front of the company. Prior to this they had entered the police station, beat and disarmed the policemen on duty, and took away all the arms out of the station with them. Some advanced on us with fixed bayonets, some with bludgeons, some with bills and long sticks, some with cutlasses, some with bottles, and some with stones, which were most effectually placed on us, others with fish spears, some with long sharpened sticks like lances, others had old rusty bayonets fixed on long sticks, and I observed in front of the mob an African with a pistol. They also advanced with the blowing of horns, shells, and the beating of drums.

The custos (Kettleholdt) took the Riot Act, and in place of reading it, as he was requested to do by the captain, showed it to the mob, and calling out for peace several times, to which some of the Rebels answered (which I heard), "We want no peace." Still the custos withheld the reading of the Act until the captain, many others, and myself got our heads broken with stones and sticks, and our faces totally covered with blood. One of the privates (James Ross) was struck down senseless and one of his eyes almost protruding from the socket. A few minutes after he was removed to one of the lower rooms of the court-house, where he died; the Baron, yet unwilling to fire on or charge on the mob with bayonets, remarking to the company that if they fired without orders it would be murder.

Notwithstanding this the mob got more furious although not a single shot was discharged against them. The custos then read the Riot Act and the word of command to "fire" was given, but the yells and noise were so great that I am not prepared to say from whom the command came, whether from the custos or the captain. The Rebels were so close upon us that after the first volley was fired there was not a chance of reloading, and by this time the Rebels amounted to about 1,000, armed with all sorts of dangerous weapons. The volunteers retreated into the court-house, some above and others below. At those who were above shots were fired and stones thrown by the Rebels. All the windows were smashed. This excitement was kept up for about an hour or more. We fired at many from the court-house, shot some, whilst others escaped. The school-room was set on fire by the Rebels on the west during a hard westerly wind. Soon after the court-house was ignited, and the Rev. V. Herschell and private Donaldson tried to knock away a window, but could not succeed. A few minutes after all hands jumped through a window to escape being burnt to death. We ran into a small house adjoining the court-house on the east, into which Mr. Price, one of the murdered, resided, but soon after that also ignited and we had to leave. The Rebels were in ambush and came upon us in hundreds, murdering those of us that were found dead next morning, and leaving for dead those of us who were found alive, but fearfully mutilated and disfigured. Whilst I was laying down for dead I heard the Rebels trying to break down the door of the magazine, which they did not succeed in doing. I also heard them say, "We will return to-morrow and finish every one of them." The next morning I was laying on the grass perfectly sensible but powerless and unable to move myself, one of the Rebels came up to me with a cutlass in his hand, accosting me with the following words and flourishing a cutlass over my head at the same time. "You brute, you not dead yet, I have a "great mind to take off your head." He might have done it had not a young woman resident in the Bay claimed me as a brother and offered him four shillings for the removal of my body, this he consented to, and applied for the money; but when in the act of going to the party, a Mr. Ross Richards, to whom he was sent for the money, the "Wolverine" landed her soldiers and he ran away. The landing of the soldiers also prevented another large mob entering the Bay for the purpose of destroying all the white and brown people left the day before.

This much I was informed of.

A Rebel who had received a shot through the right breast and was taken to the hospital by the order of the doctors, first gave the information relative to George William Gordon as being chief instigator of the rebellion. I might here mention that the Hon. W. P. Georges was in the court-house with us and got shot through the leg after retreating to Mr. Price's house.

I have endeavoured to give you as correct account of the disturbance of the day in question as my memory will permit of, and I feel assured that I have not herein inserted anything that did not really transpire; I am also assured that all I have written can be confirmed by others of the company. I must call your attention to the fact that there is a man now in the Kingston hospital named Travers from whom I think you could elicit most important information relative to the rebellion prior to the outbreak on the memorable 11th October.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) W. W. McGowan,
Serjeant, No. 1 St. Thomas-in-the-East Volunteer Rifles.

J. S. Williams, Esq.

Deposition of R. Osborne McPherson, a Member of the No. 2 St. Thomas-in-the-East Volunteer Company.

I am a volunteer, my name is Robert Osborne McPherson; I was a volunteer at the time of the riot at St. Thomas-in-the-East on the 11th October last, and was on duty at the time of the riot

under Captain Hitchins, and was opposed to the rioters who attacked the court-house on that day, they threw brickbats at us before we were allowed to fire on them, and struck many of us before we fired. I was badly wounded, and whilst I was on the ground, and almost dead from loss of blood, I heard them say that all the white and coloured men should be killed. The parochial officers were at this time in the court-house with many other gentlemen, and the rioters were throwing stones into the windows. I heard them cry out if they do not come out we must fire the place, and they after a little while did so, and as the gentlemen tried to escape they killed them. Some of the Rebels asked me what I joined white men for, whilst others wished to kill me. A friendly disposed person took me away and hid me behind some barrels in a store. These men were under the command of Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, and McLaren, and appeared to me organized and under command. I have seen Mr. Geo. W. Gordon and Paul Bogle talking together.

(Signed) R. O. McPherson.

Sworn before me this 29th day of December 1865.
(Signed) John J. Hart, J.P.

Mr. Harrison to Mr. Williams.

Sir, Kingston Hospital, December 29, 1865.

On the 11th of October I received orders from Captain Hitchins to go to Morant Bay to prevent an expected riot. After arriving in the Bay and resting awhile in the tavern, we were marched into the Parade and exercised for some considerable time, after which we were permitted to go into the school-house to rest; but soon afterwards, as myself and a few others were in the fort, the buglers' sound called us together, and were no sooner drawn up opposite the court-house than hundreds of Rebels made their appearance, but halted for a few seconds or so when they saw us with fixed swords; however, they soon approached towards us with swords, sticks, cutlasses, and all kinds of destructive implements. The custos was reading the Riot Act, but the Rebels would not listen to it, or any conditions of peace, and many of us were knocked down before the Baron would allow a shot to be fired. Whilst the bricks, stones, &c., were flying in amongst us the order was given to fire; we did so, but before we could reload I was completely overcome by them, my arms taken from me, and it was with difficulty I made my way into the court-house. The school-room was set on fire by a Rebel, the flames soon caught the court-house; I got through the window and those with me, and went into Mr. Price's house, but this also took fire, and then we had nowhere to go to. I was at the back of the fort, when I got shot in the eye, fell, but was soon up again, when the Rebels came and beat my brother to death; afterwards they turned on me, and beat me with sticks until I appeared to be dead; but at midnight, feeling a little strength, and seeing no one near, I crawled down to the wharf, where I saw a woman who I knew before, and she gave me a place to rest, and I remained with her until Friday, when I got on board a vessel and came to Kingston, and was brought in a cot to this hospital.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. G. Harrison.

J. S. Williams, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Alexander Brown on his oath saith as follows:—

Am a carpenter. I reside at Morant Bay. Am a volunteer of No. 2 company, St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was on duty on the 11th October 1865. Before the mob came on the Parade I was sent out with some others to pick up the straggling volunteers. As we got to the cross roads leading to the rectory we met a mob armed with cutlasses, sticks, and lances; as we were unable to pass we turned down the Wharf road, when we met another mob. They cried out, "The volunteers they have "joined buckra, kill them;" they attacked us, and I was knocked down senseless, my wrist was dislocated, I was severely beat; I came to my senses about 7 o'clock. I was never able to rejoin the volunteers on the Parade. All this happened to me before the mob entered the Parade.

(Signed) Alexander Brown.

Sworn before me this 4th day of January 1866 at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. G. Wait, S.M.

Robert Evans Jones on his oath saith as follows:—

Am boatswain of Morant Bay jail. I was a policeman on the 11th October 1865. I was at the police station when the mob came down from Staunton. I was in the yard at the back when I heard a noise in the station, and ran in. I saw the Rebels in the station taking down the guns and bayonets. There were upwards of 200 of them in the station. I asked them why they were taking down the guns and bayonets. They made me no answer, but three of them, Richard Lake, George Lake, and John Simmonds, the last of whom has been hung, began to beat me. One of them butted me with his head; the others beat me with sticks, and wounded me on the arm with my own bayonet. Some of them ran upstairs, saying, "Let us go and look for the inspector." I made my escape up to Mr. Cooke's. The police station was robbed of the arms by the mob before they went on the Parade, and before the volunteers were attacked. From the Cookes' house I heard the women telling the men to set fire to the court-house. I heard the threatening to burn down Mrs. Lundie's house if she did not give them powder. I saw one of the men, whom I identified before the court-martial, and who has been hung, set fire to the roof of the school-room.

(Signed) Robt. Evans Jones.

Sworn before me this 3rd day of January 1866 at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) W. P. Kirkland, J.P.

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Documents referred to in my letter. (Signed) P. A. ESPEUT,
6th January 1866.

STATEMENT of JOHN STOTHERT GERRARD.

John Stothert Gerrard on oath stateth:—

I am a practitioner in medicine and surgery at Morant Bay.

I was present at the vestry held at Morant Bay on the 11th of October last.

From the riotous behaviour of the black people from Stoney Gut and neighbourhood on the preceding Saturday in the court-house, when certain prisoners were rescued from the police by the mob, and from the circumstances following the attempt of the police to rescue these men at Stoney Gut, where an armed body of men rose against them, handcuffed and otherwise ill-treated them, we all anticipated an outbreak of some kind amongst the negroes.

Furthermore, when we considered that the people's mind had been for some time inflamed by interested demagogues of a certain class, who held meetings at which the Governor, the authorities, and the upper classes generally were denounced, and when we read that at one meeting in particular the negroes "*were advised to do as the Haytiens have done*," we could not but make sure that if an outbreak did occur, it would be of a most sanguinary and merciless character.

In fact, the gentlemen of this parish, fearing the effects of the teaching of Messrs. Gordon, Clark, and Co. on the negro mind, had invited, a few weeks before the massacre, a Mr. Ward, an educated black gentleman, to give a lecture at our court-house against the evil tendencies of such teaching. He was *hissed* and otherwise interrupted by the Clarkes, Bogles, and a man (since hanged) named MacIntosh.

On the day of the massacre nearly every gentleman came down to Morant Bay well armed, for there was an impression on every one's mind that something serious would happen on that day; but, strange to say, only one gentleman, the Baron Alfred Von Ketelholdt did bring his revolver to the court-house; all the other arms had been left in different houses in the Bay. On my way to the Bay I noticed a number of men and women with thick newly-cut sticks sitting along the road, and on inquiring of a market girl (coming into the Bay with provisions) the reason of this, she answered that all the previous night the black people in the mountains were congregating, blowing shells, and, in her own words, "playing the devil," and that they were all coming down to-day to the Bay.

At the vestry everything went on quietly till about 3 o'clock (I must state that the volunteers were under arms in front of the court-house), when we heard a great noise, and on looking out beheld men and women mourning and crying, "They are coming." We furthermore heard a crashing noise in the direction of the police station, blowing of shells, yells, beating of drums, &c. &c., and soon saw at the entrance of the street facing the court-house at least some 300 or 400 people with sticks, armed with bills and spikes, guns and cutlasses. They came nearer and nearer to the court-house, in front of which the volunteers were stationed. The custos was besought by all of us to read the Riot Act; he hesitated, and asked the people what they wanted. There was a howl of defiance given in reply, and brickbats, &c. were hurled at the volunteers.

Captain Hitchins repeated and anxiously asked the custos, "Shall we fire, Sir?" At this time the people were very close to the bayonets of the volunteers, who retired till their backs nearly touched the wall of the court-house.

At length the custos reluctantly gave the word of command, and the volunteers fired on the mob. Several fell, and there was a general melée for a short time; then the Rebels retreated, and some of the volunteers got into the court-house, and others remained on guard. There was then a council held, and several despatches were written to the Governor, the custos of Kingston, and other persons, with the hope that one or other might reach its destination. The Rebels, too, must have had a similar council, as they appeared to have quickly determined as to their next mode of tactics. One party was stationed behind the school-house (adjoining the court-house), which was set on fire; a second on the road behind the court-house leading to the beach, to prevent "the d——d white b——," as they said, from escaping to the boats. (It was on this road the next morning that I saw the remains of the Baron, Mr. Walton, and two volunteers.) Other parties blocked up the chief entrances of the town, the different streets, and in fact established a regular cordon around the town, and murdered or wounded every one who attempted to escape.

There were then in the court-house the two Barons, several magistrates, Captain Hitchins, and other officers and men of the volunteers, the rector with his three sons, the coroner and clerk of the vestry, and other gentlemen, including Dr. Major and myself. The rector and two of his sons managed to get out of the building, one was murdered while making his escape, the other was brutally beaten, but managed to get on board a boat.

The rector himself was assaulted, but got away. All this time rifle bullets were whizzing through every window of the court-house, and several took effect. The next alarm was that the building was on fire, the heat and smoke was unbearable, especially when a great portion of the roof fell in, and we had to retreat to one of the smaller rooms, where the Rebels again fired on us. At length we could hold no longer, and we all jumped out of the last window left, luckily without being fired upon, and got to a house immediately adjoining, where Mr. Price, a black gentleman, lived, and where we found Mr. Georges, Price, and other gentlemen. The Baron then offered to deliver himself up to the mob if they would be content with taking his life, and allow the rest to pass free, and we with difficulty dissuaded him from this course. And now sparks from the court-house had fallen upon the roof of this our last shelter, which quickly caught fire and fell in upon us, the Rebels still occasionally firing into us. Some of their guns appear to have been charged with little stones, which took effect upon the Baron, Mr. Georges, and a few others.

It was time now to leave the house, and we did so, and several of us parted then, never to meet on earth again; I got into an out-office, where I remained for some time. Then commenced those fearful and bloody acts which converted this obscure and quiet town into a very hell. The cries for mercy were even above the rattle of musketry, the savage yells of the women hounding on the men to each new victim discovered, and the heavy thuds of the cutlasses on the bodies of the butchered ones.

Suddenly I heard them crying out for me, "Save the doctors, save Dr. Gerrard, don't kill the doctors, "Dr. Gerrard come out and we will save you." I must confess I felt some relief at these shouts, but it was accompanied with a painful revulsion of long concentrated tension of mental and physical power.

Some other gentlemen had come in where I was concealed, and I could not get out without betraying our hiding place. This I was saved doing, (although now anxious to get out, for it was no longer a place of safety, as the bullets were whistling all about us,) for a black man, now in custody, discovered us and directed the others to fire upon us. They then proceeded to break open the door, when I jumped out and was recognized as the doctor by some around me, and was saved. Two or three of my companions in the out-office were cut away from me, and Captain Hitchins was despatched as he clung to me. I caught a glimpse of him when I came out; his clothes were half torn from his body, which was brutally butchered and profusely bleeding. One man was behind him with a cutlass, and as coolly as if he were chopping wood, hacked him. Seeing some new arrivals, he left poor Hitchins to assist in cutting down the men who were clinging to me. Hitchins crawled up and fell on my shoulders, and his last words, faintly uttered, were "Doctor I am weak, I can't stand," the fiend then returned and finished him.

I got home with the assistance of William Donaldson, one of our servants, about half past nine the same night, not however without being robbed of everything in my pockets. The reason assigned for saving me was that as a lot of their people had been seriously wounded they required my assistance as a surgeon. One fellow said to me, holding a heavy cutlass over my head and bringing it nearer and nearer in his fierce gesticulations, "If you had not been a doctor I would chop you up as we chopped "those others." He also said, "Ha, the Queen don't know what black people can do."

Another fellow wanted to take off my boots and tie me to keep me safe, evidently to take me up to Stoney Gut with them as their surgeon.

On the road going home I must have met about 200 men armed with sticks marching four deep, going down to the Bay; they stopped me until, finding who I was, they bade me good night and told me to take care of myself. The following morning I was sent for by the Rebels to look after their wounded men and cautioned not to attend to the buckras.

When the "Wolverine" came in I then attended all indiscriminately.

In conclusion I must state my candid opinion that if more notice had been taken of Gordon's and Bogle's private (so called) prayer meetings, not only in this but in other parishes, we would better have known the end they wished to arrive at, and the measures they intended to adopt to arrive at that end, and under Providence their wicked designs would have been checked in the bud.

(Signed) JOHN S. GERRARD, M.R.C.S. England,
&c. &c. &c.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of January 1866.
(Signed) P. A. ESPEUT, Custos.

MRS. HERSCHELL to MR. GEORGES.

MY DEAR MR. GEORGES, Port Antonio, January 5, 1866.

IN writing to me you express a wish to know whether I think that the late rebellion was preconcerted: to show you that I decidedly think it was I now only relate to you the following facts. In the month of January 1865 my much lamented husband received a most atrociously abusive and threatening anonymous letter posted from Kingston, which he at the time supposed to be written by one who expected to be raised to an office of responsibility, and which he thought advisable, although he did not apprehend danger, to hand to the Rev. Joseph Williams, in whose possession I believe it still is, in order that some inquiries should be made about it. At the conclusion of this atrocious false letter occurred, as far as I can recollect, the following words:—"You had better pack up and begone, for "there is something looming in the distance *from which you will not* escape and of *which if you were* "*to hear would make your blood run cold.*"

On the 13th day of October last the rebel ringleader Macgregor came up to Potosi, and during his conversation with my servants one of them asked him if they (the Rebels) were going to kill the white ladies. I heard him reply, "No, we are going to kill all the white men, but we are not going "to hurt the ladies." Also, on the evening of the 12th Oct. I sent a cattle-man, William Carey, with a message to the doctor's wife at the Rhine. When he got there, Mr. Laurence Gordon's overseer stopped him, asking him many questions, and after using language too gross to be repeated to me, he said "that he was glad of what had happened; that he expected it, and he hoped the whole family would "be destroyed." Also, on the morning of the 13th Oct., at 3 a.m., a man called Marshall, living in Portland, and 28 miles from Bath, since sentenced to penal labour, was at that time waiting on the roadside, and on seeing a cart pass by, asked if there was any news from St. Thomas-in-the-East, and what it was. After hearing it, he said "he expected it, and was glad to hear of it," &c. I have also heard on good authority that the lamentable outbreak at Morant Bay was premature, and that the plot relating to us was this, that my poor husband, myself, and infant child were all to be murdered at Potosi, and our bodies laid side by side, together with those of our servants, who they said would rather die with their master than be unfaithful to him. As you may wish to make use of these statements, I enclose a certified declaration.

With kind regards,
Believe me, &c.
(Signed) THEODOSIA E. HERSCHELL.

MR. P. ELPHICK to MR. GEORGES.

A WEEK before the massacre a fellow named Dugald Lindsay (shot in the rebellion) called out to our ploughman (Minott—you know him), "Well, Minott, if war come, who you for, buckra or nigger?" Minott answered, "You fool! Man, who this plough for? Who land this? Who cow this? Who "pay me and you too? No buckra. You nigger got anything to give me?"

JAMAICA.
b-Encl. 3.

Sub-Enclosure 3.

STATEMENT of CHARLES MCLEAN, Clerk of the Vestry for St. David.

POLITICAL agitation was always kept up in St. David by Samuel Clarke, and this man invariably taught the people to be insolent and rude to their employers; he attended the courts and caused great mischief by his always rude and overbearing conduct; the people at all times resorted to him for advice and instruction, and of late he was greatly aided and abetted by J. W. Menard, a coloured American. This latter had a debating society in the parish, in which such questions were debated as whether republican or kingly government was best adapted for the good of mankind; whether fire or water was the greater element; the pen or the sword the more able instrument.

Alexander the Great or Peter was the greatest warrior, or did most for the good of mankind.

These two men, Clarke and Menard, aided by others, wrote scurrilous and abusive letters at all times in the "Watchman" newspapers, tending to bring the authorities into disrespect, and they advised the people, when Her Majesty's advice to the people of St. Ann's was published, to pay no attention to the same, and, pointing to the proclamation at the court-house, said "They were lies, red lies, and never "came from Her Majesty."

* * * * * * * * *

At a quarterly meeting of the vestry in St. David, Samuel Clarke requested that Dr. Underhill's letter should be read; this was complied with; the clerk of the vestry after reading the letter said, after all there is very little in the letter; Clarke said there was a great deal, and if the people did not get their rights there must be *bloodshed* and they must fight for it. The clerk remonstrated, and said,—really, your Honour, this is treason.

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Clarke attending the school at Yallahs told the boys (almost all blacks) to persevere with their studies for shortly the Island would be theirs, for nobody could keep it much longer from them.

STATEMENT of R. G. HARRISON.

I HAVE often thought there would be some disturbance in the Plantain Garden River district, and I heard my brother Norman say continually that he expected an outbreak, and that he wished the volunteers would be more attentive to their drill and that more would join; but I never supposed that on the day we were called out that we would have seen such a host of Rebels or expect such deeds to be done. I had several times heard a man named McTarvish say, that he would like to kill every Scotchman in the district, and that there would soon be a war in Jamaica against the white people. The people were very impertinent and would often string across the road, scarcely allowing room to pass, and when you brushed near them for want of space they would abuse one and ask if you wished to mash them, and all that one was able to do was to keep silence and pay no notice to them. I remember that three trash houses, Golden Grove, Hordley, and Duckenfield, were set on fire, which showed bad intentions on the part of the people.

STATEMENT of E. N. HARRISON.

I ONCE heard a man, who my brother told me was named McTarvish and had come into a shop I kept and which was pillaged by the Rebels, say, "He would like to destroy every Scotchman and overseer "about the quarter, and if it was not for the law he would beat them; but never mind, war will soon "be in Jamaica, some day soon."

DEPOSITION of the HON. W P. GEORGES, Custos of St. David.

ABOUT two months before the outbreak a man named Richard Gould came to me to be paid for cleaning some coffee, and on my refusing to pay him, because of the work not having been certified by my overseer, and because, also, it had been improperly performed, he threatened me with a stick, saying, that if he did not get paid at that time he would very easily manage it soon.

INSPECTOR RAMSAY to COLONEL HUNT.

EVERY person who was present in either of the disturbed districts openly expressed themselves that it was a premeditated rebellion, which was organized to exterminate the whites and men of property, and in Kingston to this period it is doubted whether it has ceased.

STATEMENT of the REV. J. W. SLOAN, LL.B., Island Curate of St. Andrew, Golden Grove.

ACCORDING to the experience of the Rev. Wm. Smith, who preceded me, and my own during the sixteen months I lived on the Hill, nothing portable was safe from thieves, no trust could be placed in their most solemn asseverations. During night, goats, turkeys, fowls, and ground provisions were stolen, at break of day cocoa-nut trees were stripped; on Sunday, when it was known no man would be seen on the premises, boys about 14 years of age, entirely naked, used to climb the trees without detection, the servants left in charge finding it difficult to distinguish their persons without any kind of clothing on.

When any black happened to come into my yard and I complained of my loss, the only reply I obtained was, "Massa, everyone is a thief this side." The blacks frequently quarrelled among themselves and would listen to no advice. On one occasion, September 14, 1864, a man and a woman created so great a noise immediately in front of my door that I went and requested them to go away; though they were standing off the path claimed by the negroes across the hill as right of way, and trespassing on my ground, they left off their quarrel, drew their knives, and threatened to stab me. I declined turning from them until they should pass out of my gate, a distance from the spot of about

300 yards. During their progress the man twice tried to trip me over a deep gully, striking me swinging blows on the chest, with his left hand prepared to lunge with his knife if I attempted to close with him. I was unarmed, and to provoke me to strike him, he at last struck me in the mouth with his fist. I called my servant, but he refused to interfere or to tell me the names of my assailants. After hearing for several days a call, "Parson, come out and fight," the affair ended.

* * * * * * * * *

Frequent meetings were held at night, and when the moon was up continued until two or three in the morning. I do not know the nature of the meetings. There was sometimes much loud singing of hymn tunes, at other times beating of drums, and what appeared to be very remarkable, playing on a fife of some quick simple tune very near to our house, the player not beginning until past 12 o'clock, and continuing for perhaps a couple of hours on the same spot. No one could explain the affair; and since the rebellion has occurred the suspicion I have is, there was some secret meeting being held either for the purpose of conference or drilling on the land, portion of my ground.

* * * * * * * * *

For the following reason I believe the rebellious spirit was general and the outbreak in this district part of a general plan. I remained with my wife at Stoakes Hall house the whole time the rebellion was going forward, witnessing the movements and hearing the words of the Rebels from Thursday mid-day until about 2 p.m. on Saturday, when the military arrived and escorted us to the gunboat "Onyx." Our house was not attacked during this period though the Rebels passed laden with plunder within 20 yards of our windows, and some actually came between our house and the kitchen in order to cut the road short to Springfield. They, women and children, did not go along in haste as if they were ashamed of what they were doing, but leisurely, laughing and apparently joking, marching in files of from twenty to a hundred.

The signal came from Morant Bay, when it reached Plantain Garden River, only a few hours after the massacre of the whites at Morant Bay, it was understood by a certain party, a council of war was held by the Rebels on the meadow between Bachelor's Hall and the river, and the attack planned.

The period chosen was one when the blacks were not at work and could not be got together without previous secret information, yet the Golden Grove mob numbered about 800, I believe. Our market-day is on Saturday.

* * * * * * * * *

The strategic occupation of all the outlets from the P. G. river district, at seven o'clock on Thursday morning, October 12th. Rebel sentinels held the roads leading to Bath, questioning all passengers and allowing no one to proceed beyond Bath. My servant was permitted to go so far as Bath, and return unharmed. Dr. Crundy's servant was compelled to return on entering Bath, because he was proceeding to Morant Bay.

The Rebels on their first attack passed by some estates and proceeded to the store of Mr. Javares, Golden Grove, a white Jew, who had been only a few months in the district, and had rather benefited the negroes than otherwise, by selling his goods at a lower rate than charged at other stores in the vicinity. Then they attacked a little store belonging to E. N. Harrison, a volunteer. I was informed by E. N. Harrison, on the testimony of the woman tending the store at the moment of the outbreak, that the attack on his store was begun by his immediate neighbours, who are the Baptists previously alluded to as refusing me water, and soon after taken up by the general mob.

The control the Rebel leaders appeared to have over the excited mob. Cane fields, sugar works, were uninjured—not a match was applied to any building, excepting a fruitless attempt on Friday night, October 13th, to fire Amity Hall great house, which may have been done to consume the dead body of Mr. Hire, either to conceal the deed or from superstitious notion. Cattle were driven to pasture on Thursday evening.

The moment a place was known to be without defenders it was pillaged by the female relatives and friends of the Rebels, who could scarcely think of enjoying the produce of robbery, unless secured by a successful rebellion, and the property was brought back only when the scheme proved a failure.

The feeling of confidence all the blacks appeared to have in each other, and their unity—rare qualities among negroes—their war cry was "colour to colour." They aimed at the destruction of the whites simply because they are white. We heard rebels calling out beneath our windows "All buckras "must be killed."

Inspector Nairn to Mr. Myers.

I beg to state that I am of opinion that the late outbreak at Morant Bay was local and predetermined in that district. Because the resolutions passed at the Underhill meeting, at Morant Bay Courtyard, previous to the outbreak by the late Mr. G. W. Gordon and his coadjutors, Paul Bogle and others, as reported in the "Watchman" newspaper, furnish abundant proofs that the outbreak was predetermined and deliberately developed itself on the fatal day, 11th October 1865.

Inspector Mitchell to Mr. Myers.

I am aware that a number of men assembled several times at Deeside shortly before the rebellion for the purpose of being instructed in the rifle drill; these assemblies being unlawful, were on the report of the same by the police prohibited.

Inspector Palache, of Manchester, to Mr. Myers.

I have every reason to believe that disaffection and seditious feeling extended even into this parish, because it was brought to my knowledge by the land surveyor, Mr. Angell, that a property near Mandeville, called "Caledonia," which was for sale in lots, and for years previously was much sought after by the settlers, was entirely neglected, and people were heard to say they would not buy, for they should soon get land for nothing.

The Rev. J. H. Moore, LL.D., Rector of St. Mary, to Mr. Myers.

I am not of opinion that the rebellion was systematically organized in *every* parish of the island, nor think that it was *only local*, but this I believe, that in many parishes it was systematically organized, and that had they been able to have brought their evil machination to maturity, they would have easily carried with them the other inorganized parishes, which might be more or less previously prepared, or more or less decided on the cause or side they should take.

Mr. J. G. Sawkins, Director of the West India Geological Survey, to Mr. Myers.

I beg to state that from conversations I had with the much lamented Baron Von Ketelholdt, a rising of the negroes in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East was feared by him, after the anticipated disturbance that called the attention of the Government to the western parishes in August last, since which rumours and acts have justified a belief in some subtile movement among the negroes, that had for its object the destruction of the white population.

Statement of Mr. Harrison, Attorney of Hordley Estate.

Mr. Henry Ford, of Kingston, told me that the sale of gunpowder in his branch store at Bath had been unusual just before the rebellion, so much so that his stock was all but exhausted, and fortunately the Rebels got little or none on their entry into Bath and search in his store.

Statement of Charles M. Kirkland.

I also heard, on one occasion, some people who came into the shop at Manchioneal Bay say that "You "won't sell us the goods now cheap, but bye-and-bye we will take them for nothing." This was about two months before the rebellion, say in August last. On the 12th and 13th of October last all my shops were pillaged of their contents and partly destroyed, which has completely ruined me, causing me a loss of 1,000*l.* in stock and over 100*l.* in book debts, my books and papers being burnt.

Statement of John Wilson.

I saw Lucre coming from Duckenfield, I said to him, John Lucre, I hear you warrior swear to kill me. He replied, Yes, I hear them say so myself. I said, I don't know what I have done to these people. He said, What Mr. Hire say you say, and you Mr. Hire favourite. I said, I only do my duty; and I again said, When you kill all the white people what are you going to do with the cane and estate. He said, All we will make sugar of it and share it amongst ourselves. We never mind about the ship.

Statement of Joseph Rose.

A month before the rebellion Charles Farmer told me "he had seen blood sprinkled at Bell Castle "Chapel, Manchioneal," and that was a sign there was going to be a row soon. I said, Nonsense, man, you talk foolish; he replied, You river people are too afraid of white people. There's letter going and letter coming, and the Queen order that it is time for every black man to look out for himself. Charles Farmer is an owner of land at Jericho, near Hanning. I believe at least he lives there if he has not done paying for it. He is a married man, a member of Belle Castle Baptist Chapel under Mr. Harris. He can read, and often said he would make a better preacher than Mr. Harris. He was hung for being one of the mnrderers of Mr. Hire.

A few days after the rebellion I heard John Pringle Afflick say it was lucky for the whites the war broke out at Morant Bay, as the blacks were waiting for Circuit Court at Bath on the 18th or 19th October, when all the white folks from Port Antonio side and Morant Bay side would be in Bath and they would burn the court-house and kill all the white and coloured people. It was the best place and time, as few buckras would be left at home. John Pringle Afflick is a black man, married; he is a member of Mr. Harris' Baptist Chapel at Belle Castle; he has several children grown up; he owned lands at Jericho, near Hanning, and had three horses and a donkey. He was hung for trying to cut Mr. Phillip's throat, a black man, for not telling him where Mr. Harrison was; he was a leader of the Rebels at Manchioneal, going from house to house telling people to turn out in rebellion. He rode his own horse and threatened those who did not turn out that he would have their heads cut off bye-and-bye.

A David Fuller—a yellow skin black man—was heard by me during the rebellion to say that they would kill all the buckras; there was plenty of black boy could read and write now and manage the estate, they would cut the canes and make sugar themselves and get what they wanted by ships from England.

He has been hiding the last 9 or 10 weeks, but was found last week in the high mountains by the Maroons, and is now in custody for rebellion and robbery; he goes to Harris' Baptist Church at Belle Castle; he used to be a member but is no regular one now.

Mr. Reid, the saddler, told me, as a constable, that William Troop, a black man of Grange Hill estate, said at the night of Mr. Hire's murder, the day after the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay, "Burn "down the house, we don't want this house; works house of use." I am order to take charge of Amity Hall and cut the canes next week. We will find our own book-keeper, and you black nigger that don't join me, when we done killing buckra we will kill you and make your wife and children slaves.

He was one of the folks assisting to kill Mr. Crichton and Mr. Jackson, and kept calling out "Buckra "blood must be shed, buckra blood must be shed." He has since been hung for rebellion and murder.

The Rev. J. S. Woollett, Roman Catholic Priest and Chaplain to the Troops, to Mr. Myers.

I think the following facts will go to show that this spirit of disturbance was general before the late rebellion. About June last I was at *Pisgah*, a large settlement of brown people principally. They told me that they were afraid to plant as they had heard the black people intended to rise. I thinking it nonsense, persuaded them to plant as usual. This *Pisgah* is high up in the hills, where the parishes of Westmoreland and St. James, Hanover, and St. Elizabeth, meet.

Deposition of James Foster, a Rural Constable.

After this, Colonel Bine, as he was called, said they must kill us because the white people will know what they were doing up there ; he ordered the shell to blow and the men to go to drill; three gangs turned out with sticks, cutlasses, and lances, and three guns. At this time the drums were playing and shells blowing. I saw seven men go into Paul Bogle's room, they all had cutlasses. Paul Bogle spoke to the men in a language I did not understand. The men then took the oath. They kissed a large book, the Bible. Paul Bogle gave each of them a dram of rum and gunpowder which they drank. I saw the rum and powder mixed myself in a large bottle. Bogle ordered something for me to eat.

Jamaica, ss.

I certify that I was on Golden Grove when the Rebels from Morant Bay, associated with others from the district, attacked Golden Grove and drove away the overseer and book-keepers, who fled for their lives. I was ill and unable to escape, was therefore kept a prisoner by them; was present when they destroyed or stole away everything from the overseer's house and book-keepers' barracks; they frequently demanded of me where Mr. Chisholm, the overseer, was, declaring they were determined to catch and kill him, they also threatened to kill me if I did not tell. One man, James McKenzie, went so far as to draw his cutlass across my throat. While this was going on a party of them crossed over and entered the store and spirit room of the great house; others, observing this, cried out, Let us go and destroy the great house, when some of them, apparently those who had come up from Morant Bay, called to them and made them desist as well as leave everything there untouched, saying that the house and contents was wanted for General Paul Bogle ; they immediately left, leaving Golden Grove House untouched. From thence they went to Amity Hall, where they destroyed the overseer and book-keepers' houses as well as the great house, and murdered Mr. Augustus Hire the attorney of that estate, and left for dead Messrs. Crichton, Stipendiary Justice Jackson, and young Mr. Hire, they having been severely beaten and chopped with cutlasses. There are others who can corroborate my statement. I ultimately escaped through the woods to the sea.

(Signed) John M. Mais,
Late a book-keeper on Golden Grove.

Read, approven of, signed in my presence,
(Signed) W. G. Astwood,
Captain, Kingston Volunteer Troop.

Mr. Coke to Mr. Myers.

Dear Sir,

Finding copies of the statement of William Coley in the possession of the magistrates that committed the prisoner, I forward same and trust they may be in time to forward per packet.

Yours truly,
January 6th, 1866. (Signed) W. H. Coke.

If you require the originals please write by return of post, and they shall be procured and forwarded. The man Coley I find belonged to the 5th West India, not the 1st.

Jamaica, ss., St. Elizabeth.

I, William Coley, deserter from Her Majesty's 1st West India Regiment, was on duty with my commanding officer, Lieut. Bates, in Vere, when I deserted about June last, since then I have been four months at Appleton, and the last two months at Roses Valley in the district of Oxford estate, at the house of one Mrs. Louisa Wilmott. Since the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, one Archibald McLeish in the district of Roses Valley, and Joe Davy of Evergreen district, have been and are still in the habit of holding midnight meetings from 6 o'clock p.m. to 6 o'clock a.m. at the house of William Chambers, where one Joe Davy kept guard ; they asked me if I was a soldier, and whether I would join and drill them ; I refused, on which they threatened to report me. I reclined outside the house, and heard William Chambers say that they must make haste and get powder and guns, and those that had no guns must bring matchets, that they must go down and burn Mr. Coke's works at Oxford and shoot him ; that he would keep his Bible in his hand, and when the buckras took him he would swear that it was the Bible he was reading. I recognized at the meeting Charles Farquharson and his wife, William Mackintosh Farquharson and his wife, Crofton Cumings, Albert and Henry Cumings, William Forster, and Sarah Cumings, and one man called Papy Hall, besides a good many others that I do not know ; they agreed to commence the first day of Christmas, and as soon as they fired the works they were all to come out and with their guns and matchets, and take everything out of Mr. Kerr's shop, for he was not selling good to them, and Charles Farquharson said that whenever anything took place they would go to the Bushman. I, William Coley, make oath and state all the above to be truth. So help me God.

his
(Signed) William × Coley.
mark.

Sworn before us this 27th November 1865.
(Signed) W. H. Coke, J.P.
John E. Kerr, J.P.

The above statement was again sworn to before J. Sawyers, Esq., of Manchester, on the 26th December 1865, said statement having been read to him.

JAMAICA. JAMAICA, ss., ST. ELIZABETH.

I, WILLIAM COLEY, deserter from the 1st West India Regiment, further make oath and state that at the house of Archibald MacLeish in the district of Roses Valley, where I went to attend a meeting, supposing it to be a prayer meeting, I found the door shut, and sitting down outside, I heard Archibald MacLeish holding a meeting, and saying that he was going to town to buy powder and arms to bring them down and hide them at a place called Thatchwalk, that they must all throw up to buy the powder; they wanted a puncheon; that they would rise the first day of Christmas, and shoot all the buckras, that they would come down when William Chambers and his party came from Evergreen and meet together at a place called Bell Hill in front of Oxford house. I also saw a lot of bows and arrows in a heap in a corner of the house, and I heard him say that when they had killed the buckras they would all go to the shop and drink and make merry. I saw there, at Archibald MacLeish's house, William Coley and his wife, George Maitland and his wife, Mary White, and very many others who I could not recognize, as directly I refused to join them, they raised upon me with sticks and drove me down the hill.

Archibald MacLeish saw me on Saturday, the 18th November, at Boyne Store Market, asked me to join him, and on my refusing threatened to report me as a deserter. So help me God.

his
WILLIAM × COLEY.
mark.

Sworn before us this 27th November 1865.
(Signed) W. H. COKE, J.P.
27th November 1865.
(Signed) JOHN E. KERR, J.P.

The above statement was again sworn to before W. H. Coke, Esq., of Saint Elizabeth, on the 26th December 1865, said statement having been carefully read to the said William Coley.

We certify the accompanying statements to be true copies of the original documents.
(Signed) W. H. COKE, J.P.
6th January 1866. (Signed) JOHN LAWERS, J.P.

MR. STONE to MR. AIREY.

DEAR SIR, Clifton House, St. Elizabeth, January 4, 1866.

I AM in receipt of your favour of 30th ult., requesting me to state the substance of our conversation when I last saw you in Kingston.

I conduct a store for S. J. Manley, at Newcastle, in this parish, and during the months of August and September my sales were not one half of the previous year; I could not by any way account for it. On my showing the people sundry articles of cotton goods I repeatedly remarked their speech, viz., "We are not going to make buckra make us a fool, we are not going to buy goods now, we will soon "get them for nothing, you stop and see if we don't."

On one occasion a coloured man had a quarrel in the store with a negro, who said that all the coloured and white people days would soon be over, they should not rule the country any longer.

Trusting this will be satisfactory,

I remain, &c.
G. S. Airey, Esq., Kingston, P.O. (Signed) SAMUEL C. STONE.

HONOURED SIR, Golden Spring Post Office, January 16, 1866.

IN reply to your communication bearing date January 4th, permit me to state, for the information of your Honourable Board of Executive Committee, that with regard to the late wicked insurrection in this Island, the district of Mount James, of which I am the curate, continued as quiet and orderly during that awful time as though no such event had occurred—with two exceptions.

One was the case of a man who was "catted" for uttering—and reiterating the utterance of—vile, seditious language, publicly, unprovoked, and after much remonstrance.

The other, the case of a man who was "catted" for wickedly uttering a perjury against his neighbour, it appeared with a determination to get him hanged and his property confiscated; but I, having on application given the accused a good character, and offered myself to be responsible for his behaviour, the accuser was taken in the snare he had laid for his neighbour.

The quietude of my district during the general commotion which prevailed around it I now attribute, as I also did some time last year in a communication to your Honourable Board, when hints and expressions of disaffection were numerous, and to my thinking alarmingly flagrant, in the columns of some of printed papers—under the Divine blessing, to the right earnest and hearty stirring up of my people to their sense of Christian duty, by the holding of Missionary and other meetings among them.

Still it deserves to be observed that during the insurrection there appeared to be an impression far and wide that an imminent revolution of our affairs was at hand, so much so, it was often discoursed among the people with whom I conversed, as to what they would have to do in the event of a triumphing number of rebels coming through the district with fire and sword. I heard it asserted that many,—like what is said to have occurred among the labourers on Hordly estate, St. Thomas East,—would be on the side of law and order, yet even these did not presume to believe their influence would be sufficient to prevent the inevitable revolution, which was at times regarded as all but accomplished, however much they wished the course of events to be otherwise, or might deplore the extermination of the fair portion and the loyal of every grade, or "*the driving* of the *whites* into the sea."

The following conversation which occurred (its substance taken from my notes) between one of the most energetic, enterprising, and extensive resident proprietors, and one of his most trustworthy

labourers may be given as illustrative of the case in point. I ought also, perhaps, to mention that the proprietor referred to is an Englishman, of respectable connexions, a large family rising about him, with means and business talents sufficient to keep them in England, but lives in Jamaica for the benefit of his health. He said to the labourer, "F——, what will you do in case your people get the upper "hand and take the country for yourselves, and myself and family, and all the loyal people, the fair "population and whites, are driven away?"

F—— answered, "Well, massa, I must tell the truth. Massa I couldn't fight against my own colour, "under such circumstances we would all be obliged to submit; but I hope it won't come so, I should "be sorry to see white people, massa, missus, pickninnies, driven away."

The proprietor again asked,—"And who would take the property and live here?"

F—— replied, "J. W., but then we will all take what we want, and consider everything ours as much "as his; then there will surely come a big quarrelling, so it is better for us to have the white people." He might well say so, as another circumstance clearly will show. He is a man who is in constant employment, and receives many kindnesses, and good, certain payments of every shilling he works for. Well, not very long ago a sum of money was required to pay off the working people, and this same man offered to let the overseer, an honest hard-working Scotchman, well known for his integrity, the sum, I think, of 20*l.* on one condition, viz., that it should be returned to him again all in silver.

I will only add here that I had seen the said proprietor's wife about the time of the breaking out of the insurrection looking as well as any lady I had seen anywhere, but e'er it was over in so pitiable a condition of ill health that her husband had to send her at once to London; and her sister, who went to meet her, did not know her when she arrived there.

This family, I believe, did as many others, locked up everything that was valuable, and made arrangements as best they could for a flight, which flight was to have been in the direction of Newcastle, and would assuredly have taken place but for the timely suppression of the rebellion; indeed it is asserted, and I believe with the most absolute certainty, by all the respectable people with whom I have conversed on this *sad subject*, that the coloured and white, the loyal population of this island, would have had very few to relate it but for the energy and promptitude of Governor Eyre.

Were I to relate all the sufferings of a lady in a far distant mountain residence from town, watching by the bedside of a husband tortured with the pains of a chronic disease, with several little children around her, and, with the exception of an aged Scotch couple and a faithful coloured young woman or so, as a nurse—all besides being negroes about her—the various additional expenses entailed on them, &c., no one would be surprised at hearing such persons declaring their determination to realize what they could for their property, and be off to some other country where *British protection* will be afforded, nor at their friends for advising them to leave Jamaica unless this is secured to them for the future.

Were I to relate all that took place at Golden Spring, or at Temple Hall, the residences of white families, there could be but this one inference, that the impression at the time clearly was this—that there was an imminent revolution of our social and political system at hand. Those at Temple Hall were threatened, and fled to town. Those at Golden Spring, numbering about three males and eight or nine females (one of each sex pronounced dangerously ill, and but little hope entertained of recovery), were *part* in Kingston, the remainder at Golden Spring, from which the master of the house had frequently to be absent on business, while the going to and fro, night and day, through their premises, the utterance of wild shouts from persons passing the high road near by, kept the inmates in the most painful excitement and alarm; but much as I could write of the additional expense and suffering of this interesting and numerous hard-working English family, I will only now add they speak with gratitude to God and Governor Eyre for their timely deliverance.

As I inferred from my actual knowledge of the geographical position of St. Thomas-in-the-East, with regard to my own district of Mount James, and the position of my house near Stony Hill Barracks, the rebels were not likely to take so foolish a route. I remained at all times at home or going from house to house, or writing letters of encouragement to Christian friends, chiefly ladies, in Portland, Falmouth, and Montego Bay, &c., &c., or in answering queries orally and by writing. I could say much more than is here enclosed, but want of health will not admit of my doing so. Moreover I must not forget that I am writing for men who will have to go through a vast number of important communications on this sad subject. I shall therefore make such use of my memoranda as I hope will fortify the members of our Government with some salient points, to answer those who, through mistake or otherwise, are inclined "to learn the wicked art of making the worse appear the better part," "putting darkness for light, and light for darkness," "drawing iniquity with cart ropes."

The following extract from a letter, dated St. Christopher's, Oct. 16, 1865, served to convince me that the consternation was widely spread to the whites in the quietest districts:—

"DEAR SIR,—Can you tell me what the feeling is at Stony Hill? We hear all the people at Halfway Tree are going into town. We have just had letters *intreating* us to go down. I have confidence in my own people, and don't feel disposed to move; only two ladies and five children are not easily moved when danger is nigh. . . . We are very solitary here. . . . "

I replied, giving a list of not less than a dozen families who had passed my house on their flight to town, "and now, while I am writing, the Rev. Mr. E. has called to admonish me that the rebels are advancing. He and his family are off." "But wherefore should such a man as I flee?" I believe the rebels would not take this route, and that we are (sub Deo) therefore safe, &c., &c. To-morrow or next day I shall ride over to see you, unless I hear you are from home."

Yet after writing in the foregoing strain I often felt much depressed, particularly after a conversation I had with a person whom I had seen in the company of one who was taken into custody during the rebellion. I understood him to assert that the people would rise and become insurgents in every place should those in St. Thomas-in-the-East and Portland be victorious. When the news arrived of the Rebels' reverses, and that the Rev. Mr. R. was taken up, this person quitted the neighbourhood until the termination of martial law.

Another young man of considerable respectability, and of whose veracity I have many of the strongest reasons to entertain the fullest confidence, assured me that he had been threatened some time previous

to the insurrection as one of those who should suffer, for asserting that his countrymen are not oppressed. This threatener was also apprehended, I believe, during the insurrection, but is now out on bail.

I would now observe in conclusion:—

1. That the people of Mount James are perhaps, as a whole, as quiet and well disposed as any in Jamaica. Yet I must observe that, on account of a few evil disposed ones, *I have* many a difficulty in the management of them. Some time ago a number of the "Watchman" was forwarded to me, with a paragraph marked for my perusal; but as it was an infamous fabrication in a well-known scandalous print, I laughed it to scorn, and the fabricator disowned it. I have returned him over and over good for evil, but, true to his wicked principles, he has again and again endeavoured to raise up evil against me, having boasted of the ruin of my predecessor, and his determination to "*cock me off also.*"

2. That previous to the rebellion there had been a great falling off among my people from attendance upon the means of grace, and on several occasions I observed that at this man's house, and others of his class, there were large gatherings on those Sabbaths. When the insurrection broke out this man took himself and his family away until the termination of martial law.

The congregations are much larger now than before the insurrection, but I have had opportunity to see that there still exists a mischievous inclination among the same few, and one who prides himself not a little upon his knowledge of our people asserted in my hearing that they never for one moment imagined that they could be so made amenable to law as they had been during the insurrection, but, now that they do know it, it makes a vast difference.

Basing my inferences on such premises as the foregoing facts, and other like ones—on the unmistakable mischievous tendency of such things as appeared in some of the daily papers, the reports of meetings held in different places, &c.,—I am of opinion that the insurrection was most clearly brought about by persons who instigated the poor people of St. Thomas-in-the-East. That there was an *improper organization made* for the overthrow of the Government; that it existed, as I believe, in many minds, but had not the power of becoming sufficiently developed to secure its success; that there *are* some persons in my own district who were aware beforehand of the coming *outbreak*, and are always inclined for mischief and disaffection, *and such persons may be found, more or less, all over Jamaica.*

I sincerely bear my willing testimony to the excellent conduct of my people, and have ever kept uttering a warning voice against their shortcomings, and as well words of encouragement to woo and keep them to the right way. I earnestly deplore that so much blood has been shed, but I fear this has been also fearfully exaggerated. I rejoice it was no greater; and I most heartily pray that the broad shield of Omnipotence shall be Governor Eyre's protection, and that our most Gracious Queen will reward him.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq. (Signed) Achn. Findlay, I. Curate.

Mr. Lawson to Mr. Myers.

Sir, Hampden, St. James', January 11, 1866.

I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your "Circular" No. 2,294, dated 28th December 1865.

Soon after the publication of the letter of Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply to the petition of persons in St. Ann's, a printed copy of it was sent to me, and I explained its contents to the people working on my property. A few of them listened to me, while others were indifferent, and I heard afterwards that the negroes did not believe that it emanated from the British Government; indeed I was informed by a gentleman that some of them had asked him if it did, as they had been told that it was made up in Spanish Town; but I cannot say that I observed a seditious spirit among the peasantry of the district—the eastern part of St. James—in which I live. Serious apprehensions, however, were entertained by the inhabitants of Montego Bay, in the months of July and August last, that there was a strong desire on the part of persons, known, it would seem, to others, but who would not disclose their names, to destroy property in that town by fire on the first of the last-mentioned month; and Her Majesty's ship "Cadmus" having been sent there at that time to protect it, there is no doubt that the custos brought the matter before the notice of the Governor. I would also beg to refer now to anonymous letters which were sent about the same time to Messrs. G. L. Phillips and Brothers, and to Mr. Edwin Aarons, copies of which I have already had the honour of forwarding to the Governor's secretary, to be laid before his Excellency. These gentlemen have their places of business in Montego Bay, and notwithstanding the warning given, incendiarism was effected on that of Mr. Aarons on the morning of the 22nd ultimo, and it was to the stillness of the air then that we are indebted for the fire having been kept within a narrow limit. Had it been otherwise, it is impossible to say, considering the materials of which the houses are built, and their proximity to each other, where it would have ended.

It is very often difficult to discern the feelings and purposes of the negro. There are many of them whose dispositions are quiet and peaceable, but the great majority are either unsteady or dissolute in their habits, and prone to excesses. Upon the eruption of the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, some in this quarter expressed surprise at it, and wished to know what the insurgents wanted; while others were silent, yet did not appear to be unconcerned.

The prompt and energetic measures taken to suppress it, and the executions of Geo. W. Gordon and Paul Bogle, seemed to induce a general calm as it were; but I am of opinion that the hope of obtaining, per force, enjoyments of which they do not form a correct idea, would soon have caused those who are excitable to give themselves up to violent and evil passions, had the insurrection spread into the adjacent parishes, instead of being checked at the time it was.

The seditious spirit which existed in St. Thomas-in-the-East I now suspect was not confined thereto when it burst into open rebellion, and in support of this statement I would allude to the language of a negro man (Joseph Hilton) in the market of the village of Dee side, in Trelawney, in the early part

of November, and for which he was arrested by a policeman (Stewart) of that parish, and taken to Falmouth. He was disorderly, and being directed to be quiet, he, as I was told by the policeman, said, "You policeman, you constantly making fun. War is yonder, and will soon come here too; if "you take me up, when I come back I will put fire to *Deeside*. My skin is tiger skin—bullet can't "go through it. My father's name is when sun down—moon rise; speaking of his mother-in-law, he said "Old lady, you don't speak to them, me one can stand before a hundred of them with gun." I would also adduce, upon the information of the clerk of the peace for St. James, the cases of two men, who soon after this time were convicted at the Circuit Court, held at Montego Bay, before one of the Judges, for seditious language having reference to the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and of two others for similar offences at the Circuit Court of the neighbouring parish of Trelawney, held in Falmouth the following week.

A public meeting was held at Montego Bay in May last. I did not attend it, but I wrote to Mr. Kerr, of Orange Valley, in Trelawney, and to Mr. Septimus Barrett, of Cinnamon Hill, in this parish, and conversed with Dr. Kelly, of Montego Bay, about it, they having been at it. Mr. Kerr replied, "I was present at a meeting held at Montego Bay on the 19th May 1865, I believe "originally got up to consider Dr. Underhill's letter; but Mr. Wellesly Bourke having issued "circulars to a great extent in Trelawney as well as St. James, requesting the attendance of all "interested in property, I, with several others, attended. The court-house at Montego Bay was "literally packed with black people, with the exception of a small space as the platform. The custos "presided, and opened the meeting. Mr. Wellesly Bourke followed with his address, commenting on the "taxation, House of Assembly, Government, &c., and proposed a set of resolutions, which were adopted "eventually, I believe. The Rev. Mr. Hewitt next spoke, beginning with the great poverty of the country, "the heavy taxes on their land, stock, food, &c. The Established Church and immigration were forcibly "pointed out as the chief causes of this; and his address was so inflammatory and interspersed with such "mis-statements that I loudly expressed my disapproval and left the meeting. I firmly believe at the "time that this meeting, and the many seditious articles published then and since in the "County Union," "would result in mischief." Mr. Barrett wrote—"I can only say that I was present at the meeting "referred to at Montego Bay, but I heard no language made use of on that occasion of an "inflammatory character in the legal acceptation of the word. I certainly thought the speeches were "mischievous in their tendencies. They told the people their wages were too low, and but ill paid, "and that in point of fact they were very badly treated."

Dr. Kelly mentioned to me that the custos on taking the chair said he only did so to preserve order, and that he did not believe the assertions in Dr. Underhill's letter. He also said that Mr. Kerr left the meeting, saying No, no, when Mr. Hewitt was endeavouring to induce the black people to believe that they are the persons who are paying for the importation of immigrants.

I would also observe that I have heard that both Mr. Geo. W. Gordon and Dr. Bruce went to Montego Bay soon after this meeting; the former ostensibly to give a lecture on education, but it is strange he did not even appear in the room; a Mr. Crole delivered it. Dr. Bruce remained in the town a few days, and spent his time in the house, according to report of Mr. Levein, the editor of the "County Union" newspaper.

Mr. Gordon paid a second visit a very short time before the outbreak, and this it is said was a very secret one. He arrived at night, slept at a private house, and left by daylight the next morning.

Similar uneasiness to that felt in July and August prevailed amongst the upper classes of Montego Bay during the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, but the arrest of *Levein* produced a decided effect; a state of entire quietude amongst the lower order, which gave confidence to the upper, followed it. The attempts however which were made to burn it just before and during the holidays together with the indifference of the black men on the first occasion (referred to in my letter of the 2nd instant), mark the spirit which lurks there.

Referring to the disposition of the "black population generally, as regards the late rebellion," I would say that from the middle of last month until about a week ago I heard them say very little about it, and that in terms of disapproval; but to a very few only have I spoken on the subject. I am inclined to think that they would work peaceably, if left to themselves; but within the last-mentioned time an agitation has been got up which is calculated to do much mischief. Many of the negroes believe that Governor Eyre is recalled to England to be punished, even to the extent of his life; and threats are held out that if addresses be sent to him, the negroes will be called together, although it is the time for making sugar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. M. LAWSON,
Sen. Mag., St. James'.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Sec. Ex-Committee.

Inspector FLETCHER to Mr. MYERS.

SIR, Chapelton, January 15, 1866.

IN answer to your letter of date 1st January 1866, No. 2,311, requesting to be informed as to the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether the seditious spirit of that disturbance was *local* or *general*, I have to report:—

1st. I feel fully assured that the disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and the savage brutalities of the negro fiends enacted there, were not accidental occurrences, dictated by thoughts of the moment, but a deliberate movement planned long before, having for its object the annihilation of the white and coloured races, and the division of their lands and property among the black people.

2nd. I am further of opinion, and the intentions of the negroes in this respect were too well known and too openly expressed to admit of a doubt as to the correctness of the statement, that a further object of the rebellion on their part was, after dividing the properties of the light coloured races among them, and the completion of wholesale slaughter of the men, to possess themselves of the persons

of the wives and daughters of their victims, with the view of making them submit to a fate worse than death itself.

3rd. I understand that the parish of Vere can furnish abundant proof as to the teachings there of the traitor G. W. Gordon, and of the seditious spirit of the lower orders in consequence of such teachings.

4th. About the time of the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East an attempt was made to set fire to the Chapelton court-house by kerosine oil and matches flung in through a hole in the shutter of one of the windows, and at the same time a piece of paper writing was found in the vicinity of the court-house, in which was written something about "the brave champions of the St. Thomas-in-the-East," *and their deeds.*

5th. I have no doubt whatever that the seditious spirit existed in every part of the island, and doubtless still exists; and that it is to the precipitancy of Paul Bogle and his hundreds of followers in the first instance, and the rapidly following retributions inflicted on them by the naval and military authorities in the second, that must be ascribed our present apparent safety.

6th. As a further proof of the existence of sedition in other parishes than St. Thomas-in-the-East, I would mention that a very decent black man, by name Kipping, living near Author's Seat Church in this parish, stated publicly in a store at Chapelton, in the hearing of several gentlemen, that he heard black people some time ago in the parish talking of their soon being "free, and that the lands would "soon be divided." Kipping stated that at the time he did not understand the meaning of such expressions, but that he sees their meaning now.

7th. I understand that Mr. Charles W. H. Hall, a magistrate of this parish, overheard a conversation among negroes in the cane field at Seven Plantations Estate, the purport of which was that the people of Clarendon ought to break out, and that they knew whose head would first be taken off. One man said that in such a case he must have Busha's black mare. I adduced this simply as a proof that this parish was not at the time of the rebellion entirely free from seditious thoughts and feelings.

8th. It is *generally stated and believed in fully by all* that an intended slaughter of the white and coloured inhabitants of the Island was to have been carried out on Christmas eve; I cannot, however, bring forward any evidence in support of this wide-spread opinion.

9th. I have stated that I fully believe that the seditious teachings of the late G. W. Gordon in St. Thomas-in-the-East, Vere, and other parishes, and the speeches of himself and others at meetings of the black people, led to the rebellion.

10th. The black people in Vere and other places were fully under the belief that the Queen had sent out money for them, but that it had been kept back by the whites, who had written, as they openly said, lies to the Queen about them.

11th. The people of this parish (Clarendon) are, generally speaking, peaceably disposed, but the same spirit of idleness, indolence, and immorality exist here as in other parts of Jamaica.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Ex. Committee.

(Signed) W. J. Fletcher,
Inspector of Police Clarendon and Vere.

My dear Sir, Gayle, P. O., January 19, 1866.

I think this is a time when every loyal and right-thinking man in the country should rally round the Governor and give him every support.

I was talking with Mr. Gyles, proprietor of "Recess" property in St. Thomas Vale, a few days ago, and asking him what he thought of the late rebellion, whether he was of opinion the spirit of sedition was local or general?

"General," said he, "and if the Governor had not checked it as he did, we should have been all "butchered." He then related to me the following fact, that a short time before the rebellion in the east several parties made application to him to rent some of his wood-lands, and that upon his telling them he did not intend to hire out any portion of his property, they said to him in the most cool and daring manner, "Mr. Gyles, you won't rent us your land now, but we tell you the time is soon coming "when we will take it before your face and won't ask you leave, and you won't be able to help "yourself."

I will not say that these were the exact words Mr. Gyles spoke, but he used words to that effect. He is quite willing to make a formal statement if required.

Now, I write to ask you if you think this fact will strengthen Mr. Eyre's hands, and if so, in what way I can best put him in possession of the fact. These little things go to prove that there was some wide-spread conspiracy afloat, and that whatever was done in the way of suppression was not too hastily nor harshly done.

I trust you will excuse my intruding on your time, and

I remain, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Spa. Town.

(Signed) C. R. Chandler.

To Governor Eyre.

Sir, Annotto Bay, January 19, 1866.

I have been unable to send you the evidence in several cases examined by me during martial law, as one ("The Queen against Thomas Campbell") was transmitted to the Attorney-General for directions, and the other ("The Queen against Richards") was forwarded to Lieutenant Hyde, of the 6th regiment, who was president of the court-martial at Buff Bay.

The former case charged the accused with saying "if the rebels had come to this parish he would "have joined them in cutting off Mr. Hosack's and Mr. Prendergast's heads." The depositions were forwarded to the Attorney-General in November last, but up to this time no action has been taken in

the matter. The language charged against the accused was uttered on the public highway leading from this parish to Saint George.

In the latter case the accused was charged with threatening Mr. Swire and other gentlemen in his company, that they "could go on, but that they were only over them till Christmas," &c., &c., &c. I cannot quote the rest of the language with accuracy. Lieutenant Hyde, or perhaps Major-General O'Connor, either of whom must have the custody of the notes of evidence, will be able to supply them. The language in this case was used at Fort Stewart Estate, in this parish.

Enclosed I send you copy of notes of evidence in the case against Andrew Buchanan, who was found guilty and sentenced to receive fifty lashes. His offence was committed at Hopewell Estate, part of which is in Saint Mary, the other portion being in Metcalfe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES STEWART.

DEAR SIR, Annotto Bay, January 19, 1866.

ENCLOSED is a copy of the evidence taken at the court-martial held in this town on the 21st October last, in the case against Andrew Buchanan for rebellious language.

The evidence in the case against Thomas Campbell for a similar offence is now before the Attorney-General, who will, I think, deal with the case before the Special Commission Court shortly to be held.

There was another case against a man named Richards for rebellious language, which you investigated and transmitted for trial before the court-martial at Buff Bay, of which Quartermaster Hyde, of the 6th regiment, was president. The evidence in that case was sent to him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ALEX. LAKE,
James Stewart, Esq. Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Metcalfe.

Annotto Bay, October 21, 1865.

At a Court-martial held this day, before Quartermaster Hyde, commanding Detachment of 6th Royal Regiment, President, Lieutenant James Prestwidge, of Metcalfe Foot Militia, and Lieutenant William Bell of same regiment; Alexander Lake, Acting Deputy Judge Advocate.

Andrew Buchanan is charged for that he did, on the 14th day of October instant, say, "The "whites do too much, if they (the black people) cut off their heads and throw them in the bush, what "about it?"

The following evidence is then taken on oath:—

John MacPherson, sworn, states: I was at Sterling's shop at Highgate. On the 14th instant I heard prisoner say, "The white people do too much; when you work they cut your money, if they (black "people) cut off their heads and throw them in the bush, what about it?"

Peter Alexander Kelly, sworn, states: On a Monday, on or about the 16th instant, I was at Dillons shop at Highgate. I was relating to some persons what I had heard of the Morant Bay disturbances. The prisoner said, "Well, if the black people do so they have a right, for when they work the white "people won't pay them." Prisoner said this whilst I was stating that I had heard that the black people at Morant Bay had been destroying the white gentlemen there.

True copy of evidence from minutes.
ALEXANDER LAKE.

Parish of Port Royal, Halberstadt,
SIR, January 12, 1866.

REFERRING to a circular despatch addressed to me by the Secretary of the Executive Committee, No. 2,294, and dated the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to state, in reply to the questions therein contained, that shortly after the publication of Dr. Underhill's letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a mischievous agitation was commenced amongst the peasantry, and parish demagogues were busy in trying to make the people believe in the false statements set forth in that letter, the subtle and crafty endeavours to unsettle the minds of the people by constant nightly meetings, at which it was attempted to impress upon their minds imaginary grievances and wrongs, resulted in a most unmistakable insolence of manner, unusual in the negro. In this parish the people were urged to sign a requisition to me for the use of the court-house at Roden Vale, "to take into consideration Dr. "Underhill's letter." This scheme, originated by two impudent parochial agitators to get an opportunity to express their views, totally failed. Several respectable black freeholders spoke to me upon the subject of Dr. Underhill's letter, and expressed great surprise, never having heard the people complain of the grievances alluded to, and stated that they were being told wicked things and their minds disturbed.

Upon the publication of Dr. Underhill's letter, I was satisfied the parochial electioneering element would be used in circulating mischief, and make a great handle of the statements so unblushingly set forth. My opinion was fully coincided in by every gentleman with whom I conversed in the neighbouring parishes, and there is no doubt in my mind, that the late rebellion which broke out at Morant Bay was brought about too hastily to enable a general revolt in the eastern parishes. That disloyalty and discontent prevailed generally throughout the country is a fact corroborated by the evidence of gentlemen who were thrown into direct contact with the peasantry.

I annex a letter received from Mr. Lascelles, a popular and respected magistrate of this parish, and his opinion is of great weight upon the subject of the late rebellion.

I have, &c.
His Excellency Governor Eyre, (Signed) STEPHEN MAIS,
&c. &c. &c. Custos of the parish of Port Royal.

JAMAICA.

SIR, Arntully, St. David, January 9, 1866.

I ONLY but deem it necessary to represent certain facts, touching the wicked attempt to misrepresent the rebellion which broke out at Morant Bay on the 11th of October last as a mere "local disturbance," when in reality it had assumed a feature of a most fearful and serious nature; inasmuch as large bodies of men, armed with cutlasses, guns, and sticks, were within three miles of Arntully, putting all law and constituted authority at defiance, by breaking into the dwellings of the Monklands, searching the bed-rooms, &c., &c., for Mr. Paterson, whose head they threatened to cut off and carry to Stoney Gut; and by strong evidence, they had taken ropes out of the Monkland stores to come and tie me and make me prisoner. Mr. Paterson and his two nephews had to fly for their lives, while the ladies had to take to the bush, to whom they offered many indignities, in the meantime plundering the stores, which they continued to do up to the Saturday, 14th, carrying it to Stoney Gut. My son happened to be in St. Thomas-in-the-East early in the morning of Thursday, 12th October, where I had sent him to purchase coffee in the settlement of "Ross Isle, Mt. Lebanus, "Somerset S. Barracks," when he was accosted by men in a very excited state, running down the road with cutlasses and sticks, and saying, Have you not heard of the "wars," the black people are going to kill all the whites, and you had better run for your life, at the same time the barber of Serge Island came galloping, up, confirming the horrible massacre that had taken place the day before at Morant Bay. Again by strong evidence that this outbreak was premeditated, the men had clubbed their money together to go to the wars as they termed it; also by many of those who were brought to court-martial and convicted, confessed their guilt, and that it was from bad advice they had received which had made them join; also that this was not a "local disturbance," by their having a regular organization of officers, viz., captain-generals, colonels, lance-serjeants and lance-corporals, &c., &c., as they called them; again, that this was not a "local disturbance," from Paul Bogle's intention of carrying it to St. David, hence his boast, the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East are chicken-hearted, but stop till he got to St. David, for there he would get good and true men, and he was nearly being captured by General Jackson the first morning, the 15th, when the troops marched down to Monklands, when he was riding Mr. Paterson's horse, and amongst the Rebels who had been up to the Monklands the three days previous, so that I have not the least doubt that at such an emergency, for they were reported in strong numbers at Stoney Gut, that had not the troops acted with the decision and promptness they did, the disaffection would have spread into the adjoining parishes of St. David and Port Royal, where there were but too many to join them, for I had a gang of some forty men working for me the 9th and 10th of October, who drew themselves off on the Wednesday midday, at their breakfast time, because I had found fault with literally the little or no work they had done the two days previous, during my absence in Port Royal, thereby I can only draw the inference from their conduct, that they were privy or knew something about what was going on, and to take place. Again, there was one St. David's man, "Fagan Darr," was said to have told the people in this quarter they must all meet him on Saturday, 14th, at Arntully Gap, and he would show them what he would do; but Colonel Hobbs having marched his troops up here on the Friday night I fancy must have stopped their intentions, and I believe I am about 18 or 20 miles from Morant Bay. In concluding, I must observe that if the blacks were only left to themselves, they and the whites would get on very well, for they are very tractable; but from the preaching and inflammatory language used by a certain class of men and demagogues, their passions get excited and raised to such an ungovernable and unbounded height, making them to believe they are suffering some imaginary wrongs, thereby creating disaffection to all law and authority, and distrust between employers and employed. Again, I have to observe the small freeholders and peasantry through the districts, viz., Duckworth, Mt. Lebanus, Ross Isle, Barracks, Stoney Gut, and Font Hill, through which Colonel Hobbs marched his troops, were all more or less down at Morant Bay on the day of the outbreak, which, after so many valuable lives have been sacrificed, is now to be termed a mere "local disturbance."

I remain, &c.

The Honourable Stephen Mais. (Signed) CHAS. LASCELLES.

Statement of Mr. HENRY F. MACKAY.

Bath, St. Thomas-in-the-East, January 4, 1866.

I am a planter, and resided at Bath when the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay on the 11th October. Early on the 12th October, as I was riding along, I met one Charles Francis and another black man, they stopped me and asked where I was going; I said, What is that to you, when they replied, "Never mind, my boy, we'll soon have you;" my answer was, what do you mean. They said, Don't you hear there is a row at Morant Bay, and as soon as the fellows come up this side to meet us we will know where to find you. I rode off to Bachelor's Hall to protect my sisters, who I escorted to Hordley Estate. I returned to Bath in the afternoon, by unfrequented paths, to see how matters stood, when I saw an immense crowd of people (about 1,500 to 2,000) coming from the several negro settlements in the vicinity of Bath, with a few Morant Bay folks, with them the *main body* of the Morant Bay people; leaving these at the "river," to go over the "Cluma Clumas" hills, leading to Portland, the body of people who joined at Bath, came on to the "river" district, and at Pleasant Hill they were met by the Pera, Arcadia, and Springfield people, when they commenced to devastate the whole district in the most barbarous manner, plundering every house on the several estates (except the Great House at Golden Grove, and which it is said was preserved for the especial use of Paul Bogle, the Rebel chief), as also all the mercantile stores, which they likewise plundered.

Their continuous war cry, was "Colour for colour," and while they were plundering "Mark's" shop in Bath (who is brown man), a shout was raised, "Kill every white and brown man, woman, and child, "and any black that shelter them." By this time all the white and coloured females and children had escaped into the mountains and woods, and I had to hide myself in different places in the fields and cane pieces until the military came to our rescue on the Saturday morning; and all honour and

praise is due to his Excellency Governor Eyre for his prompt and energetic action in sending up the military so soon, and thus checking in the bud the ravages of a deep laid plan for a damnable and barbarous rebellion throughout the whole Island.

H. F. MACKAY.

Declared before me this 6th day of January 1866,
SAMUEL SHORTRIDGE, J.P.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

January 9, 1866.

Thomas Girvan.—I am an engineer and reside in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I was at Plantain Garden River Estate on the 12th of October last, the day following the outbreak of the rebellion at Morant Bay. On the forenoon of that day I requested the manager of the estate to send me some hands to lift and put into position a heavy piece of machinery. "He told me he did not think "he could get them as all the people had struck work owing to a report of an outbreak at Morant Bay, "where it's said they have killed all the whites." I did not believe it at that time, but shortly after I went down to the work yard to try and procure as many hands as I required. I found a large number of the labourers on the estate surrounding the grindstone in noisy groups grinding their cutlasses. I saw little prospect of getting any work done that day, therefore prepared to return home; but before I had left the people were using very threatening language to the manager and book-keepers. All that night I heard the blowing of shells all round about where I live. The following morning I started away down the river, but on the way was met by a black man, who told me not to go down the river, for the people had killed Mr. Hire and a lot more of the white people, and all the others had run away. However, I did not believe him and went on (the same man had been Mr. Hire's servant), when, about a quarter of a mile from P. G. R. works, I heard a fearful noise and pulled up. They were then breaking down the great house at Winchester. I then rode on to a hill close to the works. The people were then rushing down in bands, some armed with guns, others with sticks, but most of them with cutlasses, and each party was headed by one blowing a shell; some of them taunted me from the road, crying, "Buckra, why you no come down the river this morning, you head no cut off yet;" others cried, "*For we time come now, colour for colour.*" I stayed till I saw them rush in and sack Mr. S. Shortridge's house, then I thought of my own house and started for it. On my way I passed a few people armed with sticks, who threatened to beat me, but after some talk among themselves allowed me to pass. When I got near home I came off the horse and was standing on a fallen tree, when another band passed; one of their number rushed up to me with his cutlass and swore he would have my head off, but an old man called out, "No kill that buckra, we hear charges about him already," so I escaped. A steamer came into Port Morant that evening and fired off some guns, which changed at once the conduct of the people in my neighbourhood. They dispersed, and the carrying of plunder ceased during the day; few or no lights did I see in their houses that night.

On the following day a number of them came to my house shouting their war-cry, which was "Hell" and "Lion," "Colour for colour." When they came into the house they had no fire-arms, nothing but cutlasses. They told me if I had come out to them with gun or cutlass they would have killed me, or if I had been a planter they would have cut off my head. One said, we want all them "cotch buckra "for kill." I said I am a Scotchman, but they said, "You no a planter." They then went into my store-room and took all the liquor they could find and a few other articles, such as knives, and then went away.

From what I saw of the rebellion I am of opinion that if it had not been so promptly headed and hemmed in there would have been few, if any, "whites" who would have seen 1866; and I consider that the heartfelt thanks of every loyal citizen in Jamaica is due to Governor Eyre for the able and energetic manner in which he stopped the black fanatics who were lashed into rebellion through the fallacious teachings and canting hypocrisy of the Baptists.

Declared before me this 9th January 1866,
SAML. SHORTRIDGE, J.P.

THOMAS GIRVAN.

Golden Grove Estate, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

The statement of Alexander Chisholm sheweth, that I am manager of Golden Grove, and have been for six years past. During the last three or four years, indeed since the "Revivals," I have found the labourers on the estate getting more indolent and sullen every day, mixed up with a spirit of discontent and disaffection which I was at a loss to understand.

About the end of June last a large meeting was summoned and held at a Baptist meeting-house or chapel at Stoakes Hall (adjoining this property), under the charge of a so-called Rev. Mr. Harris, when the labourers of the whole district nearly left their work to attend this meeting, at least the greater number of this estate did so, and I was assured by the other managers that they were similarly situated on their estates. I rode up to the meeting-house, but could not get close enough to hear what was said inside. One man said to me, however, by the name of "Morris Brooks," (a black man,) "*We will soon turn buckra ourselves.*" Several others made use of threatening language, but not distinct enough for me to catch the exact words, and from their looks and gestures I felt it was not safe to stop longer, so rode on. No other white person was present and scarcely any "brown" people, except Mr. Harris and a Mr. Manning.

After this meeting I could scarcely get anything done cheerfully or as satisfactorily as before, in fact in many cases important work had to be left undone altogether.

On their returning from the meeting that evening, those that passed my house seemed very much excited at what they had been told and heard, and since then people who could easily earn 1*s.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*s.* per day would only work for 6*d.*, 9*d.*, or 1*s.* a day, leaving off work before noon, when they only began between 7 and 8 a.m.

On this estate we employ on an average from 300 to 400 hands daily, and would much prefer paying the maximum rate of wages if the labourers would only work for it.

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Since the Queen's message, and more particularly since Dr. Underhill's letter has been published among the people, a spirit of opposition has been shown by them against the usual discipline and routine of duty intrusted to myself and the young white men under me. The day after the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay I had to fly to the woods for my life, or I firmly believe I should have been murdered, and had not the soldiers arrived so early as they did, I believe every white person would have been cruelly murdered; and there can be no doubt but for the prompt and energetic action of his Excellency the Governor, to whom I shall ever feel grateful for our timely rescue, I am certain that the rebellion would have spread over the island like "wildfire," for the negroes in every direction were ready to rise if they only saw a chance of success.

Declared before me this 12th day of January 1866,
Saml. Shortridge, J. P.,
St.-Thos.-in-the-East.

Alex. Chisholm,
Manager.

Encl. 4.

Sub-Enclosure 4.

Mr. A. J. Lindo to Colonel Hunt.

Sir, Public Hospital, Kingston, January 2, 1866.

I have the honour, in accordance with his Excellency the Governor's instructions contained in your letter of 29th ultimo, No. 286, to send you what information I could get from the patient "Travers," relative to the late rebellion.

You will observe that he does not know of anything previous to the day the rescue was made that would have induced him to think such an outbreak was likely to occur.

I have, &c.

Col. R. W. Hunt,
Military Secretary and A.D.C., Spanish Town.

(Signed) A. J. Lindo, Inspector and Director.

The Statement of Thomas Spencer Travers, a patient in this Institution.

Public Hospital, January 2, 1866.

Says he was residing in the town of Morant Bay at the time of the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was sitting at my shop on the day that they rescued the prisoner from the court; as I heard the noise I went to the parade to see what it was; I heard a prisoner had been rescued by the Stoney Gut people; I said, That's no fun; I went away to my business on Monday; the people who rescued the prisoner were sent for by the police and constables. After some few hours a person was passing by my shop, he said, These people at Stony Gut must be going to play the devil, for they have got all the police and constables that went for them handcuffed. I said to the person, Is it possible? he answered, Yes, master; I said, These people must mean to do something bad for that is a riot; after that, parties went up there and came back and said it was true, that they were swearing them on the Bible, that if they did not join them they would take their heads off; they tied constable Foster and flogged him severely, which Foster told me himself, this was about the Saturday before the vestry. When the police came back to Mr. Alberger on the Monday they told him the people said they would see what they were, whether the buckra or them was the strongest; a policeman riding by, a person told me he was going express to Spanish Town.

The people who rescued the prisoners after doing so walked about the market threatening that that was nothing, they would see what would happen on the vestry day, vestry was not far off, when they would show what they would do; these were Stony Gut people, they had a drum playing, saying, they were marching the man home who they had rescued. Generally in the parish you would hear the people say they were badly treated, that they did not get justice, that they had taxes to pay and was being levied on for them, they were dissatisfied. These were people working in the estates, and when they were taken to the court they always complained they had no justice; they were people generally well off, hire grounds and houses; the Stony Gut people are well off, have good grounds, horses, and donkeys. I always see them well dressed with their boots and riding. I never saw any ragged people about the market days, some of these read and write, are independent people. I heard them saying they went to Mr. Gordon's meetings to hear what he said about lessening their taxes on their horses, which is 12*s.* they complain of the most. I never heard the people threaten the white until after they rescued the man. I saw the people come into the bay, break into the police station, take their arms, and then they attacked the volunteers on the parade; after the volunteers fired some of the Rebels fell, then the Rebels began to slaughter right and left, the volunteers had no power to reload as the Rebels were too close on to them, and then ran away to hide being in fear of my life.

(Signed) Thomas S. Travers.

This statement was made to me.

(Signed) A. J. Lindo,
Inspector and Director, Public Hospital.

Mr. Beckford Davis, Clerk of the Peace for St. George, to Mr. Hosack.

That a spirit of disaffection existed and still exists in other parishes than Saint Thomas-in-the-East no one here doubts, and no one in Saint George questions the fact that the black population of this parish were ripe for rebellion, for they did not attempt to conceal this, but openly expressed themselves in the market place and elsewhere as being ready to join the Rebels if they came, and to destroy the whites.

Statement of G. B. Snaith, Esquire, J. P.

The people in this district (White Horses) were only waiting the arrival of the insurgents to join them in their bloody work. I was warned on Friday, the 13th October, by a respectable black man, "John Richards," that I was not safe where I then was (Green Wall, on the borders of St. Thomas-in-the-East and St. David's), and had better remove my family, as he had heard that on that night Paul

Bogle was expected to lead the attack on Belvidere, Rozelle, and Green Wall, and that the White Horses people were quite ready to join him. I therefore left at once for a safer asylum. The providential arrival of the troops frustrated their plans.

The Rev. J. S. HILDEBRAND, B.A., Island Curate of Snowden, to Mr. MYERS.

I BELIEVE the late spirit of rebellion have been generally diffused throughout the Island, and that but for the timely activity of his Excellency there would have been *many* massacres of inoffensive white people instead of *one* at St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I am disposed to entertain this opinion from the fact of many rumours having been to my personal knowledge for a *long time* in circulation among the negroes of intended risings in *different parts*. I have heard St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, and St. James specified as places were such risings might be expected; and these be it observed are at the opposite extremity of the Island to the part where the rising did occur, and I cannot bring myself to believe that those rumours had no foundation ; in fact I may mention also, (in support of the opinion that the negroes in more parts than *one* were *really* expecting something) that previously to the gun-boat being sent round to Black River in August last a black man from St. Elizabeth brought his two daughters and left them in the mountains here, stating at his reason that there was going to be a great row there and he wanted them out of the way.

* * * * * * * * *

I may add as an additional reason for thinking that the rebellion was not intended to be confined to St. Thomas-in-the-East that drilling was extensively carried on in a part of this parish (Manchester) until stopped by the authorities.

MR. J. A. LORD, late Inspector of Police for St. Thomas-in-the-East, to GOVERNOR EYRE.

YOUR Excellency's noble and independent bearing and the prompt action you took during that fearful and trying time from the 11th to the 18th October last, by which an evidently well organized rebellion was completely checked and crushed, will ever be most vividly impressed on our memory. Had 24 hours elapsed without action having been taken there can be no doubt as to the direful results that would have arisen from such delay.

Two gentlemen with myself from this town, who unfortunately were at Manchioneal then, can fully bear out the feeling and determination of the blacks on that fearful occasion.

We had to fly on the morning of the 13th, with the family with whom we were spending a few days, after a night of untold anxiety and watching, as the Rebels were then 12 miles of us.

The road on the greater part to Port Antonio from Fair Prospect, which place we had left, was *lined* by negroes evidently awaiting the signal for outbreak.

The families in the district had not left their homes a few hours when *pillage*, the torch, and every scene of *violence* and unheard-of destruction to property commenced. Messages came in on the 14th, sent by the Rebels to Port Antonio by the market negroes that they, the Rebels, would be down by 12 o'clock a.m. that day and have Mr. Hinchelwood's and the Rev. Mr. Foote's heads, and had they not been detained at Manchioneal, Williamsfield, Elmwood, Spring Valley, Mulatto River, and numerous other properties pillaging and burning, I am quite confident that they would have attacked Port Antonio.

The Rev. JOSIAS CORK, Rector of Westmoreland, to Mr. MYERS.

ANOTHER overt act was the tampering with a coolie of George's plain at Mesopotamia estate; I had it from the attorney of George's Plain estate that one of the coolies went to see a countryman at Mesopotamia. He was accosted by a negro, one of a party, and to the coolie all perfect strangers. The coolie was asked if he had heard that war had begun against buckra, that it would be sure to spread, and that the negroes desired to know on which side the coolies would fight. The coolie returned to George's Plain and informed his overseer, and the overseer the next morning told the attorney. The answer of the coolie was, "Buckra brought me to the country and buckra must take "me back, and if fight come me fight for buckra."

Coolies are located in considerable numbers on George's Plain estate, and hence the significance of the inquiry and its secrecy; the coolie had no means of identification, as on no former visit to Mesopotamia had he ever seen the party who addressed him through their leader on that Sunday.

Again, the coolies at George's Plain stated in the latter part of October that an African man (very tall) slept at their house one night and left again early in the morning. He told them he came from yonder where war was going, they hung minister and plenty people; that if buckra war came down here they must tell him which side they will fight. They informed the book-keeper Scott and overseer Nesbitt of this the next day, but the man had gone away some time. Now (January 12, 1866) they say they do not recollect the latter remark, but the man tell them plenty about the war which they don't understand.

Again, Mr. George Fenton, overseer of Fort William estate, states, directly after news of the insurrection a respectable tradesman being among the settlers in Porter's district at the back of the estate came to him and told him that there was some excitement about the people, who were grinding and sharpening their machetes and old bayonets. Mr. Fenton informed his employer Mr. Vickers, and requested his informant meanwhile to obtain all the information he could. Mr. Fenton was subsequently waited on by the same man, who told him the people found there was no chance as buckra was making preparation.

A Mr. Grierson, I mention his name in confidence, told myself at the time the rebellion was known but not its entire suppression, he was on his way home from Savanna-la-Mar, he was met by a party of negroes riding abreast and occupying the whole road, that not one of them would make room for him to pass and jeered him as he took to the trench. When he told me this we had a force both military and naval at hand. I asked him if he knew any of the party, as they were all amenable to the law for such an obstruction, his answer was, he feared to bring them to justice, as his home, his wife, and

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children were in a measure isolated, and therefore it was better for him to put up with the indignity than risk the ill-will of the party.

Again, and I think important: on a Saturday the week *before* news of the outbreak reached Westmoreland a black man from Hanover selling provisions at Town Head market took a drink with his companion, also from Hanover, at the shop of Mr. J. E. Bucknor, his *sentiment* being that "He hoped "every mulatto man and buckra in the country would soon be governed by negur." Bucknor spoke to his wife the same evening of the strangeness of this remark, the other man told his companion to be cautious what he said.

After the insurrection a man named David Barham came into his (Bucknor's) shop in his absence and was exceedingly insulting, saying, "If he stopped there till night he would make every d——d "mulatto in the quarter smell h—l."

The Rev. Charles Magnan to Mr. Myers.

Two men in the King's part of the district were heard to say that they wanted Jamaica to become like Hayti, and if the Rebels only came that way they would join them.

Two young women, daughters of a respectable brown person, were told by two men whom they met whilst out walking, that their heads would be cut off at Christmas.

Statement of James Harrison, Esq., of Hordley Estate.

The outbreak in this parish was general in the fullest sense of the word, and premeditated from one end of it to the other, and the devastation committed in it, extending over 42 miles, is scarcely credible.

H. Prendergast, Esq., J.P., to Mr. Myers.

Last August I found great difficulty in getting them out to work after the holidays; and when I met any and asked them why they would not turn out, their reply was, that they were waiting to hear the "new law," but would not say anything more. They also looked sulky, as if something disturbed their minds, evidently showing that some one had been tampering with them.

Mr. Shaw to Mr. Westmorland.

Sir, Anotto Bay, January 2, 1866.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favour, dated the 28th December 1865, in compliance with which it affords me the opportunity of expressing my opinion as to the apparent unsettled state of the peasantry in my locality.

Between the months of June and August strange characters from St. Thomas-in-the-East and St. Andrews were seen roaming about, pretending to be in want of employment. I offered to employ them, which they refused so often that I began to entertain fears that a disaffection would arise; that our peasantry would demand higher wages than they hitherto had been getting. I adopted measures to prevent strangers locating in our vicinity, and caused a man (a stranger) of the name of Davis to be put away from the estate in August.

Our people were reluctant in resuming work after the August holidays. I inquired of a man called Timberlake if he could assign any reason for their conduct; he stated a band of people were coming round by way of St. Thomas-in-the-East with a new law compelling us to give them 2*s.* or 3*s.* per day wages. Labour consequently became scarce, and we had to employ any such hands as could be got.

There was no apparent excitement among my people, neither had I occasion or fear to expect an outbreak until I heard of the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I am fully convinced emissaries were then going about; one of which was carrying canes for my mill, on observing Mr. R. Swire passing through the works, made use of the following words, "You can go; but by this and Christmas "your white cap will turn red;" I suppose referring to bloodshed. Other language being uttered during the time of martial law, he was apprehended, tried by court-martial, and flogged at Buff Bay.

I am of opinion our people must have had some intimation of an outbreak. One of our constables, when the news of the rebellion reached us, immediately repaired to Anotto Bay and gave up his constable's baton and badge without assigning any reason for doing so. The prompt measures exercised by the Government at the lamentable crisis were the means of subduing a riotous race in this parish as well as in all others.

The conduct of the constable that gave up his staff, coupled with the words uttered by the man Kinlock who was flogged, led me to believe there was an attempt to sow seeds of disaffection in this parish by parties from St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I have, &c.

The Hon. Henry Westmorland. (Signed) Gilbert F. Shaw.

The Rev. Henry Browne, Rector of Metcalfe, to Mr. Myers.

Had it not been for the prompt and energetic conduct of his Excellency the Governor and his timely arrival in the "Wolverine" with troops on the morning of Sunday the 15th October, at that critical juncture when the Rebels, having pillaged and destroyed property and life through the village of Bath, the Plantain Garden River district, and the villages of Port Morant and Manchioneal, had reached the confines of Portland, I verily believe that that Sunday night would have found none of us alive, for the Rebels were on their way to Port Antonio, and intended entering it that night had they not been so promptly met by the soldiers who were marched up to check their progress.

The Rev. M. H. Hime, Island Curate, Hope Bay, to Mr. Myers.

Upon the estates of Lowleiton and Spring Garden near Buff Bay, I believe the worst people expressed their dissatisfaction with respect to their employers, and that a pretty general feeling was evidenced in favour of the Rebels in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

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I have very little doubt that had the opportunity offered all the abandoned characters who, I fear, form the greater portion of the community, especially in the neighbourhood of the sugar estates, would have been ready to join in the insurrection if for nothing else but plunder.

The Hon. L. Mackinnon, Custos of Vere, to Mr. Myers.

I can speak only of my own district Vere. As regards sedition, I look upon it as the powder magazine of the south side, ready to explode at any time, and I believe that nothing but the news of the example which was made in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and which I was thankful to be able to send down to Vere from day to day, kept it quiet till I succeeded in getting a body of soldiers down. This was not my opinion alone; the whole of the white people there united in a requisition to me to get down troops, and sent it to me by the rector and curate of the parish, who at that time did not consider their lives safe for a day; and an old black friend, to whom I wrote frequently, in order that he might warn his friends and neighbours of the dreadful consequences that might follow any disturbance, wrote me back to advise me to take precautions, that he by no means felt confident of the good conduct of the people.

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The head man at Pusey Hall openly avowed his desire to seize the arms of the police and begin the row in Vere.

He said so to men who were loyal. They informed on him, and he was arrested and sent to Morant Bay.

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None of the people came forward to express their detestation of the crimes which had been committed, or to offer assistance should it be required. They kept aloof from us; and those whom I met on the road (and I was as much about as any man at that time) invariably looked gloomy and sulky and turned their faces away. As soon, however, as it was certain the troops had the upper hand, that we had troops at the Alley, and gunboats running round the Island, and ammunition in the parish, then we had plenty of applications to be sworn in as constables or volunteers; every one was most polite and civil, making eager profession of faith in the buckra, and devotion to the Queen.

I believe, as firmly as I believe in anything, that had the Rebels been in any degree successful in making a progress to the westward, as they did manage to do to the northward, the people here would have risen and carried murder and rapine into every district in Vere.

I say this from my knowledge of the people and their peculiar behaviour at the first outbreak of the rebellion and afterwards.

The Rev. T. T. Orgill, B.A., Island Curate, Portland, to Mr. Myers.

The next point to which I refer is the rapidity with which the insurrection travelled (about 40 miles in two days), and the readiness with which the insurgents were joined in their progress, and the easy conversion of multitudes hitherto peaceable into insatiable robbers, and even murderers where their victims could be overtaken.

The Rebel watchword, "Colour for colour," was readily recognized and adopted. Also, while families were escaping for their lives, they were taunted with running away from the blacks, but they would not escape the end that awaited them.

The Hon. B. Vickers, Custos of Westmoreland, to Mr. Myers.

In this parish considerable excitement and disaffection was openly manifested in the Bluefields district, which I have already reported in writing, and would refer you to my letters to the Governor's Secretary on the subject, copies of which I enclose; also an extract of a letter from Mr. Daniel Sinclair, the senior magistrate, residing in the Bluefields district; and a copy of a letter from Mr. Wellesley Bourke, who, with Mr. James S. Trench, were detained for the defence of the prisoners in the case of the Queen against Tate and others.

Considerable alarm existed in the town of Savanna-la-Mar, in consequence of threats that, in the event of the acquittal of the prisoners, the court house and town would be destroyed by fire. Mr. Trench received a letter threatening his life if he defended the prisoners. The lawyers and many others attended the court armed with revolvers.

I feel confident that the precautions taken by swearing in a large number of special constables and the presence of a naval, military, and volunteer force in reserve prevented a repetition of the scene enacted at Morant Bay court house.

Considerable disaffection was also openly manifested in the neighbourhood of Lamb's River. I enclose a copy of a letter from Mr. W. H. Cooke concerning this district. I enclose a copy of my letter to the Governor's Secretary reporting this matter.

A Mr. Fisher, a gentleman residing in the Darliston district of this parish, informed me some short time since that considerable disaffection prevailed in that district, extending to the lines of St. Elizabeth's, and that a large number of old muskets and other fire-arms had been recently repaired by them.

James Patterson, Esq., J.P., to the Hon. P. A. Espeut.

A great number of the Rebels were here on their way into St. David's when the soldiers made their appearance, and from what I saw of the people in the upper part of that parish, they were, in my opinion, all ready to join in the rebellion.

Mr. W. C. Miller, J.P., to the Hon. P. A. Espeut.

My opinion of the past disposition of the black population generally is that, for the last three years, they have been uncivil, disobedient, and exceedingly indolent, and wished to place themselves on an

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equality with their superiors. They held courts of their own in the interior district of Manchioneal, and punished offences by way of money fine, and the same procedure, up to the time of the late rebellion, has been carried on in the Blue Mountain valley at a place called Huntley. I have a summons now that was taken from one of my Africans since the rebellion, and signed "John G. Lamont, J.P." This man is a field labourer on Serge Island estate.

The HON. P. A. ESPEUT, Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East, to MR. MYERS.

I HAVE no doubt whatever that the late rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East was caused by the seditious preaching and haranguing of George W. Gordon and his companions, and that but for the premature outbreak at Morant Bay on the 11th October, and the prompt and energetic measures adopted then by his Excellency and the Government, the whole of the black population would have risen simultaneously throughout the Island for the murder of every white and coloured man in the Colony.

D. P. TRENCH, ESQ., Inspector of Revenues, to MR. MYERS.

I CANNOT believe that the outbreak at Morant Bay was in fact or indeed intended to be purely local as applied to that town, nor was the spirit that conceived the barbarous acts there committed caused by any merely accidental circumstances of the moment, as the sequel proved.

The impression is universal, that some circumstance of a local character prompted the precipitation of action on the part of Paul Bogle and his benighted followers at Morant Bay, thus providentially affording an opportunity for prompt protective measures on the part of the Local Government which has prevented, at all events for the present, a general insurrection and a wholesale murder of the white and some of the higher class of the coloured inhabitants.

J. S. CLACHAR, ESQ., M.D., to MR. MYERS.

IN reply to your inquiry, I do not hesitate to say that I consider the rebellious spirit to have been general throughout the Island.

The QUEEN *versus* AUSTIN STEWART and JAMES GORDON.

Douglass Johnson sworn.—I live at Monklands, Mr. Patterson's property; I am the cattleman. I know Austin Stewart; he lives at Mount Lebanus, adjoining Monklands. I know James Gordon too; he lives at Monklands. On Thursday, the day after the Baron was murdered, the whole of the Rebels came upon Monklands in the evening; they had guns and swords and cutlasses, and were blowing shells. I was in the kitchen, and had to run. On Friday morning I saw Gordon at 6 o'clock at Monklands; he came with all the other Rebels. They had guns and cutlasses and swords. Gordon had no arms; he acted as clerk for the Rebels; he had a pencil and a piece of paper. Whenever the Rebels compelled anybody to join them he set down their names on the paper. He put down Charles Kelly's name, but Kelly did not join. He also put down Job Robinson, Louis Cubbison, Charles Williams, Charles Wheeler, and Alexander Thomas. Those joined them, and they have been caught and shot, except Robinson, who is hiding. He put down every name he knew, and told the people to join. The men were compelled to join by Gordon. They were tried and shot. The Rebels compelled Mrs. Patterson to open the store, and they took out wine, porter, and whatever they wanted. Gordon was amongst them. The Rebels left at 1 o'clock that day, and returned on Saturday at 4 o'clock. I did not see Gordon there on Saturday. Gordon is my son-in-law; I married his mother. I don't know anything about Austin Stewart; I can't say if he was among the Rebels. Only Gordon was at his work at the Barbicue on Thursday when the Rebels came up; Mr. Patterson employed him. I think the Rebels compelled him to join them. I told him on Thursday not to join them, and he said he would not join them. I did not ask Gordon to beg Paul Bogle to let me go, as they had him already.

his
(Signed) DOUGLASS × JOHNSON.
mark.

Richard Ogilvie sworn.—I was at Ross Side during the rebellion. Ross Side is adjoining Monklands. On the Thursday, the day after the murders at Morant Bay, I was hiding in my ground. The soldiers came down on Sunday, and on that day I came out to feed my fowls, and two of the Rebels tied me and carried me before Paul Bogle at the chapel at Mount Lebanus. Fegan Carr and Samuel Beckett were the two who carried me. Paul Bogle had a court there. They put handcuffs on me. This was about 7 o'clock in the morning. Bogle sent two men to Monklands, and they came back and said the soldiers were there. He then blew his horn and called up his men to fight the soldiers. I saw Austin Stewart among them; he had a volunteer musket in his hand, loaded. Bogle told the men that those whose guns were not loaded must go to Austin Stewart's house and load them, as the powder was kept there, and they did so. Austin Stewart run away with Paul Bogle and his gang to Stony Gut. I did not see James Gordon among the Rebels. Austin Stewart has his own land at Mount Lebanus, and is doing well with coffee on it.

Cross-examined.—I knew Stewart before this; he was a well conducted man.

(Signed) RICHARD OGILVIE.

Evelina Williams sworn.—I live at Monklands; I was there when the Rebels came there on the Thursday. I know Austin Stewart and James Gordon. Gordon was at his work on the Barbicues; he joined the Rebels about 5 o'clock. They did not compel him to join. He was working with Ogilvie. Ogilvie told him not to go where they were, and he said he would go. He went to them and returned with them. I did not see him do anything particular. He returned with the Rebels the next morning. He compelled those to join the Rebels who did not wish, and as he knew their names he set them down. He put down Charles Kelly's name, and James Russell's too. He drank some of what the Rebels took out of the shop. He told the Rebels that Mr. Patterson had a gun, and they must

look for it. They got the gun out of the coffee store. I did not see Gordon return on the Saturday; the Rebels returned, but he was not among them. I saw Austin Stewart among the Rebels on Thursday evening; he had a fire-stick in front of the house. Job Robinson asked for the master and mistress, and I said I did not know where they were. Robinson said "Burn the house," and Austin Stewart was about to set fire to the house, when I said "Don't burn it, but break into the house." I don't know what became of Stewart afterwards.

Cross-examined.—Gordon had a paper and pencil setting down the names.

(Signed) her EVELINA × WILLIAMS. mark.

Eliza Ford sworn.—I am living at Monklands. I am employed by Mr. Patterson. I know Stewart and Gordon. On the Thursday I was hiding in the bush with Mrs. Patterson. On Thursday night we returned. The next morning the Rebels came and called for the store keys, and we gave them. They asked Mrs. Patterson if her husband had guns or powder. Mrs. Patterson gave them a little powder that was in the house. Gordon was among them, and when the Rebels asked for the gun Mrs. Patterson told them there was no gun. Gordon said that while he was working on the Barbicues the evening before he had seen Mr. Patterson hide a gun in the coffee store. I said there was none there, and Gordon told them to break open the store. They did so, and found a double-barrel gun. They cried out hurrah, and threatened to shoot me for having told a lie. Lawrence McLaren told Mrs. Patterson that Gordon had told him that Mr. Patterson and a man named Miller had been busy the whole day before in cutting slugs to meet the Rebels. Gordon was present. Mrs. Patterson knelt down and swore that it was not true. Gordon said nothing. Gordon caught a boy named James Russell, and asked him if he joined white or black, for if he joined white his head would come off, but if he joined the blacks he was all right. He had a paper and pencil setting down the names of all those who they made join them. He compelled many men to join by threatening to take off their heads if they did not join the Rebels. I don't know anything about Austin Stewart.

(Signed) her ELIZA × FORD. mark.

The foregoing depositions of Douglass Johnson, Richard Ogilvie, Evelina Williams, and Eliza Ford were taken and sworn to before me this 18th day of November 1865, at the city and parish of Kingston.

(Signed) HENRY J. BICKNELL, P.M.

Edward Beattie, being sworn, states:—I reside at Monklands. I saw Austin Stewart come up to Monklands Barbicues at the works on Thursday the 12th October, along with the rest of the Rebels, with a fire-stick in his hand. I heard him say that he would put fire to the house. One of the Rebels said, "You must not fire the house, as the lady and gentlemen were not at home" (meaning Mr. and Mrs. Patterson). I also saw James Gordon with the rest of the Rebels.

(Signed) his EDWARD × BEATTIE. mark.

Witness, (Signed) ALEXANDER PATTERSON.

Sworn before me this 15th day of November 1865.

(Signed) JAMES PATTERSON, J.P.

The above witness is lame, and unable to travel.

(Signed) J. P.

Mr. T. A. GEOGHAGAN, Clerk to the Magistrates, St. Mary, to Mr. JORDON.

BESIDES the depositions already referred to, informations were laid by Thomas Huggins and Henry King (amongst other things) to the following effect:—

By Huggins.—That Minot said "If I had men to sanction me as Gordon had, Jamaica would either "be worse or better. I hear the war is in Brown's Town, just the right place it ought to be." This occurred in October last, after the rebellion had broken out.

The Rev. D. R. MORRIS, Rector of St. James, to Mr. MYERS.

AFTER that outbreak of wicked violence there would probably have been very serious danger from the kindling and rapid diffusion of a contagious spirit of sedition and revolt if the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East had not been promptly confronted, hemmed in, and quelled. Certainly the sense of insecurity in Montego Bay before the arrival of naval and military protection was of a general complexion, and the feeling of relief, and I trust of gratitude to the Almighty, when such protection did arrive, was of a marked character, especially on the part of ladies and respectable females.

It is a simple duty to remark that a respectful gratitude to his Excellency the Governor is very generally and deservedly entertained for the promptitude, decision, and sagacity with which the murderous insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East was by him encountered and overcome; nor can it be doubted that in God's good providence his Excellency was thus instrumental in averting tragical outbreaks, collisions, and blood shedding in other parishes. It is more the dictate of duty and honour on my part to take an opportunity of making this statement, inasmuch as I did not add my name to a recent address to his Excellency from this parish, not being prepared to adopt that address entirely.

If the insurrection could have presented a successful front for even a very few days it is impossible to say how frightful might have been the consequences from the strong sympathy of blood and race among the black population. Not a few of a more peaceful and subordinate disposition might have been quiescent, or even drawn in to aid and abet the evil doings of the rebellious. There seemed to be a disposition to speak of the affair as a "*war*" rather than as a criminal insurrection.

AICA.

STATEMENT of the Rev. S. R. WARD.

REFERRING to this fact, and knowing McLaren to be a Rebel, Clarke said to me, "What a "mercy it was you did not go to Mount Lebanus or Font Hill on the 16th ultimo." "What!" said I, "are the people there rebels?" His guarded reply was, "Everybody, sir, seems to be in it."

* * * * * * *

That the arrival of the "Wolverine" on the 12th checked the career of the Rebels at Morant Bay; that they separated in several distinct bands with the single purpose of carrying out their fiendish designs east, west, and north of Morant Bay; and that they ceased not to murder, plunder, and destroy until the iron hand of the military was laid heavily upon them, proved at once the fixedness of their purpose, the extent of territory over which they intended to spread desolation and death, the unity of design among them, and the immense service rendered by the early occupation of the district by the troops of all names, including the maroons, and the benefit of the stern energy with which those troops hunted, shot, and hung the conspirators.

* * * * * * *

That not only sympathizers with Mr. Gordon, but persons actually guilty of participating in the murderous outbreak of October 11th, have been found residing 100 miles from Morant Bay.

Mr. E. BOND, Senior Magistrate of the Parish of Metcalfe, to Mr. MYERS.

THAT many of the labourers in this parish did not resume work on the estates in August last at the usual time, and appeared sullen and discontented. I have been informed on good authority that parties from St. Thomas-in-the-East were in the parish at the time.

The Hon. S. RENNALLS, Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, to Mr. MYERS.

THERE were three or four instances brought to the notice of the magistrates, and the offending parties convicted in due course before them of using such expressions as "They were waiting for the "Rebels to come (or the maroons, thinking they had risen against the Government), and they would "join and fight." Though there were but few cases brought forward, there nevertheless were, I dare say, many like expressions that did not come to the knowledge of the authorities in a tangible shape.

After I had left my mountain residence a case happened in the parish of Metcalfe, to which my property is close, of a man threatening to burn it down and attack myself after he had disposed of some others; he, however, had received a sentence of seven years penal servitude.

There were also three several cases of cautionary and anonymous papers being found in Linstead, advising the Circuit Court not to be held on its appointed day, and warning Dr. Cargell to avoid danger, and lately to Mr. Hall, the clerk of the magistrates, to beware how he travelled about.

INSPECTOR STEWART to Mr. MYERS.

THAT I am of opinion that disaffection and seditious feeling entered through the whole of the district under my charge, viz., St. George, Metcalfe, and St. Mary.

* * * * * * *

From my knowledge of Trelawny, the city of Kingston, and this district, having been inspector of police in all of them, and from my knowledge of the Island generally, I am of opinion that the greatest disaffection and inclination to resist the laws on every occasion prevails all over the Island.

The Rev. C. F. DOUET, B. A., Island Curate of Bath, to Mr. MYERS.

I BELIEVE the spirit of sedition to have been general, that is to say, that there existed previous to the outbreak a strong feeling against the white and respectable portion of the inhabitants, and I am led to infer this from the rapidity with which the attack at Morant Bay was followed up by simultaneous risings in the neighbourhood of Bath, Manchioneal, &c., and also the readiness on the part of the people to join in the movement.

The Hon. R. NUNES, Custos of Trelawny, to Mr. MYERS.

I FEEL that I am sufficiently well acquainted with the general disposition of the negroes to be justified in stating that they are entirely deficient of the feelings of loyal subjects, and in most instances they are readily disposed to follow the counsels and teachings of mischievous demagogues, to which baneful influences is to be attributed the late serious rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

It does not admit of a doubt in my mind that the unfortunate outbreak of the 11th October was a premature development of a premeditated and organized arrangement, and that the original intention was *not* to limit the insurrection to the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, nor to the adjacent districts, nor even solely to the county of Surry. I unhesitatingly and confidently assert that, had it not been for the judicious promptitude and necessary rigorous measures adopted by his Excellency the Governor, combined with the forcible examples which were made at the locality of the insurrection, a general rising throughout the Island would have succeeded the initiation of the bloodthirsty scenes enacted by the Rebels at Morant Bay.

CAPTAIN KENT, Stipendiary Magistrate, to Mr. MYERS.

I CERTAINLY expected some fearful doings in this Island several months before the insurrection, and openly expressed myself to that effect. I was forcibly struck with many of the negroes throwing off their small skull caps and suddenly appearing in hats of at least two feet six inches in diameter, in which no man could work, and spoke out openly that there was secret societies forming, which these men were to be the leaders. These hats have disappeared since the crushing of the rebellion.

T. HART, Esq., Inspector of Police for St. Ann, to MR. MYERS.

AFTER the rebellion became known the people of the Western district of St. Ann were very much excited, to such an extent indeed that it was necessary to ask his Excellency the Governor for troops to preserve order in that portion of the parish.

MR. T. HART, Inspector of Police for St. Ann, to MR. MYERS.

AS the black population are exciteable and easily led, any successful insurrection in one part of the Island would, I think, have encouraged its extension in other districts until it became general. From my observation during the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East I am induced to think that several people in St. Ann were anxiously awaiting the result in order to encourage a rebellious spirit among the people here.

STATEMENT of JAMES HARRISON, Esq., Attorney for Hordley Estate.

I OF course gave all the information I could, and satisfied his Excellency that the Plantain Garden Rebels were a distinct lot from the Morant Bay ones; they, the Morant Bay ones, had gone over the mountains to get to Portland, where they were to be met by our River Rebels apparently.

* * * * * * * * *

The outbreak in this parish was general in the fullest sense of the word, and premeditated from one end of it to the other, and the devastation committed in it, extending over 42 miles, is scarcely credible.

A. NAIRN, Esq., Inspector of Police for Kingston, to MR. MYERS.

AND I have no hesitation in stating that if the vigorous and prompt measures that were adopted by his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, and ably carried out by the army and naval authorities, had not been resorted to, and the progress of the rebellion thus successfully checked, it would have spread like a devastating fire through the length and breadth of the Island, and the consequences would have been most fearful.

From what I have stated you will perceive that I unhesitatingly have come to the conclusion that the seditious spirit of the late melancholy rebellion, had it not been crushed out, would have assumed a general character.

The REV. JOHN DOWNIE, Acting Rector of St. John, to MR. MYERS.

AND to state in reply my firm conviction that the spirit of disaffection which gave rise to the late outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East was by no means confined to that part of the Island. Since my arrival in Jamaica more than three years ago, I have constantly noticed with surprise the very insolent and defiant bearing of a portion of the black population, a bearing the very reverse of that attributed to them in England.

STATEMENT of MR. E. N. HARRISON.

IT may here be remarked that the plundering that was carried on the Plantain Garden River district was not done by the Morant Bay Rebels alone, but by the people that had been actually working on those estates. Thus Duckenfield was plundered by the Dalvey people close to it, and I have heard that they took advantage of being so near to carry away their spoil by the estate's own wains. Golden Grove was attacked by people from Springfield and their own estates negroes; some of the people from Morant Bay may have been there, but I have heard that their main body went over the Cunha Cunha Hills to try and excite rebellion in that direction.

The HON. CHARLES ROYES, Custos of St. Ann, to MR. MYERS.

RUMOURS of seditious language and threats were plentiful, but save in one instance I could trace none to any authentic source. Many of the black population expressed their regret, and asked me what they were to do in case the rebellion came here. They hoped it might not; and there seemed to be an undefined fear that such an event was not looked upon as impossible, although I told them if they were true to themselves it could not.

The REV. C. H. HALL, Rector of Clarendon, to MR. MYERS.

A REBELLION *it was;* there can be but one opinion on the subject. Those only who live at ease at a distance, safe from danger, can term it a local riot.

* * * * * * * *

In this parish there was only one act indicative of a rebellious and insubordinate spirit, and that was an attempt to set fire to the court house.

MR. T. MITCHELL, Inspector of Police for Trelawny, to MR. MYERS.

WITH regard to the people of this district, I am sorry that shortly after the outbreak at Morant Bay, a spirit of disaffection appeared, although in very few cases. One man was apprehended for saying that if he had 12 like himself he would go on a certain day into the shops and cut off the head of every white man in Falmouth.

Another stated that the Rebels would soon be from Morant Bay at Hampshire, and he would shoot all the white men about that district, at the same time mentioning several gentlemen whom he would shoot first.

IAICA.

A. NAIRN, Esq., Police Inspector, Kingston, to MR. MYERS.

REPLY to Question 3rd. I have reason to suppose that disaffection and seditious feeling extended to other parishes besides St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Because the "Watchman" newspaper (the organ of the black population) has published very strong resolutions passed at the Underhill meetings in almost every parish in the Colony, and whose pernicious effects has tended to create disaffection and seditious feelings in the minds of the large mass of uneducated persons of that class.

STATEMENT of the REV. J. W. SLOAN, LL.B., Island Curate of St. Andrew, Golden Grove.

ACCORDING to the experience of the Rev. Wm. Smith, who preceded me, and my own during the 16 months I lived on the hill, nothing portable was safe from thieves. No trust could be placed in their most solemn asseverations. During the night, goats, turkeys, fowls, and ground provisions were stolen; at break of day cocoa-nut trees were stripped. On Sunday, when it was known no man would be on the premises, boys, about 14 years of age, entirely naked, used to climb the trees without detection, the servants left in charge finding it difficult to distinguish their persons without any kind of clothing on. When any black happened to come into my yard, and I complained of my loss, the only reply I obtained was, "Massa, every one is a thief this side." The blacks frequently quarrelled among themselves, and would listen to no advice. On one occasion, September 14th, 1864, a man and a woman created so great a noise immediately in front of my door, that I went and requested them to go away; though they were standing off the path (claimed by the negroes across the hill as right of way) and trespassing on my ground, they left off their quarrel, drew their knives, and threatened to stab me. I declined turning from them until they should pass out of my gate, a distance from the spot of about 300 yards; during their progress the man thrice tried to trip me over a deep gully, striking me swinging blows on the chest with his left hand, prepared to lunge with his knife if I attempted to close with him. I was unarmed, and to provoke me to strike him he at last struck me in the mouth with his fist. I called my servant, but he refused to interfere or tell me the names of my assailants. After hearing for several days a call, "Parson, come out and fight," the affair ended.

STATEMENT of CHARLES MCLEAN, Esq., Clerk of the Vestry, St. David.

IT cannot be denied that for some time past there has been a decided ill feeling on the part of the labouring population of Jamaica against their employers; dissatisfaction was increasing daily; assumed grievances were alleged, and the decisions of the courts of law held in no respect, as formerly; even proclamations and messages from Her Majesty the Queen were treated with contempt and called lies, red lies.

* * * * * * * *

Whether, therefore, the rebellion was purely local or general, there is not the slightest doubt that if it had not been quickly and promptly put down, and the Rebels had got into St. David, the same scenes enacted at Morant Bay would have taken place, and very few of the whites or better class of coloured persons left to tell the tale.

JAMAICA, s.s., PARISH OF SAINT DAVID.

James Sulivan, of the parish of Port Royal, labourer, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith:—That on Thursday the 12th day of October last past, he was on his way to Swamps, in the parish of St. David, to purchase provisions, heard a man named "Christy," a labourer of St. David, make use of the following words in his presence, publicly, to wit, "I hear that they kill the Baron, at Morant "Bay, St. Thomas-in-the-East, and I am going to sharpen my cutlass, back and belly, and go down "there."

Taken and sworn before me, this 5th day of January 1866, at the parish of St. David aforesaid, being first read over, explained to, and fully understood by the said James Sulivan.

his
JAMES × SULIVAN.
mark.

HY. MAIS, J.P.

MR. HOLLINGSWORTH to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Brumalia, December 29, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that the inhabitants of this parish are behaving orderly and quiet, and obedient to the precautionary measures I have adopted throughout the parish.

I have to report the arrival yesterday morning at the District Prison, Mandeville, nine prisoners, charged with conspiring to commit murder and arson, and to state that it is almost impossible (from the over-crowded state of the prison, numbering 116) to keep these prisoners as distinct from the others as they ought to be.

They were brought in by a detachment of maroons with the deserter; they stated they would be returning to-day with several more men concerned in the diabolical plot. I have directed them to be well guarded, and employ an extra guard until I have instructions from his Excellency the Governor.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) JOHN R. HOLLINGSWORTH,
Custos of Manchester.

Hon. E. Jordon, C.B., King's House.

MR. HARRISON to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Old Harbour Bay, December 26, 1865.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 21st inst., No. 2,271, in which I am required to furnish, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, a report of the investigation against William Thomas and others for illegal drilling. I beg to state that at a Petty Court held at the Court House, Old Harbour Market, on Wednesday the 13th inst., 11 persons were brought before the court, charged with a violation of the Act 29 Vict. c. 8., for illegal drilling, &c., at which court I presided, when several affidavits were taken against the parties accused, and finding the examination of the witnesses could not be gone through on that day, namely, the 13th, I adjourned the inquiry until the next day, Thursday the 14th, on which day I did not attend to complete the investigation, but have been told that the justices who presided on that occasion, namely, Messrs. Ludford, Dempster, and Dolphy, were of opinion that it was a fit case to be sent for trial, and that they had fully committed the 11 persons charged to gaol, to await their trial at the next Circuit Court, refusing to take bail for their appearance. Should his Excellency require the depositions taken at the inquiry, he can obtain the same from the Clerk of the Peace's Offices in Spanish Town.

I have, &c.

(Signed) P. HARRISON,

To the Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B., Secretary to his Excellency the Governor.

Senior Magistrate of the Parish of St. Dorothy.

MR. CHAS. B. BROWN, Geological Surveyor, to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, Spanish Town, January 2, 1866.

IN compliance with the request contained in the circular which I had the honour to receive, I now give my opinion on the subjects therein enumerated.

I have resided in this Island for a period extending over only 14 months, and consequently my observations upon the "past disposition of the black population" are very limited; but such experiences as I have gained upon the subject I most cheerfully submit to you.

During my travels over the northern part of the parish of Clarendon and over the whole of Manchester, I invariably found the negroes civil and quiet, and ever ready to act as guides over the districts in which they resided.

On the contrary, while carrying on the survey of St. Elizabeth in May, June, and July last, I could not help observing that a spirit of disaffection was abroad, and that without the smallest possible excuse for such statements the negroes were complaining openly of their impoverished condition.

At one place in the Great Cashew, at Punches River, where I took shelter, the people spoke of the buckras charging too high a price for all sorts of goods, and spoke of the meeting to be held at Black River as certain of producing beneficial results to them.

At Ginger Hill I found an independent and impudent set, and could not obtain a guide to the sinks of Orange River upon any inducements of money that I could offer.

I was staying at Belmont, in the Santa Cruz mountain, during the period allotted by the negroes of that district for an outbreak, which they said was to commence on the 1st of August. My host, Mr. King, procured powder, had his gun in readiness, and had bullets cast for my revolver, on Saturday the 28th July, so convinced were we both that an attempt would be made to fire Belmont on the 1st. On July 26th I made an excursion to Pedro with a magistrate of the parish, who was one who first wrote to the custos to lay information of the rebellious feelings entertained by the negroes in the Lacovia districts, and from my conversation with him on the subject there remained not the slightest doubt on my mind that an extensive revolt was planned. That it was never carried into execution was owing, I am convinced, to the prompt measures taken by the authorities of the parish in acquainting the Government with the disturbed and dangerous state of the parish, and equally so to the response of the Government to the demand for protection by sending a man-of-war to Black River.

It is certainly my opinion, from all I can learn or know of the subject, that the "seditious spirit" which produced the late rebellion was most general and wide-spread.

Residing, as I have done, in Spanish Town from September last up to the present time, I have had very few opportunities of judging the "present disposition" of the negroes, but my opinion is that they are quite prepared to carry out their threats of extermination towards the whites should the slightest want of vigilance offer them an opportunity.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. B. BROWN,

W. R. Myers, Esq. Assistant Geologist.

The INSURRECTION in JAMAICA.

(*From the Morning Post.*)

Sir William Fitzherbert, of Tissington Hall, Ashburn, sends to the "Derbyshire Advertiser" an extract of a letter received from his son in Jamaica, relative to the massacre of white people by the blacks. The letter adds considerably to the meagre evidence received up to the present time of the nature of the designs of the negroes, and their conduct at the first outbreak, and helps to show that there existed a wide-spread plot and abundance of blood-thirsty intentions towards the whites on the part of the coloured population. The following are the more interesting portions of the letter:—

"In the morning I rode out with Cresser, my overseer, and we went by the grindstone; I there saw about six fellows grinding cutlasses, and Cresser told them to stop, that he was going to take off the handle, but they said he should not; I said 'Well, it is hard lines that you cannot do what you like with your own.' We then went down to the field that was to be planted in guinea grass, and the people were down there, but would not come out to work. Directly after Mr. Donaldson, from Hallhend, came riding up in a tremendous excitement, saying, 'All the people were murdered at Morant

JAMAICA.

Bay yesterday,' and told me the names, and said if I stopped on the estate my life was not worth 12 hours, and he was going to Spanish Town to tell the Governor. I then went to the house, and got off the mule I was riding and walked down to the wash-house, which they were repairing, and then went to the grindstone, where more fellows were grinding cutlasses. So I said, 'What is everybody grinding cutlasses for this morning? You look as if you were going to murder somebody.' They said 'Oh no, massa, going to cut bush.' I then went up to the house, had a bath, and changed my clothes, and ordered up breakfast, which I had just sat down to when somebody said, 'They are coming.' I went into my bedroom and looked out of the window, and saw about 40 or 50 men coming up on the lower road, so I changed my alpaca jacket, put on a coat, and took my revolver out of my little black bag, and put it into my pocket. Directly after the book-keeper, Cockrayne, came running in, and sat down on the floor in the corner of the room, and all these fellows came rushing up the steps, calling out 'Buckra, Buckra,' and one of them went up to Cockrayne with a sharp cutlass in his hand, saying, 'What for you run?' He gave him two slashes, the first cutting his face open from his mouth to his ear, and the second over his temples. It was an awful sight, and the blood poured out of the wounds. They said I had got a gun, and I took my oath I had not got one. They said, 'Oh, you think you are going to make a nigger fool,' so Cresser told them to look through the house. Some called out from the outside to bring me out, so I said I had only just come to the Island, and asked them what they were going to kill me for. One said, 'You shoot nigger at the bay,' and I said that I did not. Then he shut me up by saying that they did not know one buckra from another, and they would kill all. Then one fellow laid hold of my coat and held his cutlass in a threatening sort of way, and I held back, but I then thought it was all up, and I meant, at the first chop of the cutlass I got, to shoot the man who did it, and as many others as I could; but, when they laid hold of me, Cresser begged very hard for me, and I said nothing. The chief was about the same colour as Cresser, and so let me off. I am glad we had not a white overseer or I should not be writing now to you. When Cresser told them to go and look through the house, the man who chopped the book-keeper pulled out a knife, and was just kneeling down and on the point of cutting Cockrayne's throat, but the chief stopped him. After the Rebels had left the estate I tied up the book-keeper's head, but he lost a deal of blood. I had him put on a mattrass, and told the servants to look after him and give him whatever he wanted, and they said they would. I went to Kingston, and I have not heard a word from the Blue Mountain since I left, which is two weeks on Thursday. I think the outbreak began sooner than it was meant to do, and I have heard that all the parishes were to begin together on the 26th of December."

Opinion of the Rev. Joseph Williams, Rector of St. Catherine.

Answer to the Governor's Circular.

My opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, as a body, is what it has been for the last 30 years, that, *as a body*, there is little they desire so much as the complete possession of the country, and that you could not find one in a hundred that would not put forth his hand to effect this object (if it could be done safely, *i.e.*, without detection) by the destruction of the white man; because they regard him as an oppressor, inasmuch as he is possessor of what they imagine belongs to themselves by right and by the secret will of the Queen and people of England.

I believe the seditious feeling to be so prevalent among them, that opportunity alone was lacking the other day to have brought about a general massacre of the whites, and that to the prompt and decisive measures (which a section of the English press terms sanguinary and merciless) of the Governor, and of those who acted with him and under him, we owe it that the lives of the white men throughout the Island were not sacrificed, and their wives and daughters not violated.

1. I attribute these dispositions to the inflammatory harangues of low coloured demagogues working on the feelings and credulity of the people by misrepresentations, in order to obtain their votes for seats in the House of Assembly, and for the offices of Churchwardens and Vestrymen, by which appointments the control of trust funds and different charities was placed in their hands.

2. Also to the incessant outcry made by the Baptists against the Church of England, in consequence of the taxation necessary for its support.

3. Also to the fact that a hatred against the Established Church was engendered at the time when, on a public platform, Mr. Knibb, of great notoriety, trampled under foot the Prayer Book, stating that he would as soon teach blasphemy as what was contained in it.

4. Also to the ever-recurring interference of the greater portion of this denomination (Baptists) between employer and labourer on the subject of wages.

5. Also to their representing the planters as badly disposed towards the peasantry, when the former, for self-protection sake, were obliged to employ emigrants, to secure the labour necessary to carry on their estates.

6. Also to the use of unscrupulous language in the House of Assembly, whereby the whites have been threatened with the numerical odds against them, and of the certainty of the country becoming ultimately, and at no distant period, a black colony.

7. Also to the constant publication in newspapers of statements of a similar nature to, and as utterly baseless as those made by Dr. Underhill in his letter to the Colonial Secretary. For several years past the negroes have been absenting themselves from Sabbath ordinances, and during the late spurious revival (so-called) thousands gave themselves up to a licentious course of life, and have never returned to purity of conduct. Very few of the rising generation have added themselves to the churches. Marriage is not now observed as it was some years ago. Concubinage is on the increase. And if funeral rites could be performed by a clergyman of the Church of England over unbaptised infants, the sacrament of baptism be almost completely neglected in the towns.

Wherever investigation into moral conduct precedes the administration of the sacrament, not one-half of the number of candidates that would otherwise present themselves approach the table of the Lord. The number of communicants has decreased very much of late years.

(Signed) Joseph Williams,
Rector of St. Catherine, and
Acting Archdeacon of Middlesex.

REV. MR. DAVIDSON to MR. MYERS.

SIR, The Rectory, Lucea, January 4, 1865.

IN reply to your communication dated 28th December, I have the honour to state for the information of the Government, that I firmly believe that a seditious spirit and great disaffection, to use no stronger term, towards the white population generally, has been and still is everywhere prevalent. I believe that the spirit of rebellion has been general among the black population throughout the Island.

I base these opinions on the general demeanour of the black population at the time the rebellion broke out, on threatening letters which have been written, on declarations made by blacks themselves that should a rising take place in the parish, they would join in it. Only a few nights since a man was overheard by a lady of unquestionable veracity declaiming in most inflammatory language, and in a style which must have been inspired by some one better educated than himself, to a rabble audience just below her windows. There has been for some months past a great, and latterly a very great, decrease in the attendance at church and at the communion of the able-bodied male negroes from the mountains. Few marriages take place. Baptisms are as numerous as heretofore.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., (Signed) ANDREW J. DAVIDSON.
Secretary Executive Committee.

MR. DANVERS to MR. ESPEUT.

SIR, Morant Bay, January 2, 1866.

IN reference to your circular, I am much afraid that I cannot, of myself, give you any information regarding the late wicked rebellion, inasmuch I had left the parish three days previous to the breaking out of same, but can safely say, from my travels through St. Ann's, Trelawney, and St. James, that the bad feeling was not confined to this parish alone. I learned during my travels that the arch-traitor, G. W. Gordon, had held seditious meetings, everywhere instilling disaffection in the minds of the black population. I also learned that the negroes intended destroying the coloured population as well as the whites, with the intention of having the Colony to themselves. I also enclose for you a declaration, showing that G. W. Gordon was in connexion with Paul Bogle, and very intimate with him; he was also connected with him in business, the latter sending him what produce he made from his property.

I am not at all satisfied that the minds of the negro population are settled.

I am, &c.

The Hon. P. A. Espeut. (Signed) J. F. G. DANVERS.

MR. PATERSON to the HON. MR. ESPEUT.

SIR, Monklands, January 2, 1866.

YOUR favour of 28th ultimo I received last night. I had observed for a considerable time previous to the late rebellion a change upon the black population; they were sulky, impertinent, and unwilling to work, and what little they did was badly done and with great unwillingness; they cared little for their employer, and showed great indifference when dismissed for bad work.

I am of opinion that the late outbreak would have been general all over the Island had it not been for the timely arrival of the troops here from Newcastle.

A great number of the Rebels were here on their way into St. David's when the soldiers made their appearance, and, from what I saw of the people in the upper part of that parish, they were, in my opinion, all ready to join in the rebellion.

The people in this quarter are quiet now, but their countenances show in too many instances that they are not satisfied, and are quite ready to join in another rebellion should a fit opportunity offer.

I am aware that meetings had been held in almost all the negro settlements for a long time previous to the rebellion, and up till two days before the outbreak at Morant Bay; the nature of these meetings I am unacquainted with, but firmly believe them to have been of a seditious spirit.

I have, &c.

Hon. Peter A. Espeut, (Signed) JAMES PATERSON, J.P.
Custos, &c.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

The REV. MR. BASSET KEY to MR. MYERS.

DEAR SIR, Wallingford Lilliput, P.O., January 6, 1866.

IN answer to your letter received yesterday, I must request you will inform the Governor in Council that I feel strongly convinced, as far as I have had opportunities of judging, that the whole negro population were and are in a disaffected and rebellious state. I would divide them into three classes; those who are actually plotting mischief; those who know of such, and though not taking an active part with them, yet secretly favour them; and those who know and disapprove and are yet afraid to speak.

This opinion has been formed by no means hastily, but has been growing on me for some time, and the frequent journeys I have lately made through the interior have confirmed me in it.

In the immediate district of Keynsham we have examples of these three classes. Several men have been arrested for holding meetings, whereat schemes of murder and plunder were canvassed and agreed on (as his Excellency is doubtless aware from the depositions taken in their cases), and of which further evidence seems likely to be found. And, even since the troops came, a spirit of insubordination is apparent, people (for whom warrants are prepared) have been heard to say the troops would soon be gone, and then those who brought them should get what they wanted.

And had not the arrests above mentioned been made, it has come out that they intended to cut off communication between the camp and the rest of the district by destroying the bridges.

To a person sent to investigate the affair before the arrests were made, one of the residents in the neighbourhood used this remarkable expression, "If there should be war, which God forbid, I would "join my own colour" (black).

And again, the aforesaid meetings were held in a district from which numbers attend my church and receive the communion, who must have been aware of what was being done, and yet would not come forward and inform.

It is also remarkable what a very bad opinion the "old time" negroes have of the present generation. All such with whom I have spoken have complained of the lawlessness and insubordination of the younger ones.

On the neighbouring Manchester hills, I am informed that large meetings are held in the woods, at a place called Tankee Town, at which rebellious shell-blowing, &c., are heard (of this, however, I have not been able to make a personal investigation as yet).

The extreme ferocity of the negro character, scarcely veiled as it is, I have noticed ever since I have been in the Island.

In St. Ann's, where I was stationed a short time ago, cases of great cruelty occurred, setting aside those to dumb animals. One woman, as a punishment to her own child, rubbed its eyes with raw pepper. Another father and mother tied their daughter (a girl of 17 or 18) up by her wrists till her toes only just touched the ground, and flogged her, when stripped, with supple jacks. These people were communicants, and the only reason they were not brought to trial was the improbability of getting evidence. Several cases have lately occurred in this district of severe cutting and stabbing.

In my journey lately, I could not but be struck by two or three things. In carrying despatches for Colonel Fyfe, when the maroons were going through, I noticed particularly the extreme reluctance of the rural constabulary to forward them on until they believed I could use force, especially in the New Savanna district of St. Elizabeth.

One of the maroons informed Colonel Fyfe and myself that he heard when in Porus some people say that they expected to hear from their brethren in Westmoreland, for that they were all going to rise there.

In riding into Stewart Town, in Trelawney, about three weeks ago, I overtook, in the dark, six men marching, not as negroes usually do, in single file, but two and two, with very bright and sharp cutlasses, and with little black bags or bundles strapped between their shoulders, evidently not returning from labour.

I also noticed in the district of Falmouth, where six months ago I was curate, that those who formerly used to touch their hats passed with a rude stare or turned aside, and on all was visible a disappointed hang-dog expression of countenance.

I was informed by a clergyman in Montego Bay that, before the troops arrived, persons were heard about the streets saying "Six black birds to one white pigeon. You are the smoke, wait till the "fire comes."

Since the breaking out of the rebellion, a great diminution has taken place in the attendance at church, especially amongst the younger men, and during a sermon I lately preached, showing the wickedness and folly of rebellion, a marked and guilty expression was visible on the countenances of many, insomuch that others noticed it and spoke to me of it.

Marriage is almost ignored by the mass of the people. Baptisms are numerous. The attendance at the communion large, but at a class before my first celebration in this church the disorder was so great as almost to amount to a riot, and, in putting a stop to it, I received some personal abuse from two or three.

Volumes could not say more for the absence of order when the sacredness of occupation and place had so little effect.

For these reasons, which, though perhaps little when taken separately, appear to bear but one way, I firmly believe that the blacks require but leaders to tell them of their numerical strength, or the least suspicion that they have sympathisers in England, and the lives of no white people would be worth a week's purchase unless strongly guarded by troops.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee.

(Signed) Basset Key.

Mr. Harvey to Mr. Myers.

My dear Sir, Hillside, Vere, January 9, 1866.

Unfortunately the nurse who heard my cattleman use the words about the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East did not make any affidavit and she has left our service, and is I think in Spanish Town now.

It is a pity I did not call on you, Sir, on Saturday when in Spanish Town, as we might have found the girl and got her to make a deposition; but I left this on Thursday last and only saw your note when I returned here on Saturday evening. I believe the words of the man were, "So I hearrie dem "chopping (or cutting) up the white men in St. Thomas-in-the-East;" to which I learn the girl said "Yes;" and he replied—

"So we want (or would do) to do wid them down here."

I fear I cannot leave home for a few days, but as soon as I can get to Spanish Town I will give you a call.

Wishing you many happy returns of the season.

I am, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Spanish Town.

(Signed) James Harvey.

Acting Stipendiary Justice Buchanan to Mr. Myers. Jamaica.

Sir, Montego Bay, St. James, January 8, 1866.

I have the honour to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, the following reply to the queries conveyed to me in your letter of the 1st inst. in respect to the late rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and as to the past and present disposition of the black population in reference thereto.

I am of opinion that the outbreak at Morant Bay was neither purely local nor solely caused by the occurrences of the moment, but that it was part of a predetermined and deliberate movement prematurely developed.

That disaffection, evil feeling and intention extended generally throughout the Island.

That the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East was premature, and that a general revolt was intended at a later and no distant period.

That the spirit of disaffection and sedition was directly stimulated and excited by Mr. G. W. Gordon, and indirectly by other unscrupulous agitators.

That at the time of and after the outbreak at Morant Bay there were indications among the black population of this parish of a disaffected and seditious spirit.

The grounds on which I have based these opinions are—

The letter of Dr. Underhill to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the agitation and excitement which the discussion of that letter caused in the minds of the black population throughout the Island.

The inflammatory and violent language of Mr. G. W. Gordon in his speeches at the various public meetings where this letter was discussed, and where his auditors were principally negroes. I allude more particularly to his language at the public meeting in Vere and his reference to Hayti.

Mr. Gordon made his appearance in St. James near the close of last July, and it is remarkable that about that time anonymous letters, threatening death and fire, were addressed to certain gentlemen of this parish, one of whom was the custos. In one of these letters it is stated that for doing these deeds of violence, "they were to be paid by a gentleman," whom the writer did not name. Copies of two of these letters and an original were forwarded to his Excellency the Governor.

From Montego Bay Mr. G. W. Gordon proceeded to Hanover, and is said to have attended clandestinely a meeting of negroes at Green Island in that parish on the night of the 30th of July.

About a fortnight before the massacre in St. Thomas-in-the-East, Mr. Gordon was again seen in Montego Bay.

Shortly after the outbreak, Mr. Thomas Brown, the clerk of the peace for this parish, received an anonymous letter, but which that gentleman knew to have been written by an intelligent and well-disposed man, named Butler, residing in an extensive and very populous district, that of Spring Mount, in the interior, warning him that the people in his neighbourhood were ready and determined to re-enact in St. James the atrocities of Morant Bay, and cautioning him to place no reliance on the men in public pay, meaning the police force. These sanguinary intentions I verily believe would have been carried into effect but for the timely arrival in the harbour of Montego Bay of a man-of-war, and the knowledge that the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East had been crushed out, and that the perpetrators of the massacre were suffering the penalty of their crimes.

With reference to the spirit of disaffection and sedition prevalent in the other parishes of the Island, I cannot speak of my own knowledge, but only from common report. In St. James, however, I have observed that this spirit has manifested itself, not only by the anonymous letters referred to above, but by acts of arson, and by seditious and threatening language uttered in the presence of a crowd and elsewhere.

For this last-named offence, two men, namely, Richard William Agnette and Edmund Gardner, were at the last November County Court at Montego Bay sentenced by Judge Kemble to a year's imprisonment. Two other men were convicted before the same judge for a similar offence at the assizes held last month in the town of Falmouth.

About half-past 3 o'clock a.m. on the 22nd of December last the store containing an extensive and valuable stock of goods, in the town of Montego Bay belonging to Mr. Edwin Aarons,—who had previously received a threatening letter—was burnt to the ground. After a rigid and searching investigation, the magistrates arrived at the conclusion that the fire was the act of an incendiary.

At an early hour on the morning of the 31st ultimo another fire was discovered in the house of one Mr. Chambers, in Fort street, Montego Bay, but was fortunately extinguished. The magistrates after a careful scrutiny and inquiry came to the conclusion that this also was the act of an incendiary.

The evil and seditious feeling existing in this parish is further evinced by the evidence of Sarah Small and Rosina James taken before the magistrates in session on the 28th ultimo, to the effect that they overheard on the night of the 24th of December last, while standing at their master's gate in Church street, Montego Bay, two black men and one coloured man, whom they did not know, use threatening and seditious language, purposing to fire the premises of Messrs. Hart and Phillips, two of the principal merchants of the town; also the testimony of Sarah Melbourne much to the same effect; and the statement to the magistrates on the 2nd instant of Mary Anne Chambers, who overheard on the previous night several men and women, near her house in Fort street, declare that "The house "must be burnt, and that there were many persons in the town ready to be up in rebellion."

I was informed lately by the Honourable G. M. Lawson, the senior magistrate of this parish, that he was told by one Stewart, a policeman of the Trelawney Division, that when he (Stewart) arrested last November a black man named Hylton, for disorderly conduct in the Dee-side market—a place situated in the interior of Trelawney, near the border of St. James—that Hylton told him (Stewart), "War is yonder, and will come here soon, if you take me up, when I come back I will put fire to "Dee-side."

The facts above cited indicate the past and existing spirit of disaffection in this district.

This spirit, I believe, is alone restrained by the presence of the troops from manifesting itself in overt acts.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. W. Buchanan,
Acting Stipendiary Justice, St. James.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to Executive Committee,
Executive Committee Office, Spanish Town.

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SIR, Montego Bay, January 9, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to forward for the information of his Excellency the Governor the enclosed letter from a reliable source, and two newspapers which were sent to me since closing my report of the 8th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. W. BUCHANAN,
Acting Stipendiary Justice, St. James.

— Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to Executive Committee,
Executive Committee Office, Spanish Town.

SIR, Montego Bay, January 8, 1866.

I THINK it my duty to inform you as acting special justice of this parish, that in a conversation on 16th November last with the Reverends J. E. Henderson and his brother George Henderson, they mentioned precisely as follows:—

"We are yet to be satisfied as to the guilt of Mr. G. W. Gordon. For the sake of 17 or 18 lives upwards of 2,000 persons have been shot and hung like dogs; thank God we have a society at home that well look to it."

I am, &c.
(Signed) S. MAGNUS, Jun.

R. W. Buchanan, Esq., Special Justice,
Reading Pen, St. James.

DEAR SIR, Point Hill, St. John, Rodney Hall, P.O., December 30, 1865.

* * * * I have read your articles of date 27th and 28th inst. I do not know whether I am your "clergyman from an inland parish," if so, I must beg you to make a few slight corrections in what you may have understood me to say when we travelled together in the train from Spanish Town on the 18th inst.

* * * * * * * * *

The facts are these: My very next door neighbour is a respectable young black man, a shoemaker by trade, born and bred in this district, but until lately resident in St. Thomas-in-the-East, where he married; since his return here, and *before the outbreak of the rebellion*, I had many conversations with him about the parish he had just left; he invariably represented the people there as being remarkably well off, rich in land, canes, pigs, horses, and even in cattle, but as a very lawless set of people; and at various times he recounted to me several special acts of savagery committed by some of them upon the persons or property of the higher classes of society there; and on one occasion, when returning to me some newspapers I had lent to him (as I usually do) containing an account of the accidental burning of Lysson's great house, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, he remarked in the following words, or words to that precise effect: "Well, Sir, I see those people have burnt down Lysson's great house, they are "a wicked set of people up there; they have made up their minds to burn down every great house in "the parish; I know they have, Sir; a bad set of people! That's a reason for one I came away. I "could not live among such a set of people."

This remark, I must observe, was made before the rebellion broke out, but I did not then think nor do I *now* think that he intended to express more than his opinion, or that he had or has any knowledge, direct or indirect, about the rebellion itself; nor did he ever inform me that the Baron or any one else was in special danger.

The man's name I withhold, as I think I have no right to publish it without his consent, as the conversation was private, although by no means "confidential."

I remain, &c.
(Signed) HORACE GURLAND.

Henry Vendryes, Esq.,
Colonial Standard Office, Kingston.

MY DEAR SIR, Kingston, January 4, 1866.

* * * * * You were the person referred to in my article, and I gave what were my impressions of our conversation gathered amid the din and rattle of the railway train; I would willingly correct the matter now, but that it is scarcely any use to do so.

* * * * * * * * * *

I received a note from the Government asking me to give up the name of my "clergyman," as the statement would be of importance just now, and they would like to have it from himself. I replied that I could not do this without permission, but that I would write and obtain it. May I name you?

* * * * * * * * *

Of course in writing to name you, I would state that you have corrected some of the statements made in the newspaper and give the correct version as it is contained in your note. * * *

I remain, &c.
(Signed) HENRY VENDRYES.

The Reverend Horace Gurland,
Rodney Hall, P.O.

SIR, Kingston, January 9, 1866.

I BEG to transmit to you herewith copies of two letters which will sufficiently explain themselves. I may, however, request you to remark, firstly, that my corrections were forwarded to Mr. Vendryes before I was aware that the attention of the Government had been called to the paragraph to which they referred; and secondly, I would wish to state that I am not aware that I have in the written version departed in any respect whatever from the oral information I may have imparted to Mr. Vendryes in the railway carriage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HORACE GURLAND,
Island Curate, St. John's.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, &c.,
Executive Committee Office, Spanish Town.

SIR, Rectory, Black River, January 6, 1866. JAMAICA

I will endeavour to answer all the questions contained in your circular of the 28th ultimo as faithfully as I can.

1. I believe that the white and coloured inhabitants of this Island owe a *lasting debt of gratitude* to his Excellency the Governor and his Excellency the Major-General for the very prompt measures taken by them to put down the late wicked and uncalled-for rebellion.

2. I believe that although there were many loyal negroes, especially amongst the old people, that the "seditious spirit" of the disturbance was GENERAL, and that there were numbers in every parish ready, not only to join in the rebellion, but who would have compelled or induced the better disposed to join them in their unlawful deeds.

3. I believe that although the measures taken to suppress the outbreak may *appear* severe, yet it was more *merciful* to act in a firm decided manner, and that any hesitation on the part of the Governor would have increased the number of the openly rebellious, and consequently that the sacrifice of life would have been much greater.

4. I believe that the black population have *now* seen their mistake, and knowing *now* that success on their part would be utterly impossible, they are again settling down into their wonted state of quiescence.

5. In support of the above I would mention the great falling off that took place in all the congregations throughout the parishes *before August;* the very insolent conduct of the generality, especially of the young men; the almost total cessation of *marriages;* and the great indifference shown towards schools and other means of instruction.

6. I have heard that inflammatory speeches were made on different occasions, but none came under my own personal knowledge.

7. During the last month the congregations are improving, and the demeanour of the people *much* more humble and becoming.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., (Signed) JOHN CAMPBELL STONE, M.A.
Secretary Executive Committee.

INSPECTOR DOWNER to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Police Office, Saint Andrew, January 3, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 2,311, of the 1st inst., to hand yesterday, requiring me to state for the information of the Government, my views and opinion regarding the late rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

In accordance therewith I have to state:—

1st. That in my opinion the insurrection in the first instance was entirely local only because it was prematurely brought into operation by the occurrence of a certain accidental local circumstance of an exciting and irritating character, that an organized insurrection throughout the county of Surry at least was in progress of formation I think is unquestionable, and probably throughout the rest of the Island, and I have been of the opinion for the last two years that something of the kind was in progress; and in support of that opinion, I beg to state that when the news of the outbreak at Morant Bay reached here, the people in this district appeared to me to receive it with avidity, to look out eager for further information, and I felt perfectly sure from my knowledge of the negro character, that the course of events in St. Thomas-in-the-East was being closely watched, and that upon the success or failure of the rebellion did the safety of the Island depend: that the insurrection in its formation was more developed in that parish than elsewhere is I think clear, hence their readiness to seize on any accidental irritating circumstance to break out as they did, believing that the rest of the Island would follow their example. No one, who has closely watched the negroes during the first week in the neighbouring parishes, could have felt otherwise than convinced that the safety of the Colony hung upon the balance of a thread, and that had not the military under Col. Hobbs so promptly and unexpectedly met and checked them at Monklands at the highest extremity of that parish they would have been over into St. David's, and from thence the torch of rebellion would have been kindled in Port Royal and Saint Andrew's: that the people in those three parishes were ready for revolt is evidenced by the fact that, in the first ten days after martial law was declared eighteen prisoners were apprehended in this district charged with using seditious and threatening language, and in almost every case convicted and punished. As early as the 14th, the first day of martial law, a man named Thompson was passing this place with several companions, he was asked by a respectable white inhabitant a civil and inoffensive question, when he immediately turned round and poured upon him a volley of the most disgusting abuse, and wound up with these words, "You d——d white liver'd s—— of a b——, you "don't know what is being done to windward; you won't take warning, never mind, my boy, it is coming "here, and you'll all smell hell," with significant shakes of the head. This was said in the hearing of twenty or thirty negroes, who received it with shouts of approval, and by a man who lives 50 miles from Morant Bay. On the next day a man was taken up at Molynes estate, and brought to me charged with having been taken in the act of urging the people to join him in rising at once and killing all the white men on the estate, saying that "If only five of them would join him, he would "make them do such things that Morant Bay would be fun to it." It is true that the people then refused to join him, but they did not do so because of the wickedness of his designs. "No," said they, "my friend, buckra is too strong for us down here." I could give many more instances of their readiness to revolt had sufficient inducement only been offered them. That a premeditated insurrection of the negroes was in contemplation I have long felt convinced of, and I form my judgment from passing daily events, such as the growing audacity, uncalled for and unjustifiable insolence of the lower orders, the implied threats when called to order by their superiors, and their contempt for police interference with them of any sort. In evidence of the fact I beg to instance the following occurrence. About six or eight months ago, early one morning I heard very loud talking in tones of authority in the men's quarters in the station; such being entirely against the rules of the service, I went down to hear and to see what was the matter. I found a young man named Richards violently

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attacking one of the men for some alleged trifling debt due to him. I asked what right he had to be making that uproar in the Queen's police station; he said, "He came for his rights, and that he would "not leave until he got his rights," and in manner most insolent. I told him he should have his rights, and ordered the corporal to turn him out of the station, which was done. He then came round to the front of my office (which looks into the road), and looking me full in the face and shaking his finger at me, he said "This is your day, 'hem;' but my day will soon come, *then look out.*" This lad had only lately been dismissed from the Kingston police. In further confirmation of the fact of an intended rebellion, I beg to state another circumstance that has only come to my knowledge this morning. Mr. Parry, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman well known to the Government, mentioned to me in the course of conversation that Mr. Pearson, a subordinate officer in the commissariat department, had told him a few days ago that about two or three weeks prior to the outbreak at Morant Bay he was crossing the Kingston harbour, when his boatman suddenly said to him, "Captain, do you know "we are going to have a rebellion here." "Hold your tongue," said Mr. Pearson, "if I ever hear such "words from you again, I'll know what to do with you." "Well, Sir," he replied, shrugging his shoulders, "you may believe it or not as you please, but I tell you it's the truth, and I advise you to take care of "yourself."

That the outbreak at Morant Bay was not only local and caused by some adverse decision of the sitting justices in the preceding petty sessions, I think, is sufficiently proven by the facts that within three days the whole population of the parish were in arms, and we find one band in full operation in the work of death to the whites at Monklands, another in the Plantain Garden River, another at Bath, another at Manchioneal proceeding on through Portland, and threatening Port Antonio, where the respectable inhabitants had to take refuge on board an American vessel.

Another fact in corroboration of my assertion that the outbreak at Morant Bay was not the (word illegible) of the moment, I beg to call attention to the statement hereto annexed, and verified by my serjeants and men, of "Edward Spence," who was apprehended between 12 and 1 o'clock on the night of the 30th October at this station, endeavouring to get past the sentry on duty; he was brought before me, and I at once saw from his evasive answers that he was concerned in the riot at Morant Bay. It took me from 1 a.m. to daylight to get the truth from him, after innumerable prevarications he, at length, through my persistency, confessed in the presence of the policemen in the guardroom the facts detailed. I sent him into the camp, from whence I have since been informed he was transferred to Morant Bay, and there executed, having been recognized as one of the rioters of the 11th October.

With regard to the 10th paragraph of your letter, I have to state that there can be no doubt that a very strong feeling of dissatisfaction existed throughout the Island for some considerable time before the breaking out of the rebellion, and I believe that the bad feeling towards the whites has considerably increased since then, having no doubt been strongly excited by designing persons. They now believe they have a real grievance in the killing of their fellows in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and I think it will be found on secret inquiry that that subject forms the theme of their general discourse when alone among themselves; and I firmly believe that their reticence and apparent civility when in presence of their superiors is one of the worst features in the present state of things among the black population; and I beg respectfully to inform the Government, that matters have by no means settled down calmly, and that a great deal of excitement is at present being stirred up by unscrupulous and designing persons, and the publication of those most injudicious letters from people in England (who to speak in the mildest terms) are utterly ignorant of the nature of the negro, or of the requirements of the Colony, have done incalculable mischief.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Sec. Ex. Com., Spanish Town.

(Signed) W. Daly Downer,
Inspector Police.

Statement.

Police Office, Saint Andrew, January 3, 1866.

Charles Oakley, private of the St. Andrew division of police, brought in on the night of the 30th October a prisoner named Edward Spence for attempting to pass his post surreptitiously when he was on sentry duty at Half-way Tree. The prisoner was brought before the inspector, and from his prevarications and positive falsehoods was ordered into the guard-room for examination; that examination made by the inspector lasted for fully five hours in our presence, and at length the prisoner, after exhausting the patience of everybody with his palpable lies, at length he confessed to the inspector that he came from St. Thomas-in-the-East, that he kept a small provision shop near Garbon Hall, that he was intimate with Paul Bogle, that he was in the habit of attending the meetings held at Stony Gut, that Mr. G. W. Gordon was their protector, and that the wrongs of the black man was generally the subject of their discourse. He knew that there was something on foot, but he could not well tell what; but on Monday the 9th October "the word came to him." "What word?" asked the inspector. "Colour for colour," he replied; and that he was to go to the meeting at Stony Gut that night. He went; there were many persons present, and Paul Bogle told him the time was come for them, and that they were to meet at Morant Bay on Wednesday coming; those who had guns and cutlasses were to bring them, those who had only cutlasses were to bring them all the same. He stated that he had again attended on Tuesday night, when the same thing took place; there were a great many persons present and took the oath (nothing would induce him to reveal the oath). The next morning, Wednesday, he did not intend to go to the Bay, but the word again came to him that, if he did not go, "when they were sharing out the land he would not get any." His wife then persuaded him to go, saying this was the second time they had called him, and he would not go when buckras' land was to be shared out, and that he must go. He then went, and took his gun and cutlass with him, but he did nothing on the Bay; when the people attacked the court-house he was so frightened he ran home as fast as he could, and when the soldiers came next day (the 12th) he ran away into the woods, where he had been concealed until then, the 30th. This was an obvious falsehood, as the district through which he had passed on his way to this station is thickly populated, and if he had

really taken to the Blue Mountain Woods, he could not have existed three days without food; no doubt he was sheltered by the sympathisers in the Port Royal Mountains, who, finding pursuit becoming too hot, cast him off, particularly as he came here in full condition, and not as a man who had been wandering among barren rocks for 18 days.

Examined in our presence and hearing by Inspector Downer and now attested by us.

(Signed) J. F. WALCOTT, L.S., } Lance-Serjeants
ALEXANDER DALLAS, } of the St. Andrew
JAMES JOHNSON, } Division Police.

JAMAICA, s.s.

I CERTIFY that during the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, in the month of October last, I was serving in that parish in command of the Kingston Volunteer Troop, and being employed scouring the country in the direction of Rocky Point, at Dalvey I found, in the custody of a special constable, a prisoner with stolen goods in her possession that she had taken from one of the houses in the River District that was sacked by the Rebels on the 12th October. The prisoner, who appeared about 18 years of age, a good-looking young woman, evidently had once occupied a more respectable position, and possessed of much more intelligence than most of the others we met with, attracted my especial attention. I therefore closely questioned her as to her motive for having associated with the Rebels and aided them in their depredations. She seemed to feel very deeply her position, and frankly told me that they were all told by some men from the Valley of Plantain Garden River, who came up to raise the people at Dalvey, that she and all the rest must go down at once and help themselves, for the Custos and Magistrates were killed, the court-house was burned, and there was no more law in the place, the people were taking away everything, and all must try and help themselves to something. A black woman, not a prisoner, was standing by, heard what the prisoner told me, and corroborated it. The prisoner's name was Salmon, and was dismissed with an admonition. She lives at or near Rocky Point.

(Signed) W. G. ASTWOOD,
Kingston, 3rd January 1866. Commanding Kingston Volunteer Troop.

MR. B. DAVIS, Clerk of the Peace, St. George, to MR. HOSACK.

THAT a spirit of disaffection existed and still exists in other parishes than St. Thomas-in-the-East no one here doubts, and no one in St. George questions the fact that the black population of this parish were ripe for rebellion, for they did not attempt to conceal this, but openly expressed themselves in the Market Place and elsewhere as being ready to join the Rebels if they came, and to destroy the whites.

SIR, Kingston, January 5, 1866.

I HAD the honour to receive on the 4th inst. your letter of the 1st, No. 2,311, requesting me to state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general. I must premise that the opinions which I have formed on these points are based mainly on what information I have collected on the occasions of my official visits of inspection in various parts of the country, which induces me to believe that for some time before the outbreak a strong spirit of disaffection had and still has a wide-spread influence over the minds of a large proportion of the black, and not a few of the coloured population of this Island; the one taking its rise principally from political causes, and the other, following (without any appreciable or well understood motives) the advice and secret counsellings of wicked persons, one of the most notorious of whom was the late Mr. George William Gordon.

I met this person during the months of July and August last, travelling in different parishes, and he told me himself he had been addressing the people. On the 2nd of August he put up at the same hotel that I was at in Montego Bay, on the north side of the Island. He informed me that he had had large meetings of the people in the parishes of St. Ann's and Trelawny, and was then preparing for a gathering in St. James. He extended his visitations to Hanover, and there I know he had a large gathering also.

From the character of resolutions passed at these meetings I have little doubt that sedition was abundantly inculcated in the minds of the people by the inflammatory harangues of Mr. Gordon and others who addressed them, for, indeed, there was no occasion or a subject upon which Mr. Gordon addressed an audience that he did not level the most scurrilous invective against the Governor, the Executive Committee, and all authority, whether ecclesiastical or official.

I cannot believe that the outbreak at Morant Bay was in fact or indeed intended to be purely local as applied to that town, nor was the spirit that conceived the barbarous acts there committed caused by any merely accidental circumstances of the moment, as the sequel proved.

The impression is universal that some circumstance of a local character prompted the precipitation of action on the part of Paul Bogle and his benighted followers at Morant Bay, thus providentially affording an opportunity for prompt protective measures on the part of the local government, which has prevented, at all events for the present, a general insurrection and a wholesale murder of the white and some of the higher class of the coloured inhabitants.

The parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East extends for some 50 miles in length, Morant Bay being within six or seven miles of the line of the parish to the westward. On the morning after the outbreak at Morant Bay the labourers on the estates in the Plantain Garden River District, distant about 16 miles from Morant Bay, turned out as usual to their work. (The manager of the Golden Grove Estate informed me that he had out nearly 400 hands on the morning of the 12th.)

The news of the outbreak at Morant Bay was brought up to the Plantain Garden River District and communicated to the labourers there at about eight o'clock in the morning; before the managers and other white and coloured persons resident thereon became aware of the cause of a general commotion,

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which was apparent to all, every labourer, male and female, in the entire district had deserted their work as if by some preconcerted signal.

Upon Mr. Earle, the head book-keeper on Golden Grove, going to inspect one of the gangs, he found them all drawing off. Upon his asking the head man in charge of the gang why the people were all drawing off, and what was the matter, the man replied in an insolent manner, Oh, you never mind, you will soon see what is the matter; it is a pity it is you come here; if it was that fellow Chisolm (Mr. Chisolm is the manager), we would give him what Walton got at Morant Bay yesterday; but never mind, you will all see by-and-by.

Mr. Earle, riding home, communicated to the manager what he had seen, and advised him not to go to the gangs, as they were swearing to take his life (this was sworn to by Mr. Earle before Mr. Justice Ewart, who took the examinations on a charge against this head man, who having escaped into the woods from the operation of martial law, happened to be apprehended and brought down the day I was at Morant Bay).

On the evening and night of the 12th every house in the Plantain Garden River District (with the one exception of Golden Grove Great House, which was said to have been reserved as the residence of Paul Bogle) was pillaged and partially destroyed, the white inhabitants being forced to take refuge, some in the cane pieces and others in the adjacent woods. Simultaneously with these movements in Plantain Garden River, the village of Bath, five or six miles to the north-west, the village of Manchioneal, 10 miles further on the eastward, and a number of respectable habitations along the coast between Manchioneal and Port Antonio, for 10 miles around, were being pillaged, the residence of the Senior Magistrate in that district burnt down, and the white and coloured inhabitants obliged to take refuge from the fury of the Rebels, some in open boats at sea, some in the woods, and many providentially escaped to Port Antonio, where they were sheltered on board an American vessel.

On that memorable night the Amity Hall House, situated on an isolated hill about a mile from the estate, on the direct line from Bath to Manchioneal, was entered by a Rebel gang, and the manager, Mr. Hire, was there brutally murdered; and his two guests, Mr. Thomas Witter Jackson, the Stipendiary Magistrate, and Mr. Creighton, with Mr. Hire's son, cruelly beaten and cut until they were left as dead. Mr. Jackson's evidence would probably be instructive to those who allow themselves to believe the outbreak of St. Thomas-in-the-East was an ordinary provoked riot.

Upon the occasion of my official tour through the parish after the rebellion, I visited, amongst other places, the residence at Amity Hall. I was accompanied there by Mr. Georges, the Custos of St. David's, Mr. Hanky, of London, and Mr. Chisolm, the manager of the Golden Grove Estate, who had taken refuge in Mr. Hire's house from the fury of another gang of Rebels who entered Golden Grove, and had made his second escape miraculously after the Rebels ascended the Amity Hall Hill with their war cry of "Colour for colour." In this house, left as it was on the night of the murder, we beheld a scene of destruction and blood-stain proofs of the horrible massacre which baffles all description.

The gang of Rebels who attacked Amity Hall and murdered Mr. Hire were known to have come from Bath District, co-operating with those of the Plantain Garden River. Mrs. Major, the wife of Dr. Major, who rented and lived in the top house on the Rhine Estate (Gordon's) near Bath, told me that at about eight o'clock on the night of the 12th October she saw a "flambeau" held out of a window at the bottom house on the Rhine, occupied by the man Lawrence (Gordon's overseer), and some time after this signal a large number of Rebels gathered on the spot. Mrs. Major had no doubt that these were the Rebels who murdered Mr. Hire, and pillaged the house at Amity Hall, as she heard the gang that started from the Rhine declare loudly and openly that they would have Mr. Hire's head that night.

I learnt that a faithful servant of Mr. Hire's attempted to bury the mangled remains of his master, in a coffin which he had procured, but he was prevented by some of the Rebels, who said that they had orders from "*Head Quarters*" to dig a hole and throw the body in, which they accordingly did. In the face of all I have seen and all I have heard, I cannot doubt that the suddenness and readiness with which the entire black population of the parish betook themselves from their daily avocations and co-operated together in the barbarous work of murder, plunder, and arson, they were instigated by the pressure of obligations deliberately entered into and predetermined by a confederation which assigned to every Rebel section their particular line of action in the bloody work.

This is all I can say on the subject of the rebellion in respect to the past, but I cannot close my letter without expressing my own fears (and in which I am not singular) that the almost daily dissemination through the columns of some of the local press of the scurrilous attacks of a portion of the English press on the authorities here is calculated to keep up a bitter feeling of disaffection, which will require to be carefully watched by the local government.

I believe most sincerely that we have more to fear from "pseudo friends" of the black population than we have to fear from themselves.

I believe them to be in the main a peaceable loyal people at heart, if their minds are properly directed and not tampered with by persons who trade on their credulity; but they are an excitable race, and any half dozen demagogues in a parish, studying their idiosyncracy and ingratiating themselves into their confidence under the profession of friendship, may stir them up at any moment to acts of violence and opposition to constituted authority.

I am enabled to say that in every part of the country through which I travel (and I go into every district both inland and coastwise) that there is the most striking evidence of comfort and plenty amongst the black settlers. Some of the abandoned estates and coffee mountains in every direction, once the family patrimonies of Jamaica's former aristocracy, are now to be seen studded with thriving villages and comfortable settlements of the former slaves and their descendants.

I have, &c.
(Signed) D. P. TRENCH,
Inspector of Revenues.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary of Executive Committee,
&c. &c.

The BISHOP OF KINGSTON to GOVERNOR EYRE.

MY DEAR SIR, Kingston, December 27, 1865.

IN accordance with your wish I will state what I learnt from my servant, Benjamin Stowè, in corroboration of the general conviction that a conspiracy existed in this Island to destroy all the whites at Christmas.

I asked him whether he had not heard anything of this. He said he *had*. It was soon after I went away (to England), viz., May last. He heard people talking, but exactly what it meant he could not make out. They would not tell him. They spoke in whispers in his presence. He lay awake many nights wondering what it all meant. It was in the rum shops and other places that he heard of something to be done to the white people at Christmas.

He tried to find out, without his object being suspected, of a respectable black woman (a Miss Clarke; I know something of her) in the neighbourhood. She seemed to know nothing.

Stowe was known to be much attached to me. He has been with me many years. I have not a shadow of doubt that he told me the truth in this matter. When I pushed him as to whether he had heard the plan was to kill us all, he said he could not make out what they meant; did not know what to believe.

I am, &c.

His Excellency the Governor. (Signed) REGINALD KINGSTON.

CAPTAIN KENT, Stipendiary Magistrate, to MR. MYERS.

THERE is not a doubt in my mind that an organized movement of the blacks was to take place at Christmas when all were assembled in their churches on that sacred day, and that not a white man was to be spared.

STATEMENT of the REV. S. R. WARD.

HE (Samuel Clarke) spoke of the haste and impatience of the Rebels, and that as in the Baptist churches all wished to preach, so it was among them.

From this I took it that he knew that Bogle and his associates acted before the time.

The REV. D. R. MORRIS, Rector of St. James, to MR. MYERS.

I HAVE heard of one or two cases in which threats had been held out to individuals, or arrangements postponed with a reference to Christmas or the new year, which after the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East acquired a new significance to the parties concerned.

DEPOSITION of JAMES A. WILSON.

James A. Wilson.—I am a planter, a book-keeper on Golden Grove Estate. On Monday, 9th October last, two or three days before the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay, I had occasion to speak to Edward McTarvish, a head cane hole digger, about some bad work done in the cane field. He got very impertinent and abusive, and said, "Wait a bit, you mulatto fellow, your time is soon coming; Christ-"mas will do for you. I will then let you know what I can do with you at Christmas. If I don't "shoot you, Wilson, the devil shoot me." I was going to take out a process against him, but the rebellion broke out before I could spare time to go before a magistrate and get papers from Clerk of the Peace. He was one who knocked me off my horse when sent by Mr. Harrison for ammunition. I have mark of the chop from cutlass on my back now.

DEPOSITION of JOHN BROWN.

I IDENTIFIED John Pringle Afflick as a great leader of Rebels here and at Manchioneal. When I and other constables took him into custody he said he did not expect to break out then, as it was to be the second day of Christmas when they were to break out. John Afflick and myself are about one age. We used to be great friends.

DEPOSITION of DIANA BLACKWOOD.

I AND my brother and brothers-in-law, and family and estate's people, tried to keep them back, but they said they would come, and they must kill all buckra. Christmas time was the time, but as they broke out at Morant Bay yesterday already, they must have buckra life, and have the estate and be busha and book-keeper themself.

The HON. J. R. HOLLINGSWORTH, Custos of Manchester, to MR. MYERS.

FOR some time past I have observed a sort of defiant and insolent demeanour amongst the young men and women, and it is now too apparent that general disaffection had existed through the Island, and that but for the premature outbreak a scene of carnage would have ensued frightful to contemplate.

The REV. DR. MOORE, Rector of St. Mary, to MR. MYERS.

I HAVE only to express it as my firm belief, that had not God confounded their wicked designs by causing the rebellion prematurely to burst forth, and by inspiring the Government with the spirit of decision and promptitude to act as it did, we would have had this day a very different tale to tell.

MR. PALACHE, Inspector of Police for Manchester, to MR. MYERS.

I AM clearly of opinion that the outbreak at Morant Bay was not local, though prematurely developed; and I come to that conclusion by having observed that when the news arrived here not one

AMAICA. black person expressed any horror at the atrocities; and one young man named "Chambers" actually said to Mr. Isaacs, a Magistrate, and Mr. Justice Sturridge and myself, subsequently (for some trifling matter at which he had taken offence), that "had we been in Morant Bay we should have been shot "or served the same as Mr. Price."

Mr. Gilbert F. Shaw to the Hon. H. Westmorland.

I am fully convinced emissaries were then going about, one of which was currying canes for my mill, on observing Mr. R. Swire passing through the works, made use of the following words, "You can go, but by this and Christmas your white cap will turn red." I suppose referring to bloodshed.

Mr. T. Mitchell, Inspector of Police for Trelawny, to Mr. Myers.

That the outbreak at Morant Bay was, I believe, a predetermined and deliberate movement, and that it was intended for a later period in the year, when it would have been more general.

In support of this opinion I must state the following facts, that several persons have been apprehended in this parish and punished, some for saying to their employers, whom they were threatening, "The 25th December will soon be here, and then you may look out;" and another for declaring "that "on the 25th December he would burn down Deeside Cottage."

Statement of Charles McLean, Esq., Clerk of the Vestry for St. David.

It was well known that emissaries from St. Thomas-in-the-East (Benjamin H. Campbell particularly) had been among the people, and asking if they did not know "the good work had commenced "at Morant Bay, and if they were not going to begin." The families leaving the parish were jeered and laughed at: "Ah, you are going, you will never come back." "We must have our rights."

Statement of Alexander Bothwell, taken on oath.

I reside at Spring Garden, near Stoney Gut, in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I knew Paul Bogle. I know that persons used to attend his chapel in the month of September last and since, at which speeches were made. One Craddock used to make speeches there. On the night of a Tuesday, in the month of September last, I tried to get admission to a meeting at Paul Bogle's chapel. Joseph Kelly (since hung) invited me there. On going there I was told by Kelly and others that I would not be admitted unless I took an oath. I asked the nature of the oath. They refused to tell me. I refused to take the oath, and was driven away. I saw Daniel Johnson and Stephen Smith the next day. They have both been hung. I asked them the nature of the oath. They refused to tell me. They did not tell me the nature of the proceedings at the meeting. I did not ask them. They said they would not tell the coloured people anything, as they were rascals, because the white men were their fathers, and the coloured men would take advantage of them the same as the whites had done, and they would take off the heads of the coloured men as well as the heads of the whites. They also said they would not admit any women to their meeting, as the women were liars.

(Signed) Alex. Bothwell.

Sworn before me this 3rd day of January 1866, at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

(Signed) D. C. McKenzie, J.P.

John Spence, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I live at the Cottage Penn in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was employed by the late Mr. Macpherson, who was killed at Morant Bay. About two weeks before the rebellion Joseph Robinson, Alexander Taylor, Edward Gorden, and McLaren asked me to attend a meeting that they were going to hold. I went. The meeting was held at Church Corner, at McLaren's house, at night. Plenty of people attended it from Dumfries and Nutt's River, and other places, all black men. Those who would not join were pushed outside. They were all sworn by MacLaren upon a Bible. I don't know the nature of the oath. Joseph Robinson asked me to come in and join the meeting. I refused to do so, unless I knew the meaning of it. He told me if I would not join, to come outside, and I did so. I asked Alexander Taylor the meaning of the oath. He said, "They wanted backlands to work without paying rent; they wanted to know what they were paying rent for, and they were to kill buckra." He asked me if my master with whom I was working never stopped my money; I said, Yes, but he never stopped it unless I did something. I never attended any other meeting. After the meeting at Church Corner, Alexander Taylor told me they were going to have a meeting at Staunton. On the night of the rebellion Mrs. Macpherson sent me on the Bay to look after her husband. I saw John Taylor seated at the Fort Wall. I asked for Mr. Macpherson; he told me Mr. Macpherson was dead, and where I would find his body. I did not go to look because I was afraid. I saw Alexander Taylor with a torch walking among the dead people. I also saw Tommy Graham trying to break into the magazine. When I was returning home Alexander Taylor and John Taylor overtook me. Alexander Taylor showed me a penknife and a watch chain, which he said he had got from Mr. Walton, who was killed. He said he would have got the watch too if he had been a little sharper.

his

(Signed) John × Spence.

mark.

Sworn before me this 3rd day of January 1866, at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, having been first read and explained to the deponent.

(Signed) Plato Elphick, J.P.

H. Guscott, Esq., to W. R. Myers, Esq.

Jamaica.

Sir, Buff Bay, January 1, 1866.

I am in receipt of Circular No. 2,294, dated 28th December 1865, requesting me to inform the Government of my opinion of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion.

I have to state, for the information of the Government, that as soon as martial law was known to be proclaimed here, the spirit of insubordination was easily detected from the sympathy that was evinced, especially on the arrival of the troops here on the morning, one o'clock, of the 17th October. I was present at the court-house when the troops arrived. The black people seemed to be quite disappointed, and particularly when they saw the Maroons come down here and join the Volunteers. It is my opinion that if the troops did not come here when they did we should have had an outbreak, from the following reasons:—On Saturday, the day after martial law had been proclaimed, the news was brought here by Mr. Groves that several gentlemen had been killed by the Rebels at St. Thomas-in-the-East. My informant states that the news seemed rather to please the black people, as many of them said that if the Rebels came here they would join them against the whites and browns. I gleaned this information after martial law. Again, I have been informed that a man named Francis Stewart, formerly of Kildare Estate, came from St. Thomas-in-the-East (Golden Grove), during the month of April last, where he had been located for several years; he took about a month to come from St. Thomas-in-the-East to this place. It is said he invited several parties to return with him to attend their *naggo* (dead) meetings there, at Stoney Gut. I have not been informed if any one went with him. He would not state the intention of their meetings, but said they would know when they got there. I suppose he must have made known to some of the people their secret. This part of it did not come to my knowledge. He had a list of names with him, and made collections as he moved about. He was loitering about Spring Garden and Lowlayton for a week or two. During the late rebellion a man from Lowlayton was taken at St. Thomas-in-the-East, and the above-named Francis Stewart was also taken, and were hung at Port Antonio, which shows that the above Francis Stewart must have been active in the rebellion, and no doubt came down here to sow his seditious and rebellious seeds. A letter of a threatening nature was found in front of the overseer's house at Spring Garden Estate, to this purport, "that they would "burn down all the estates in the parish and kill Mr. Ramsay, the overseer." The person who wrote the letter was taken (Joseph Bruster), sent to Port Antonio, tried, and sentenced to be hung. Another threatening letter was found in the court-house yard. A number of persons were sent to Port Antonio from this place for making use of seditious and threatening language, where they were tried and punished.

Several courts-martial were held here in the parish during the time the troops were here; the sentences of flogging were carried into execution in front of the court-house; again, you could see how the black people sympathised with those that were punished.

From the above statement which I have made, I consider the seditious spirit evinced by the black population during the late rebellion to be general, and if the Government had not acted in the active and prompt manner they did, I have no hesitation in saying the whole Island would have been in a state of rebellion.

All I can say for the present is, that things in general look quiet; the people are not moving about as they usually did before martial law. I do not consider there is any danger to be anticipated.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary, Executive Committee Office.

(Signed) H. Guscott, Senior Magistrate, St. George.

Deposition of Francis Gordon.

I was at a meeting held at Church Corner about three weeks before the rebellion. I saw McLaren swear persons upon the Bible. I don't know what they swore to. After they were sworn McLaren said to them, You are not to tell any one, not your father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sweetheart. Moses Bogle and McLaren asked me to join the meeting, but I refused.

Mr. A. E. K. Mudie, Schoolmaster and Organist at Parish Church, Morant Bay, to Mr. Williams.

For some weeks prior to the outbreak I have noticed (while on my way to Pembroke Hall, my residence) gatherings of young men from Stanton Estate, Nutt's River, and Dumfries, and on inquiry learnt that they were on their way to Stony Gut Chapel. Persons also from Thornton and Wood Hall were in the habit of visiting these meetings, which were at times held at Nutt's River negro houses, which is but a stone's throw from my dwelling. Perhaps I might have been urged to notice them as disloyal, or, at least, unwholesome, had not the pretext of religious worship been assumed by the singing of hymns.

Names given by John White, a Maroon, in charge of an abandoned sugar estate, near Morant Bay, named Nutt's River, where "Cameron," one of the ringleaders, resided.

Robert Bailley.	Thomas Howard.
William Bailley.	Thomas Shoowden.
Samuel Walker.	James Lang.
Hamilton Harris.	Andrew Stewart.
William Dakin.	James Howard.
Joseph Qualsh.	Alexander Brydon.
Evan Qualsh.	Alexander Miller (Secretary).
Lewis Weiss.	Thomas Howard.
John Cameron (Cameron's godson).	Richard Thompson.
Bacchus Bartley.	Richard Watkin.
Sampson Channing.	Cæsar Bucker.

John White states: "On the Saturday before the Wednesday, 'Murder day,' Cameron assembled "all those men at his house, and marched them down to meet Bogle at Stoney Gut. On Wednesday,

"Cameron and Bogle met at Stanton cross-road (near Nutt's River), with their two gangs. Part of "Cameron's party returned on Tuesday to Nutt's River to get cutlasses, and returned to Morant Bay, "where they remained. Alexander Brydson said, 'I'll come and cut all your damned heads that "'don't join us.'"

The above statement was made to me by John White, at Bath, St. Thomas-in-the-East, about the end of October 1865.

(Signed) A. G. Fyfe,
Colonel and Chief of the Maroons.

Colonel Whitfield to Governor Eyre.

My dear Governor, Falmouth, November 21, 1865.

I did not like to answer your letter of the 13th instant until I had visited all the detachments in my district and seen enough of the people to give an opinion. I quite agree with you in thinking that a seditious and disloyal spirit pervades the entire Island, and that in all probability the negroes would rise if it were not for the presence of the military. I think that a considerable amount of intercommunication has and is taking place between the disaffected in the different parishes, for I observe men of sullen and dissatisfied looks riding about the country in all directions. About one-half the negroes look happy and contented, the remainder as if they would take much pleasure in cutting one's throat. I think the same feeling exists amongst the women; but I do not think this feeling is confined to that district between Savanna-la-Mar and Montego Bay, but everywhere.

I am of opinion that not a single man can be withdrawn from any of my detachments at Port Maria, Brown's Town, Montego Bay, Lucea, or Savanna-la-Mar, but they should be increased. This might be done by getting one company from Demerara (the only one in that command) and one from Belize, or adding 250 recruits to the regiment, what I have strongly advised the Major-General to recommend; in short, fully 600 men are required for the North-west District.

I must now remark on the police force of this Colony; they are, in every district I have seen, a most inefficient body of men. In many cases old and infirm, they are hardly clothed and look badly fed. I should say, if their services were required, they would be next to useless; they are far inferior to those in Barbadoes, St. Vincent, and Demerara, and I attribute this entirely to the force being located in their own parishes. I should suggest that the whole police be under the command of a chief, an active and intelligent young military officer, and the present inspectors under his orders; they should be frequently moved from one part of the island to another; they should be properly armed and drilled; and a portion should be properly mounted and attached to each station for the purpose of carrying despatches and making rapid movements in any direction required, escorts, &c.

With reference to the military under my command, you are no doubt aware that at present the men at each station are in a most unenviable condition; all the buildings are in ruins, and the soldiers are without barrack furniture or bedding.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) W. W. Whitfield.

The Hon. J. R. Hollingsworth to the Hon. E. Jordon, C.B.

Sir, Brumalia, January 2, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday's date, and, in obedience to your request, send you full particulars of the nine prisoners mentioned in my letter for the information of his Excellency the Governor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) John R. Hollingsworth,
Custos of Manchester.

The Hon. E. Jordan, C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.
King's House.

Jamaica, s.s., St. Elizabeth.

I, William Coley, deserter from Her Majesty's 1st West India Regiment, was on duty with my commanding officer, Lieut. Bates, in Vere, when I deserted about June last. Since then I have been four months at Appleton, and the last two months at Roses Valley, in the district of Oxford Estate, at the house of one Mrs. Louisa Wilmott. Since the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, one Archibald M'Lish, in the district of Roses Valley, and William Chambers and Joe Davy, of Evergreen district, have been and are still in the habit of holding midnight meetings, from 6 o'clock p.m. to 6 o'clock a.m., at the house of William Chambers, where one Joe Davy kept guard. They asked me if I was a soldier, and whether I would join and drill them. I refused; on which they threatened to report me. I reclined outside the house, and heard William Chambers say they must make haste and get powder and guns, and those that had no guns must bring machetts; that they must go down and burn Mr. Coke's works at Oxford and shoot him; that he would keep his Bible in his hand, and when the buckras took him he would swear that it was the Bible he was reading. I recognized at the meeting Charles Farquharson and his wife, William M'Intosh and wife, Crafton Cummings, Albert and Henry Cummings, William Foster, and Sarah Cummings, and one man called Parpy Hall, besides a good many others I do not know. They agree to commence about the first day of Christmas, and as soon as they fired the works they were all to come out with their guns and machetts and take everything out of Mr. Kerr's shop, for he was not selling good to them; and Charles Farquharson said that whenever anything took place they would go to the Bushman.

I, William Coley, make oath and state all the above to be truth. So help me God.

Sworn before us, this 27th November 1865.

W. H. Coke, J.P.
J. E. Kerr, J.P.

The within is a correct copy of affidavit lodged with me,

Jas. Bonthrone,
Supt. M.D.P.

JAMAICA, S.S., MANCHESTER.

Personally appeared before me, John Sawers, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the peace for the above parish, William Coley, a deserted soldier, who, being duly sworn, has confirmed the statement of the annexed affidavit, this 26th day of December 1865, on the same having been read to him, and his signature to this affidavit substantiates the truth of the same.

his
(Signed) WILLIAM × COLEY.
mark.

Sworn before me this 26th day of December 1865.

(Signed) JOHN SAWERS, J.P.,
Manchester.

JAMAICA, S.S., MANCHESTER.

Whereas information hath been made before me, John Sawers, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the peace for the above parish, by William Coley, for that he the said William Coley did and was present at a meeting at the house of one William Chambers (labourer), where Joe Davy, Charles Farquharson, William M'Intosh, Crafton Cummings, William Foster, and a man known by the name of Parpy Hall, agreeing on the first day of Christmas to burn the works on Oxford Estate, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, and murder William Hamott Coke of the said parish, and afterwards commit additional acts of murder and arson, &c. &c. These are therefore to authorize you to take the bodies of the said William Chambers, Joe Davy, Charles Farquharson, William M'Intosh, Crafton Cummings, Albert and Henry Cummings, William Foster, and the man known by the name of the said Parpy Hall, and bring them before me or some other magistrate to answer said charge, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand this 26th day of December 1865.

(Signed) JNO. SAWERS, J.P.,
Manchester.

To any lawful Constable or Constables
of the Island of Jamaica.

December 26, 1865.

Lieut. Robert James M'Leod and 13 Maroons have been sworn in as special constables to execute the said warrant.

(Signed) W. H. COKE, J.P.
JNO. SAWERS, J.P.

JAMAICA, S.S., MANCHESTER.

This is to authorize you to take into the Mandeville gaol, and there to retain the prisoners hereinafter named charged on oath of one William Coley with having conspired to commit murder and arson, as the warrant and affidavits annexed will more fully show.

Prisoners:—
William M'Intosh Farquharson (called M'Intosh in affidavit).
Charles Farquharson, from Evergreen.
William Chambers.
Joe Davy, Amos Vale.
Henry Cummings, Evergreen.
Parpy Hall.
William Foster.
Albert Cumming.
Crafton Cumming.
(Nine in all).

Given under my hand at Derry this 27th day of December 1865.

(Signed) JNO. SAWERS, J.P.,
Manchester.

To James Bonthrone,
Superintendent of Gaol, Mandeville.

By Lieut. Robert James M'Leod and 13 Maroons duly sworn in as special constables.

JNO. SAWERS.
Derry, December 27, 1865.

MR. TRENCH, Inspector of Revenues, to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Kingston, January 22, 1866.

I WAS credibly informed in the north side that during the month of August last, when the north side parishes were considered to be in a state of disaffection, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt of Mount Carey, upon being asked by the Custos of St. James if the black population in his district were peaceable, replied, "I can answer for my own people, but there are 5,000 disaffected people in the parish who are "ripe for rebellion if they only had a leader."

It is most probable that the Custos of St. James may have communicated the circumstance to the Government at the time; but as it seems a strong point in determining the disposition of the black population at the time referred to, I think it my duty to communicate the circumstance as it was told me by a personal friend of the Custos, and a person holding a high social position in the parish of Hanover.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee.

(Signed) D. P. TRENCH,
Inspector of Revenues.

STATEMENT of THOMAS SPENCER TRAVERS.

ON the Monday they told him the people said they would see what they were, whether the buckra or them was the strongest. A policeman riding by, a person told me he was going express to Spanish Town.

The people who rescued the prisoners, after doing so walked about the market threatening that that was nothing, they would see what would happen on the vestry day. Vestry was not far off, when they would show what they would do.

Enclosure No. 5.

MRS. HERSCHELL, Widow of the late REV. VICTOR HERSCHELL, to MR. GEORGES.

ON the 13th day of October last the Rebel ringleader Macgregor came up to Potosi, and during his conversation with my servants one of them asked him if they (the Rebels) were going to kill the white ladies. I heard him reply, "No, we are going to kill all the white men; but we are not going to "hurt the ladies."

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Police Magistrate BICKNELL to GOVERNOR EYRE, dated 23rd January 1866.

I SEND you a copy of the evidence given before Mr. Ewart with reference to Miss Smith. She does not appear to have been subjected to dishonour to the extent that is reported, thanks to the fidelity of the witness, who protected her; but the indignities she has suffered have been sufficiently great.

This morning I had a conversation with Mrs. Herschell, the widow of the Rev. Mr. Herschell. She is on her way to Kingston to give evidence before the Court. She told me that the man who insulted her at Potosi said it was the intention of the people to kill all the men, and to reserve the ladies for themselves.

STATEMENT of R. W. KIRKLAND, ESQ., J.P.

THE day after the massacre at Morant Bay a portion of the Rebels came into Bath, declaring they would cut the throat of every white and coloured man they found.

* * * * * * *

I heard them distinctly say that every white man's throat must be cut, but the estates and women saved.

STATEMENT of JAMES HARRISON, ESQ., of Hordley Estate.

IT was decided, seemingly, to go up the hill. There was a continued lull of about half an hour. All at once we heard the shout raised of "Colour for colour!" "Murder the white b——." "Break "open the doors." "Go to the back door." "Light fire." "See none of them escape." Then commenced a battering and a crash, as of a door broken; then a clashing, as of swords. At last one said, "One white devil is dead; give it them all." "Don't spare one." "Save the doctor; we want "doctor." "Burn the house." "Don't burn it." A cry of "Captain Johnson, Captain Johnson." Then a cry of "Don't burn the house." "Mercy—save me." Loud screams. Then all ceased, and there was a moment's lull. Then the shout of "Colour for colour" was resumed, and smashing accompanied it. At last they ceased, and the shout was raised, "To Holland, Holland." Then a lull, and a voice distinctly said, "No, Hordley; those damned Scotchmen were there at dark." They fired off a shot or two. They then came down the short cut across the hill to us, singing "Cheer boys, cheer, "Sebastopol is taken."

At the foot they were met by several Hordley people, and a loud altercation took place. At last we heard, "They have no business there; we will rip the women and children up, as we can't get the "men." Some of my people then rushed in. Diana Blackwood said, "Massa, it's no use; if you turn "out Mrs. Shortridge and children they won't come." I said, "All right, Diana; no fear of that. You "take care of the ladies, and hide them and the children at bamboo root behind trash-house out "yonder." She said, "Massa, for God's sake don't fire in them; they have guns, and it will raise them "worse, and they will never rest till every one murder. We no power enough to hinder them." She then took up my two boys, and others took Mrs. Shortridge and her five children; my wife and infant, only three weeks old, and eldest child, and rest of ladies following, and all were safely hid. I then went through the house to see if no one was left, and went down my front step. I had scarcely done so when I heard my two large dogs at the back of house barking, and some men crying out as if bitten; then a yell from one of the dogs, and immediately after the house was surrounded. I was hid behind pigeon house at this time, near the house. Everything was most silent; not a sound, but the works full of people. There was a little talking in an under tone; then a few men went up cautiously the front of the step, one with a double-barrelled gun, and cried out, "Come out, you fellow Harrison." Not hearing any one answer, they stepped in, one shouting, "Mind the back door; don't let one of the damned "women go; we will rip them up this night." The house seemed immediately to be filled, and the cry "Colour for colour, colour for colour" raised, and the work of demolishing furniture and house commenced. At last some one said, "The women must have gone into the trash-house; we will burn it

"down and roast dem all up." Some one bawled out—a voice I knew—"Yes, dem in Gordon trash-"house,"—the one nearest the house, and the one farthest from where they really were, and no doubt said on purpose by some of my people. A light was brought, and it was commencing to burn, when a voice I recognized to be Cameron's said, "No obey order, no fire; we want trash-house by-and-bye for "ourselves to make sugar," and they beat out the fire. It was fortunately a showery night, or the mograss or trash would have caught too readily. For this act Cameron's life was saved at the court-martial, although he was a principal in the robberies at Amity Hall and Hordley, the feeling of the court-martial being to give every one the benefit of any kind act or mercy shown. I then got into the canes close by the carriage, and shouts of "Colour for colour, colour for colour" still going on. All at once there was a cry of "Lots of liquor in store," and a sort of lull. Soon after a crash of bottles, laughing, and shouting "Hurrah! buckra country for we; lots of sugar and rum bum bye. Colour for "colour." Laughing and yelling "Never mind de buckra women and pickney; we get 'em bum bye "when we want them. Country for we now." A few went into the book-keeper's house, and commenced smashing there. I was about 150 feet from them in the canes all this time. They left Hordley between 2 and 3 o'clock a.m., and shouted "Holland, Holland!"

Declaration of John Brown, Chief Headman and Overlooker on Hordley Estate.

I was up in a tree when they came to Hordley negro houses to search for the buckra ladies and children, and they were swearing if they catch the smallest piccaninny they would kill it, as buckra must all die this time.

Deposition of Diana Blackwood.

They destroyed the inside of the house at Hordley, and cried "Colour for colour, colour for "colour," and took all the clothes of everybody, and all the pillows and bedclothes, and cut up the furniture, and stole some of the beds, and broke all the windows, and went into the store, when they cried out, "Lots of liquor here;" and those in the house rushed down, and knocked down Duffus, who tried to keep them out of the store. They said, "We don't want the buckra women; we can get them "when we like, and know not what to do with them." "Off to Holland, off to Holland, before it get "too light," was the order, and off they go to Holland estate.

Next day they came back to Hordley negro house and works to search for buckra ladies and piccaninnies, as they would have them. I put ladies in Gully, and went and hid myself. They were going to burn down my house, but my family and people said blood would spill if they touch it, and they cry out "Colour for colour." They then went to Amity Hall, and find Mr. Hire just dead, and they believe the three other buckra dead. They then drank rum and sing out, "Colour for colour; now black man "time." They went on to Manchioneal; some left behind to search the wood for Mr. Harrison and the ladies and children. They search for me, and threaten to kill me. After Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Shortridge and the other ladies and pickney leave I had to hide and get into Bath. They wanted to kill me for hiding buckra. They kill Mr. Harrison hogs and fowls, and ring the big bell, and cry, "To-day is ours; we win the day. Buckra country for me." I was not far from them all this time, and identified many Rebels to the officers and maroons.

Declaration of Alfred Alvarenga, Druggist and Assistant to Dr. Crowdie.

They caught me the next morning, and were going to murder me, but some cried out, "He is a "doctor, don't kill him; we'll want doctor by-and-bye. Kill all the rest; don't save a white or mulatto "man, woman, or child. Kill all the black that help them."

Deposition of William Lake, a Policeman.

They then said to me, "Will you join me?" I said, "What for?" They then said, "They were "going to the Bay to kill all the white, brown, and black that will not join them; but those of the "browns and blacks that will join them they will not kill."

The Hon. John Salmon, President of Privy and Legislative Councils, to Mr. Myers.

I have continued civil and kind to the black men to the present time (yet one of them who I do not know, and never to my knowledge spoke to, said publicly, as proved on oath, he intended to cut my head off, as one of the first), and assisted several by loans of money, and also of land to suit convenience, &c., &c.

The Rev. Dr. Moore, Rector of St. Mary, to Mr. Myers.

I have it on good and reliable authority that when the Governor sent down the "Queen's "Advice;" one man said "He wished he knew in what way he could free himself from the authority of "the Queen;" another said, "The throats of all the whites should be cut." When the news reached this place of the massacre of St. Thomas-in-the-East, there was no sympathy in their countenances or demeanour: they appeared rather exultant; but when the counter-news came of the just retribution upon the Rebel murderers, then they were downcast and sullen. Before the outbreak and subsequently several threatening letters were sent through the post office and otherwise to merchants and gentlemen upon the Bay.

Mr. T. Hart, Inspector of Police for St. Ann, to Mr. Myers.

I am told that in many of the villages people have said that the white inhabitants must be destroyed.

STATEMENT of JULIUS HIBBERT.

I WAS at Monklands at work and did not go to the Bay. On that night the people came up with sword and gun, and some of them covered with blood; they said "They had killed the white people, "and would kill them all down to the last sambo."

STATEMENT of MRS. HITCHINS, Widow of Captain E. W. Hitchins.

AT daybreak on Thursday morning came the reality. I heard the shell blow, and calling for my children, rushed in the bushes to hide. Duncan Stewart (Captain Stewart he is called by the Rebels) announced himself as the murderer of my husband, and that, as he had made a promise to lay my body beside that of my husband, he had come to perform his duty. I heard others cry to spare her, "for she is the handsomest mulatto woman in the district. Save her! save her! don't you want wife?"

* * * * * *

At this time I could not find my eldest child, only two years old, and never saw nor heard anything of her until next day she was brought to me without shoes or clothing except a little night dress saturated with the rain that was at the time falling in torrents. I was then at this same time wet to the skin myself, without shoes, and only one garment on. The river was swollen and there was no getting over it. I had there to remain in that state of wretchedness and misery. I had a thought of then throwing myself in, and thus put an end to my existence, but the thoughts of my children forced itself on me and I was dissuaded from my purpose. At intervals I heard the shouts of the Rebels, and their cries of "Jamaica is done for ever; we will lay every white man on the ground, among them the "Governor."

ISAAC TAYLER, on his oath, saith as follows:—I was at White Hall, the residence of Mr. William Smith (since dead). The night after the rebellion at Morant Bay plenty of Rebels came there. They had sticks and cutlasses. Mr. Smith who was in the house at the time, made his escape. The Rebels attempted to burn down the house. I prevented them. After, they left and went over to Mr. Gray's. One of the Rebels, John Thompson, remained; he would not go away. I told him to follow the rest; he said he would do as he liked, as the country now belonged to them. He remained in the house all night.

* * * * * *

Taken and sworn to before me
this 8th day of December 1866.
Re-sworn 22 January 1866.
(Signed) D. EWART.

his
ISAAC × TAYLOR.
mark.

STATEMENT of DR. EDWARD WILLIAM MAJOR.

IN the evening of this day (Thursday), a number of armed Rebels supposed by the Rev. W. C. Murray, who was on the road at the time and had just time to turn into the Rhine land while they passed, to be about 800, passed the Rhine singing their infernal song with hellish glee, "Buckra's blood "we want, and buckra's blood we'll have, till there's not a drop left in the land," and shouting their watchword, "Colour for colour," and never will this dreadful night be forgotten by my wife and family. They were then on their way to murder Mr. Hire and all the whites they could find, and said they would call upon them as they came back. I believe there has not been one lady killed, but the purpose for which they were spared makes the rebellion still worse than the Indian mutiny, and it is now admitted that orders were given by the leaders to kill all the males and to save the females as they would take them for themselves. How truly thankful we all ought to be to Almighty God for frustrating the wicked designs of such brutish demons, and I need not tell you how his Excellency the Governor is blessed by every right-minded person in the Island for having been the means, with God's blessing, of rescuing our wives and daughters from the horrible fate intended for them.

DEPOSITION of the HON. W. P. GEORGES, Custos of St. David.

DURING my concealment I heard the people declare that not a white nor brown man should be alive at Christmas. I was within a few yards of the lamented Baron, Herschell, Hitchins, Cooks, and some others when they were most brutally murdered. The scene beggars description.

STATEMENT of THOMAS HENRY BUNTING of Manchioneal, St. Thomas-in-the-East, concerning the late Rebellion.

ON Tuesday, 10th October last, I was informed by a policeman that on the preceding day certain persons had attacked the police at Stony Gut, in the Morant district of the parish, and that he was sent to summon the police stationed here, and that the volunteers of Bath had orders to march on the following day. The volunteers at Manchioneal, having no fire-arms, were not called out. I was just out of a very severe fit of sickness, having been confined to bed for 15 days. Nothing was hearp further until Thursday morning, when I saw a black man riding on to Portland; being a stranger I called him in, and, after great persuasion on my part to him, I got out of him that the Rebels had burned the court house, killed several persons, and all the volunteers were either killed or wounded.

He was very sullen. He then started for Portland. During the day I saw other parties who confirmed his statement. Towards evening I saw persons in groups of five or ten assembling, and, on seeing a coloured person pass, would use threatening language, to wit, "You will soon be all put down, at least "by to-morrow this time." A black man entered my store asking for credit, and for goods in quantities that were never sold; on being refused he swore that by next day You will be all settled, and then they would see who was master. Early Friday morning I heard a cry, "They come," and immediately, while the coloured and white persons from the river district were leaving for Portland, the blacks, principally women, were using threatening language. By this time it was known that Mr. Hire was murdered, in fact, several black men stated the day before that the people in the River will now catch it, meaning the overseers, &c.

A black man, appearing very haggard, called at my store; I asked him what was going on in the River district, he got very impudent, stating that I had better stay until the following day, as the Rebels would not be here for some days. I subsequently learnt that they were then not three miles from the village, and the man was afterwards tried, convicted, and executed as one of the murderers of Mr. Hire. I still doubted their intentions to kill all the white and coloured classes, thinking that the overseers who employed them were those they sought for, and that storekeepers who generally obliged them with credit, &c. &c. were not aimed at; but in this I was deceived by seeing a lot of men with cutlasses and sticks assemble in front of my store, several stating that the whites and coloured will all be soon got rid of; some advised me to leave, others to stay. At about 2 p.m. an old servant of mine, who was working in the River district, came in and stated that he had come home with some persons, and he heard my name, with others, mentioned to be murdered; knowing the man I then thought it time to leave. I could not go to Port Antonio by land, fortunately I had a canoe on the beach, which I embarked in; that scarcely got 50 yards off when I saw a mob of about 500 or 600 persons, armed with cutlasses, lances, sticks, &c., entering the town. I heard shells sounded, and a tremendous noise. I remained in the harbour for about a quarter of an hour, when I sent a man along the beach to reconnoitre, but he met with some women who drove him back. I had no other alternative but to go to sea, which I did, and, after great danger, arrived at the town of Port Antonio, at 10 p.m., where I remained, no person venturing along the road to Manchioneal until H.M.S. "Wolverine" arrived, on Sunday 15th inst., when I started with Colonel Hole's detachment to Manchioneal, where we arrived on Monday 16th inst. On arriving I found my store completely sacked, all goods at the wharf stolen, my residence burnt to the ground, destroying all my household furniture, &c. &c., clothing for self, wife, child, mother-in-law, and sister-in-law, leaving me perfectly ruined. The distance from Morant Bay to Manchioneal is 30 miles. On my return I was informed by my mother-in-law, who did not leave with my family in the morning, that she heard the Rebels calling for me, and several were looking for me to murder, stating they wanted a head to put up in the Solas market. This I also heard from several other parties who had nothing to do with the rebellion, which caused me to believe that if I and the other white and coloured persons did not escape, we would have been all murdered by the misguided parties who led and caused the late deplorable rebellion. The inhabitants of Manchioneal (black) were ready, and joined their friends as they entered the district, which causes me to believe they were prepared for a general destruction of the lives of the white and coloured; but all cultivation and some houses which were not completely destroyed must have been mutually agreed on by the parties implicated.

(Signed) THOMAS HENRY BUNTING.

Port Antonio, January 2, 1866.

Declared to before me, this 2nd day of January 1866.
(Signed) MAURICE JONES, J.P.

The writer of this, and his family, are coloured people.
(Signed) H. W.

Jamaica, s.s., St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

WE, the undersigned inhabitants of the district of Manchioneal, in the parish aforesaid, do hereby solemnly declare that between the 13th day of October and the 16th day of the same month, in the year 1865, we heard certain persons who were in rebellion against our Sovereign Lady Victoria, utter the following words:—

"That they would destroy the white and coloured classes, and take possession of their estates and "other property belonging to the same," and other threatening language.

(Signed) WILLIAM MCPHERSON.
HENRY FLEMING, jun.
WILLIAM RENNIE.
THOMAS COUSINS.
THOMAS BURKE.
LOUIS ORR.
SAMUEL R. WEST.
GEORGE FANDRESH.
ALFRED EDIE.
JOSEPH P. SMITH.
JOHN ROWLANDS NAYLOR.

And further that the distance between Morant Bay and Manchioneal is 30 miles.
Declared before me this 30th day of December 1865.
(Signed) H. SEYMOUR KENNEDY, J.P.

JAMAICA.

STATEMENT of THEOPHILUS LYNCH BYLES.

Jamaica, s.s., St. Catherine.

I, Theophilus Lynch Byles, do swear that I was at the late "Underhill meeting," held in Spanish Town, and heard Goldsen of Kingston, late police serjeant, speak.

He said, in my hearing, that the time was fast coming when every white man's throat would be cut; that the white man was no friend of the blacks, and that the one-eyed or cocked-eye man among the blind-eye men is King.

(Signed) THEOPHILUS LYNCH BYLES.

Sworn to before me this 5th day of November, at St. Catherine's.

ALEXANDER HESLOP,
Attorney General.

MEMORANDUM of the late INSURRECTION in ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST.

WHETHER the late rebellion in this parish was purely local, or was generally organized throughout the Island, cannot be decided at present; but it cannot be denied that for some time past there has been a decided ill feeling on the part of the labouring population of Jamaica against their employers. Dissatisfaction was increasing daily, assumed grievances were alleged, and the decisions of the courts of law held in no respect as formerly; even proclamations and messages from Her Majesty the Queen were treated with contempt, and called lies—red lies.

For some time past the question of land seemed to have caused great uneasiness, and the people considered they were of right entitled to the land without any payment for same. We may instance their unwillingness lately to pay rent although agreed for, their squatting on all lands they could get possession of without paying the value, their complaints and cruel treatment of all stock belonging to the large proprietors that might be found in their fields, and the enormous amount they claimed for damages; and it has of late been a common expression, "Land for we, but we can't get it." Along with these notions concerning land, the younger portion considered they should not work in the fields whilst others in the Island could drive in carriages, live in comfort, and, as they assumed, without working. Then came the political agitators—men who kept up and instilled every evil doctrine they possibly could in the minds of the labourers.

It cannot be questioned that for some time past the conduct and bearing of the people have been very different to what it used, and on all occasions rudeness and impertinence preferred to their former quiet manner. Even this conduct has been carried into families, and the replies to employers by household servants were often such as to cause great pain and annoyance. They came and went as they chose to their employers' service, and no remonstrance could improve this conduct. It was even worse on the female part. They left service as they thought proper, and on remonstrance their parents wrote rude, offensive and threatening letters defending their conduct, and entirely removing them from any control of their former employers, although they had previously expressed thankfulness for the great care bestowed on them.

Education has hitherto done little good for the people: those who leave school seldom resort to agricultural labour or trades; they resort to preaching, tailoring, or some idle life, and the black boy who can read and write is generally the greatest burden on his friends, considering himself too good to be a field labourer, and he generally becomes the parish agitator, and is ready for mischief on all occasions.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, the people of St. David were greatly agitated, and the news were, "The Rebels will be over directly." There was, however, no actual sign of outbreak; but such were the fears entertained, that all the families left the parish; and it was not until Lieutenant Oxley and 70 men of the "Wolverine" arrived at Easington that the least confidence was felt.

It was well known that emissaries from St. Thomas-in-the-East (Benjamin H. Campbell particularly) had been among the people and asking if they did not know "the good work had commenced at Morant "Bay?" and "if they were not going to begin?" The families leaving the parish were jeered and laughed at:—"Ah, you are going; you will never come back." "We must have our rights."

Political agitation was always kept up in St. David by Samuel Clarke, and this man invariably taught the people to be insolent and rude to their employers. He attended the courts and caused great mischief by his always rude and overbearing conduct. The people at all times resorted to him for advice and instruction, and of late he was greatly aided and abetted by J. W. *Menard*, a coloured American. This latter had a debating society in the parish, in which such questions were debated as,—

Whether "Republican or kingly government was best adapted for the good of mankind?"
Whether "Fire or water was the greater element?"
Whether "The pen or the sword the more able instrument?"
Whether "Alexander the Great or Peter was the greatest warrior, or did most for the good of mankind?"

These two men, Clarke and Menard, aided by others, wrote scurrilous and abusive letters at all times in the "Watchman" newspaper tending to bring the authorities into disrespect, and they advised the people, when Her Majesty's advice to the people of St. Ann's was published, to pay no attention to same, and, pointing to the proclamation at the court house, said, "they were lies—red lies—and never came "from Her Majesty."

There is no doubt that the constant agitation kept up in England by the Anti-Slavery Society caused great mischief. The negro, if left to himself, is a quiet and unassuming individual; but ideas of wrongs, &c., had worked his mind to an alarming pitch. Then came Dr. Underhill's letter, telling him he was "starved, wronged, overtaxed, and imposed on." Without doubt he believed these assertions, and looked on himself as the most wronged creature in the world, and that the employers were the most cruel men who deprived them of the land and all other comforts. There is no doubt the children even were beginning to imbibe these doctrines, and to curse the whites and better class of coloured men

(that is, the employers generally) as the cause of all their wants and deprivations. As an instance of this, it is reported by the schoolmaster at Stoakes Hall, St. Thomas-in-the-East (Golden Grove School, under Rev. Mr. Sloane), that on Thursday, 12th October last, the day after the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East, hearing of what had occurred there, and seeing great perturbation in his district, he inquired of the boys why the people were not at work on Golden Grove and the other estates as usual. They recited what had occurred at Morant Bay the previous day, &c. Feeling no security for himself and family, he dismissed school and directed them to return home. He found them at an unusual *game;* and on inquiry found they had formed two divisions, *Whites* and *Blacks*, with a sham fight, and the Blacks were strongest, and crying out, "Down with the Whites; no more for them."

It cannot be denied there were many black persons that would have remained trustworthy and faithful to their former employers and friends; but such were the threats used they were themselves afraid to avow good principles; and there is not the slightest doubt those who showed any good feeling would have been destroyed along with their employers.

At a quarterly meeting of the vestry in St. David, Samuel Clarke requested that Dr. Underhill's letter should be read. This was complied with. The clerk of the vestry, after reading the letter, said, "After all, there is very little in the letter." Clarke said there was a great deal; and if the people did not get their rights there must be *bloodshed*, and they must *fight for it*. The court remonstrated, and said, "Really, your Honour, this is *treason*." It was the desire of Clarke to have no one holding parochial appointments but black men. To carry out this end all the vestrymen of the parish were *black men* (elected), and at a recent vestry they made a most determined opposition to turn out all the coloured schoolmasters and elect black ones in their stead. Clarke, attending the school at Yallahs, told the boys (almost all blacks) to persevere in their studies, for shortly the Island would be theirs, for nobody could keep it much longer from them.

Whether, therefore, the rebellion was purely local or general, there is not the slightest doubt that if it had not been quickly and promptly put down, and the Rebels had got into St. David, the same scenes enacted at Morant Bay would have taken place, and very few of the whites or better class of coloured persons left to tell the tale.

CHARLES MCLEAN.

I AM proprietor of "Recess" property in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. A short time before the rebellion broke out in St. Thomas-in-the-East, several parties applied to me to rent portions of my woodlands. I told them I wanted the land, and had no intention to lease any part of my property. Upon making this reply, on one occasion in particular, the parties said to me, in the most cool and daring manner, "Mr. Gyles, you won't rent us your land now, but we tell you the time is soon coming "when we will take it before your face, and won't ask you leave, and you won't be able to help yourself." This is to me a proof that the spirit of sedition and rebellion was abroad, that our lives then were in jeopardy, and that we would have been all butchered, had not Governor Eyre so promptly crushed out the rebellion in October last.

WILLIAM GYLES.

STATEMENT of MRS. BROOKS, Wife of the Rev. G. B. Brooks.

A FEW days after the outbreak at Morant Bay I asked one of the most respectable members of my husband's congregation if, in the event of a rising in this district, he thought any of the negroes would stand by Mr. Brooks and myself, and try to help us. His answer was, "I can't rightly say, misses, "but I suppose they would go with the strongest side." I replied, "Then you mean they would leave "us and be on the side of the blacks, as they are the larger number;" and his answer was, "They would "SURE to do this, misses, for even if any of them wished to help you, they would not dare do it."

(Signed) LAURA BROOKS.

A. E. K. MUDIE, ESQ., to J. S. WILLIAMS, ESQ., M.C.P., &c. &c.

SIR, Kingston, December 30, 1865.

INQUIRY having been made of me for any information that I could afford touching the rebellion which recently occurred in St. Thomas-in-the-East, of which parish I am an inhabitant, holding the respective offices of parochial schoolmaster and organist to the parish church.

Permit me respectfully to state that, for some weeks prior to the outbreak, I have noticed (while on my way to Pembroke Hall, my residence) gatherings of young men from Stanton estate, Nutts River, and Dumfries, and on inquiry learnt they were on their way to Stony Gut chapel. Persons also from Thornton and Wood Hall, were in the habit of visiting these meetings, which were at times held at Nutts River negro houses, which is but a stone's throw from my dwelling; perhaps I might have been urged to notice them as disloyal, or at least unwholesome, had not the pretext of religious worship been assumed by the singing of hymns. That the black people of St. Thomas-in-the-East have been for at least a year past disaffected towards the Government is in my mind satisfied, for I well remember remonstrating with two black young men (Martin and Gray) relative to their attachment to G. W. Gordon's political teaching, and their attendance at the public meeting he last held in the Parade at Morant Bay, in which conversation I was necessitated to say, "If Mr. Gordon continued to "excite the people by telling them that they are ground down, &c., &c., there would be no wonder if "they rose in rebellion." Whereupon one of these young men stated "they would have risen long time, "from the way the Governor taxed them, and the Baron kept them down in the parish, but it was "Mr. Gordon that prevented them."

On Wednesday, 11th October, two men were returning from Morant Bay, one with a cap and sword bayonet of volunteers: my wife inquired of the other as to the state of things in the Bay, and the answer was, "By to-morrow this time (5 p.m.) you will ask better, for you all so (I presume meaning "fair persons) will cold in dirty (*dead and buried*)."

On Thursday morning very early a group of young men and women armed (among which was one Elizabeth Bailey), passed by my residence on their way to the Bay, when one of the number, by way

JAMAICA. of encouragement to some other or others, said, "Come on, Mr. Gordon say we to fight for we country, "we sit down quiet too long." It is also to my knowledge that *one* of the concubines of Paul Bogle went up in the month of September to a negro village, known as Wilmington, and endeavoured to obtain a house to hold meetings, but the residents were persons in communion with the Established Church, therefore she met rather a cold reception; besides she had a strong opponent in the person of Nathaniel Lake, a rural constable and communicant of the Church, who stated that his minister told him not to go to Baptist meetings, and he was quite contented with the Church's teaching. And it is worthy of remark, that the residents at Wilmington have been spared the gallows, the bullet, and the cat, and remain a peaceable and loyal people, while in every other place where these so-called religious meetings were held disloyalty reigned.

I well remember passing by William Chisholm's house (Gordon's agent) on Thursday, 10th August, when I observed on a large tree nearly opposite, pasted upon the "Queen's Message to the Working "Classes," that placard known as Gordon's seditious placard, calling upon the people to be up and doing, as they have been ground down too long. And in further proof of the outbreak being neither local nor personal, but open rebellion, it is well known that the police station is still standing at Morant Bay (although a wood building), as on the attempt to demolish it being made voices from the mob exclaimed "Don't touch that, it is not Queen's property, it belongs to Mrs. Lundy."

Knowing as I do persons from every quarter of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and observing them at Morant Bay on the memorable 11th October, it is to my mind clear and conclusive that a well laid conspiracy prevailed. There are doubtless many matters existing that I cannot now record in this hurried statement, away from the spot of the late brutal massacre.

I voluntarily and conscientiously affirm, that I am impressed with the belief that had the Government not nipped the revolt in the bud, it would have spread throughout the Island, and terminated in the utter extermination of the white and coloured inhabitants, and all loyally disposed subjects.

I am, &c.

(Signed) A. E. K. Mudie.

R. G. Harrison, Volunteer, to Mr. J. S. Williams.

I received a circular from Captain Hitchins on Wednesday morning, the 11th October 1865, calling me out as a volunteer to duty on actual service. I sent for a beast to ride, and soon after I saw my two brothers leading a mule, which I mounted, and along with Private Rutty we rode to Bath, expecting to meet the other members of the company. When we arrived, we found they had gone on; we took our arms, and my brother Norman Harrison took 20 rounds cartridges, and gave us each 20 rounds, we then mounted our horses and galloped on for Morant Bay. On our way we saw many people with large sticks running on towards Morant Bay. We overtook Captain Hitchins and the other volunteers a little before we came to Oxford. We rode on in company till we came to Nuts River, where Captain Hitchins ordered us to dismount; we were then marched on foot on to Morant Bay; on arriving there we found everything quiet, and we were marched to the tavern to rest and get something to eat, after that we were marched to the court-house, and were put through firing in different sections, without any cartridges by the instructor. Previously, we had been served with ten rounds ball cartridges, at Nuts River. After having gone through a few movements, we were ordered to fall out, but not to separate; very shortly after, I heard the bugle, and voices saying, "they're coming! they're coming!" The volunteers immediately fell in, and they were ordered to load with ball cartridge, the Rebels then made their appearance, I then heard Captain Hitchins say "Read the Riot Act, read the Riot Act." I then saw some one run into the court-house, and bring it out, and give it to the custos; during this, the Rebels were steadily marching down upon us, and the Baron waved his hand to them, and told them to keep back and keep peace, but playing their drums with a man dancing before, they continued to advance. The custos seeing they were so near and would not halt, he commenced reading the Riot Act, and could not have read more than three lines when the Rebels came within about three yards of us, when I heard the word to fire; I was in rear on the left, and many came round behind me, immediately as I drew the trigger I felt a blow in my back from a stone, and I was knocked flat down, and my rifle taken from me. I managed to get up and go under the court-house, and afterwards I went upstairs with Captain Hitchins, my brother, and a few others. While in the court-house, the Rebels threw many stones, and fired at us, we returned a few shots at those whom we were in actual danger of being shot by, as the custos and Captain Hitchins told me not to fire at any but those who we saw had guns pointed at us. The custos sent down an old black man with a white handkerchief, telling them to be peaceful, and asking what they wanted; but they would not come to any terms, but they continued to fire and threw stones, they then set fire to the school-house, and as soon as the flames rose the court-house in which we were sheltered also took fire.

The custos and Mr. Georges asked Mr. Alberga where his policemen were, and he answered that he did not know where they were gone. When we found the roof of the court-house was falling, we thought it time to get out; some of us went through the window, and others through the door; we then went into Mr. Price's house, where the Rebels continued to fire at us. After a time Mr. Price's house also took fire, and we had to leave that also, and go behind the wall of the fort. When in Price's house I saw the dead body of Lieutenant Hall, of our company, in the piazza, and there he was left when we came out of the house to escape being crushed by the falling roof. After my rifle was taken from me, Captain Hitchins put another into my hands. After we had gone outside I saw many Rebels firing and throwing stones, which nearly hit us; but the custos, though I kept pointing my rifle at them, would not allow me to fire. I saw about six of them take young Pieddo, and dragging him along, and beating him. I wanted to fire at them, but the custos and Hitchins would not allow me. After this, while keeping a look out to see that we were not surprised, I received a shot in my left eye, the rifle dropped from my hands, and I fell down close to my brother; soon after, the Rebels made a rush at us with guns and cutlasses and sticks; my brother William and myself endeavoured to hide from them, but they found us out and demanded my brother's gun; being overpowered in numbers he delivered it, and they then beat him or chopped him to death, they then commenced on myself, and they gave me several fearful blows on my head and on my hands; they then dragged me down the hill and left me. I

remained still and they supposed me dead, and came to look at me two or three times; they pulled off my trousers and boots, and left me; when I found everything quiet I went into a bush close by the sea-side and laid down there till morning. I got up at daylight, and as I walked along the sea beach I saw many people, but they would not assist me, and I went to an old black woman who I knew, and who washed off the blood, and some one gave me a shirt and trousers, and the soldiers came and took me, and I was taken on board the "Wolverine,' and brought to Kingston Hospital, where I was insensible and lost my speech for three weeks.

I had often thought there would be some disturbance in the Plantain Garden River district, and I heard my brother Norman say continually that he expected an outbreak, and that he wished the volunteers would be more attentive to their drill, and that more would join; but I never supposed that on the day we were called out we would have seen such a host of Rebels, or expect such deeds to be done. I had several times heard a man named McTarvish say that he would like to kill every Scotchman in the district, and that there would soon be a war in Jamaica against the white people. The people were very impertinent, and would often string across the road, scarcely allowing room to pass, and when you brushed near them for want of space, they would abuse one and ask if you wished to mash them, and all that one was able to do was to keep silence and pay no notice to them. I remember that three trash-houses, Golden Grove, Hordley, and Dunkenfield, were set on fire, which showed bad intentions on the part of the people.

R. G. HARRISON.

Hospital, January 3, 1866.

MY DEAR HOSACK, January 7, 1866.

THE note to which you refer was written, I think, soon after Mr. G. W. Gordon's lecture in Vere. The precise words I cannot vouch for, but I expressed an opinion that it was time for the law officers of the Crown to interfere; that we had no police, so to speak, and that a conspiracy might be hatched next door to a police station without the Government knowing anything about it; and finally, that we were then sleeping on a volcano, and that the Governor did not (as Jonathan would say) seem to realise the situation.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. W. Hosack. ALF. FYFE.

MR. W. C. HARTY to GOVERNOR EYRE.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Morant Bay, January 5, 1866.

I BEG to say the extract from the Rev. S. Cooke's letter is a misrepresentation.

The fact is this: Some weeks since I was in conversation with a man who informed me that he was one of the constables who had captured the notorious "Captain Bowie," and that when arrested "Bowie" had said "Mr. Gordon has put us quite out of our way," and that on the question being asked, "What he meant?" He said, "Mr. Gordon told us now is the time to rise and have the country for "ourselves, as in,"—here the constable paused, and I suggested "St. Domingo;" he still paused, and I again suggested "Haiti," upon which he said "Yes, that is the name."

This is all I said to the rector, and I only mentioned it to him casually, not attaching any importance to the communication, as both "Gordon" and "Bowie" had been already executed. As to my saying that I had conversation with "Bowie" when under sentence of death, and that he told me Gordon had sent to Paul Bogle for the people to go to the Bay on the vestry day, I positively deny, and I am very sorry that the Rev. S. Cooke should so misrepresent my conversation with him.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) WM. C. HARTY.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have been informed by the clerk of the peace that the constable referred to in this letter has made a similar statement on oath this very day.

(Signed) W. C. H.

It has been stated that Paul Bogle and his accomplices were, on the 11th October, on their way to the Morant Bay court house for the purpose of delivering up to the authorities the men which had been previously rescued by Bogle and others. But how is it that, on the night before, Paul Bogle and others to the number of 300, slept in the Baptist chapel near Morant Bay well armed, and on their march into the Bay on the 11th October stopped at the gaol and liberated some 50 prisoners, and afterwards proceeded direct to the police station, seized all the arms, put on the police caps, and then went on to the court house yard, tossing many of the arms in the air and catching them.

The people came down armed with cutlasses, swords, pikes, and other weapons, and it was only when the custos was told of this that the volunteers were ordered to fall in in line in front of the court house door. The custos read the Riot Act, and beseeched them to state what grievance they had, whereupon they commenced to throw brickbats and other missiles at the volunteers, and Captain Hitchins turning round when the stones were flying, asked the custos if it was not time to fire. He replies, "Yes." The mob then numbered fully 1,500 persons, who rushed on and drove the volunteers into the court house. The massacre and firing of the buildings commenced shortly afterwards, and resulted, as is too well known to require stating here. I received three gun-shot wounds, and with much difficulty kept myself concealed for three hours in a penguin hedge. During my concealment I heard the people declare that not a white nor brown man should be alive at Christmas. I was within a few yards of the lamented Baron, Herschell, Hitchins, Cooks, and some others when they were most brutally murdered. The scene beggars description.

Mrs. Noel, who keeps a tavern at Yallahs Bay in St. David, has stated in my presence that she has on several occasions at the tavern heard Mr. George William Gordon say that Mr. Herschell's tongue should be cut out.

JAMAICA.

About two months before the outbreak a man named Richard Gould came to me to be paid for clearing some coffee, and on my refusing to pay him because of the work not having been certified by my overseer, and because also it had been improperly performed, he threatened me with a stick, saying that if he did not get paid at that time he would very easily manage it soon.

I, the Honourable William Payne Georges, of the parish of St. David, Esquire, Custos Rotulorum of the said parish, and a Justice of the Peace of and for the several other parishes of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, Port Royal, and St. Andrew, do solemnly declare that the matters of fact set forth in the foregoing statement are correct and true in every particular to the best of my recollection and belief.

Declared at Kingston, in the Island of Jamaica this 6th day of January 1866, W. P. GEORGES.

Before me G. S. AIREY, J.P. for St. David.

FRANCIS GORDON on his oath saith as follows:

I AM a labourer and live at Staunton. I was at Staunton on the Tuesday, and heard the shell blow at Stoney Gut. I ran there, thinking there was a fire. I saw plenty of people there and the policemen. I was at the mill house, and Onslow came there with a letter, and asked me to accompany him to Spanish Town. I did so. When we got to the King's House Onslow gave me the letter, and I took it and gave it to a serjeant. He took it in, and after a while returned and told me that there was no answer, that the answer would be sent by post. I returned to Staunton on Thursday. I was at a meeting held at Church corner about three weeks before the rebellion. I saw McLaren swear persons upon the Bible. I don't know what they swore to. After they were sworn McLaren said to them, "You are not to tell any one, not your father nor mother nor wife nor sweetheart." Moses Bogle and McLaren asked me to join the meeting, but I refused.

(Signed) FRANCIS his × mark GORDON.

Sworn to before me this 3rd day of January 1866, at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, having been first read and explained to the deponent.

(Signed) P. A. ESPEUT, Custos.

Police Office, Morant Bay, January 3, 1866.

GEORGE FULLER OSBORNE, senior serjeant of police, states as follows:

ON Tuesday, the 10th day of October last, myself, privates William Fuller, Robert McKay, William Lake, Charles Jacobs, and Andrew Miles, of the police force, together with Richard West and James Foster, rural constables, were sent to Stony Gut with a warrant of apprehension to apprehend Paul Bogle, together with 25 other persons, for riotous conduct; the warrant was signed by Duncan McPherson, Esq., Justice of the Peace. We went to Stony Gut, where we saw Paul Bogle; private Robert McKay, who had the warrant, read it to Paul Bogle, after which I laid hold of him by the bosom of his shirt and made him prisoner and ordered the men who went with me to handcuff him. Private Charles Jacobs laid hold of his arm, which he snatched away from him and called out in a loud voice, "Men, help here," and forthwith we were surrounded by about 400 men and women, who were armed with cutlasses, lances, clubs, and guns; the rest of men seeing the crowd ran away and left I and private Jacobs. My impression then was that the people would kill us. I begged the people that for mercy sake they would spare our lives. Bogle and his wife then laid hold of me and told the people not to kill me because I was a maroon; by this time they made private Fuller, Jacobs, and rural constable Foster their prisoners and handcuffed privates Fuller and Jacobs. Paul Bogle took a Bible and made us swear that we would not fight against our skin, nothing but the truth, so help me God. Bogle then told us that when he came to the Bay to-morrow he would make us join them, whether we liked it or not, they would take us by force. The men that were with him began to blow shells from the time he called for help. Paul Bogle handed the Bible to private Fuller, Jacobs, and myself, stating that if we refused taking the oath he would take off our heads; and seeing that they were determined to kill us we were constrained to take the oath.

GEO. F. OSBORNE, S. S. P.

We the undersigned, having heard the above read, do certify it to be strictly correct.

ROBERT MCKAY, Corporal of Police.
WILLIAM FULLER, Private.
RICHARD WEST, R.C.
JAMES his × mark FOSTER, R.C.

Witness. (Signed) J. MACKENZIE, S. S. P.

EXTRACT of a PRIVATE LETTER from the HON. L. MACKINNON to GOVERNOR EYRE, dated January 2, 1866.

EVEN all that has been done is scarcely enough to keep the rest of the country quiet, and at the time I expected Vere to go off every day, and every day I sent an express down to tell them of the justice you were executing in St. Thomas-in-the-East, which served as a wet blanket to keep them quiet and cool till I got troops down: nor were the fears for it confined to myself and the whites alone; an old black friend, who was my head man 30 years ago, and to whom, being a man of some influence, I had written to tell his black neighbours how things were going on, wrote me advising me to take precautions to secure the peace of the parish, of which he by no means felt confident; and your speech at the beginning of

the session described the state of things most truthfully, and if it had not done so, the men who composed the legislative bodies, and particularly the men of the Council, would never have endorsed it so cordially as they did.

MR. LAWSON to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Montego Bay, December 29, 1865.

I HAVE the honour of acquainting you, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that the investigation before the justices of this parish into the cause of the fire which took place in this town on the morning of the 22nd instant was closed yesterday, and that copies of the examinations are being made by the clerk of the peace, who informs me that they will be ready for transmission by next post, when I shall have the honour of forwarding them, that they may be laid before the Governor.

In the meantime I beg to observe that there is not a doubt in the mind of any of the members forming the board of inquiry of its having been the act of an incendiary, and to state also that during the investigation information was obtained, that persons were heard on two separate occasions to say in the streets of this town at night that it was intended to burn either the houses or stores of one or two of the resident merchants.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. M. LAWSON.
Sen. Mag., St. James.

To the Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.
Spanish Town.

MR. GEOGHEGAN to MR. JORDON.

Magistrate's Clerk's Office, Saint Mary,
SIR, January 2, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to transmit through you, to his Excellency the Governor, as desired by him, a certified copy of a letter or writing produced in evidence against Richard Samuel Minot, as well as other information relating to him.

Minot is a black man, and works occasionally on the properties and roads in this parish as a headman of gangs, &c. He reads and writes, is a native, and was born in this parish; had been living in St. Thomas-in-the-East (where he got married) for some time, but losing his wife some three years ago, he returned to this parish. Mr. Herbert Lindo, a witness, deposed (amongst other things) "That " on the morning of the 14th November last Minot entered his store at Gayle Market in this parish, " had some business conversation, and left."

That 10 minutes after Minot had left the store, the boy in that establishment picked up in the store and handed to him, Mr. Lindo, a paper (the same produced). That the paper was folded, and addressed as stated. That he suspected Minot as being the person who dropped the paper there. That the store had been just previously swept before Minot came, and that there was no paper there then. That after Minot left, and up to the time the paper was picked up, no other person had entered the store but Mr. Davidson. That Minot returned to the store about two hours after, and he, witness, observed him casting his eye towards where the paper had been found. That Minot asked him the rate of postage to Morant Bay. That he asked Minot if he intended to write that way, and he said yes.

That he heard Minot tell one Charles Woodham, that "when the war came this side to send " and let him know, and he would keep down yonder."

That he had heard Minot use similar words to the expressions in the paper with reference to Mr. Jeffrey, with the exception of the words "big nose" and "damn."

Another witness, George Whitman Cummings,—that he "swept out the store on the morning in " question; swept it carefully, and found no paper on the floor.

" That prisoner came there, and shortly after Mr. Davidson came. Prisoner went to a certain spot " in the store, and, that immediately after he left, witness picked up the paper in question, on the " same spot, and handed the paper to Mr. Lindo. That no one had come into the store after it had " been swept except prisoner and Mr. Davidson."

The third witness, Alexander Davidson, stated that "On the morning in question he was at " Mr. Lindo's store at Gayle Market, at about 9 o'clock a.m. That shortly after Mr. Lindo handed " him the paper produced, and said he suspected Minot. That he, witness, advised Mr. Lindo to have " Minot apprehended and sent to Port Maria. That witness never saw that paper before it was shown " to him by Mr. Lindo, and therefore could not have dropped it there."

The fourth witness, Richard Jones, states "That he knew Minot for upwards of two years. Knows " his handwriting, and believes the endorsement 'To the Authoritys of St. Mary,' is in the hand- " writing of Minot."

Besides the depositions already referred to, informations were laid by Thomas Huggins and Henry King (amongst other things), to the following effect:—

By Huggins.—That Minot said, "If I had men to sanction me as Gordon had, Jamaica would either " be worse or better. I hear the war is in Brown's Town, just the right place it ought to be." This occurred in October last after the rebellion had broken out.

By King.—"I know Minot. He came to my house at the Labyrinth, and began to discourse about " the war in St. Thomas-in-the-East. Minot said, 'They had killed all the head folks. The Custos " ' was a vagabond, and, that he ought to have been destroyed long ago.' "

If his Excellency desires it, I will furnish certified copies of the depositions and informations referred to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. A. GEOGHEGAN
Magistrate's Clerk, S. Mary

The Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

JAMAICA.

COPY.

To the White and Mulatto of the Parish of Saint Mary's, especially those of the Bagnold's District.

You must not think because they are shooting and hanging our colour in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and send soldiers at the Bay, we shan't rise and kill every dam buckra and mulatto off the parish. As for that dam old Jeffrey, when he was a magistrate, he did nothing but sit down and scratch his damn big nose, and say 90 days hard labour, or 40s. and costs. His damn big gut don't want for nothing. Mr. Stures and Currec we might spare, but that Sharp and Maclean, and every magistrate and all authority, them look out. Every brown and white we shall make them jump. Me good sir, a wa Jeffrey and Sharp a go de wid a big gut; dem cant run; dont care a damn. Poor little Gayle Market, that is just a sprat to a whales mouth. Goshen Gate, Lambkin Hill, and a great many others which we excluded shall lay low when we rise. You all do what you like wid we. All you dam manish white and brown people you keep we down under you ass long enough, now we intend to keep you under ours. This is the first and last time shall be given; the time is near.

The above was addressed on the back thus—

To the Authoritys of St. Mary's.

I certify that the above is a true copy of a certain letter or writing produced at the examination of the witnesses, at the hearing and investigation of a charge against Richard Samuel Minot.

T. A. GEOGHEGAN,
Magistrate's Clerk, St. Mary.

STATEMENT of MRS. CAPTAIN HITCHINS.

ON Tuesday the 10th October, while Captain Hitchins was complaining and confined to his room, an express arrived from the custos requesting the immediate attendance of the Bath Volunteers at Morant Bay. As far as I can remember the order was to this effect, "Let your men be here as early "as possible, say 10 o'clock, the devil is among us."

Captain Hitchins immediately ordered the bugler to sound the assembly call, and sent expresses in different directions to those who were beyond the reach of such an intimation. When they assembled, he read the law to them, and every preparation was made for a start in the morning. At 5 o'clock on the following morning (Wednesday) 32 Volunteers started for Morant Bay, and I heard nothing more until about 7 o'clock, when I had just retired for the night.

At this hour I was alarmed by an intimation that the dead body of a Volunteer was coming; this, however, was untrue. Shortly after this a messenger arrived on Mr. Hitchins' horse, with a note in pencil to me. It was from Captain Hitchins, to secure the ammunition he had left behind him, and urging me to escape for my life, as the Rebels would be at Bath in the morning. I, with the assistance of a faithful servant, shut myself up in the back hall without a light, raised the flooring and there secreted the ammunition beneath it (ball cartridges) and powder, and then nailed down the flooring again. The band instruments we sent away, and also the new uniforms that had just been opened.

At daybreak on Thursday morning came the reality. I heard the shell blow, and calling for my children rushed in the bushes to hide. Duncan Stewart (Capt. Stewart he is called by the Rebels) announced himself as the murderer of my husband, and that as he had made a promise to lay my body beside that of my husband, he had come to perform his duty. I heard others cry to "spare her," for she is the handsomest mulatto woman in the district. Save her! save her! don't you want wife? Not finding me at home, they next proceeded to Mrs. Reid's house, widow of 2nd Lieutenant Reid, Volunteer, but she had escaped to the Wesleyan Mission House, where the Rev. Mr. Murray resided. They then proceeded to 1st Lieutenant Hall's house, the petty debt collector; and the man who had killed Lieut. Hall at once declared to his widow what he had done, and demanded from her certain articles that her husband had levied upon him for on the Monday previous. These were delivered over, and a general consultation as to future movements then took place. The result of the consultation was that they were now to look for the heads of Mr. Chisholm of Golden Grove, and Mr. Shortridge of Plantain Garden River. Mr. Henry Ford's shop was broken into, and guns, powder, and other articles taken away. They then gave three cheers to bring down the ring tails (white men, English planters). While all this was going on, I was in the bushes and dared not venture out.

After this body of men had passed on, Mr. John Donaldson came to my assistance, and assured me if I returned home the Rebels had promised to spare my life. I took his counsel and went home. Mr. Manning offered to drive me to the Iron Bridge House (his residence), and as I started in the buggy, Duncan Stewart was again stopping the way. He said, "Do you know I am the man who killed "Hitchins," to which I tremblingly answered "Yes." Stewart then rudely and passionately demanded that I should not answer him so curtly, but should say "Yes, my sweetie massa," which I was obliged to do. He next asked me if I forgave him what he had done to my husband, and he made me reply in language equally humiliating, "Yes, my sweetie massa, from the bottom of my heart." There were other things which I was forced to answer in a way that I felt humiliating and degrading to my position, but was glad to accede to almost any demand for the preservation of my own life and that of my infant child. I was next called upon to deliver up the ammunition of the Volunteers, but as Captain Hitchins' last letter to me was an order to conceal this, I told them there was none, and permitted them to search the house. While this was going on, another man demanded my child, declaring the head was like the father's. I cannot describe the feeling of horror that came over me at that moment, but while I was thus interceding for it a woman dragged it from the Rebels, put the child in a basket, and then sat upon it. The child never cried, otherwise it never would have escaped the fate of my husband. At this time I could not find my eldest child only ten years old, and never saw nor heard anything of her until next day she was brought to me without shoes or clothing except a little night dress saturated with the rain that was at the time falling in torrents. I was then at this same time wet to the skin myself, without shoes, and only one garment on, the river was swollen and there was no getting over it. I had there to remain in that state of wretchedness and misery; I had a thought of then throwing myself in, and thus put an end to my existence, but the thoughts of my children forced itself on me, and I was dissuaded from my purpose. At intervals I heard the shouts of the Rebels and their cries of "Jamaica

"is done for ever; we will lay every white man on the ground, among them the Governor." After leaving the Iron Bridge, I was taken to Duckenfield. I was not long there, however, before I heard Mr. Manning's voice down stairs calling out to me, "Now, Mrs. Hitchins, escape for your life, don't stop to dress." I had just time to run down the steps, when I was seized by the throat by some five or six of the Rebels, all armed, and my bonnet drawn off my head, persisting that I was a male dressed in female's attire. I took out my hair and showed them that I was not; they would not be convinced, but almost tore me naked. When they were at last convinced that I was a woman they took me by the hair and pitched me from them; they then took hold of me again and repeated the same act of violence; the last blow they gave me was back of my neck, which so completely stunned me that I did not know where I was; when I recovered a little I found myself standing by a post, on which I leaned until I could move along; my poor infants were naked, wet, and crying for hunger, the poor little girl said to me, "Mamma, I am cold and I want my milk." What my feelings were at this moment cannot be described, my child naked, cold, and hungry, and I had nothing to satisfy her. In the midst of the darkness that prevailed I heard Mr. Manning's voice calling to me again, asking if I was there. I answered Yes, but I could not see my way; he came to me and managed to assist me along, and so we got to his residence. I had to leave everything I could save at Duckenfield, and had nothing with me but what I had on my back, which was so rudely torn off; but before reaching the store we were met by another party of armed Rebels, who subjected me to a great deal of indignities. I was struck and maltreated, but subsequently allowed to escape. When we got to the store the Rebels demanded of Mr. Manning cutlasses, candles, lucifers, and handkerchiefs, which he had to deliver without intermission.

The Rebels next proceeded in the direction of Amity Hall. After some time they came back cheering, declaring they had killed Mr. Hire, beaten Mr. Crichton, and set fire to the bed on which Dr. Crowdie was lying invalided. I remained at the Iron Bridge store all Friday and Saturday, when the Captain of the 6th Royals came with an escort of soldiers and took me to Bath, where I remained until the following Thursday, and then came down to Kingston in the gunboat "Onyx."

The miseries and desolation that prevailed at that time would be impossible to describe with anything like accuracy; families driven from their homes to seek shelter in the woods; the terror and panic was most awful. One lady was only confined two weeks when she had to escape to the woods with her infant child, others had to fly without stopping to take anything at all but just what they had on at the time. One poor gentleman, a Mr. Smith, was taken captive by the Rebels and carried to the White Horses, where he managed to escape in the woods; his daughter the Rebels took in the bushes, and so severely and brutally maltreated and injured, that she is now in a dying state, quite bed-ridden, and of no use to herself; her father, in learning what his daughter's fate was, took it to heart and died of excessive grief a few days after. We were not allowed even to have our dead, so as to have even the melancholy satisfaction of burying them; they were to remain on the ground for the crows to eat them, so said the Rebels, and it was not until the "Wolverine" arrived that our dead was buried.

(Signed) MARIA J. HITCHINS,
Widow of Capt. Hitchins.

MR. G. D. RAMSAY to COLONEL HUNT.

SIR, Spanish Town, January 1, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 27th December, calling upon me to report the circumstances, as far as I know, of the late rebellion, its nature and extent, together with Mr. G. W. Gordon's complicity therewith, and in reply beg to state, all the papers connected with that trial, and also the other prisoners who, from numerous others, were selected and tried, are in the hands of the military authorities; but, if allowed, I may mention that at the trial of Laurence (his overseer at the Rhine) more conclusive evidence was found.

Laurence personally warned certain parties to keep from Morant Bay.

In a paper seized at Stony Gut, in Bogle's house, when every other paper had been removed on the morning of the 18th October, was the list in Mr. Gordon's writing, with himself at the head of known and suspected Rebels.

Clyne, one of them, a black man of immense influence, stated voluntarily in presence of Mr. Macpherson and others in prison (when too ill to be moved), that he had always used his interest for Mr. Gordon; but at a meeting held some little time previous to the outbreak, when carried against his will to the place of meeting in Mr. Gordon's carriage, where the Bogles' clerk, &c. were present, that as chairman of the meeting he found it his duty to caution Mr. Gordon of the dangerous manner he was speaking; these are his words, as near as I can recollect; Mr. Macpherson, of the District Prison, Morant Bay, can, I think, confirm this, and may perhaps state more as to his saying, "It was all Gordon's fault."

Mr. Walker, a Justice of the Peace for St. Thomas-in-the-East, openly asserts that he saw Gordon walk up to the Baron, and, shaking his fist in his face, say before the people in Morant Bay, "Your "fingers shall burn," and the first act of the Rebels, after the burning of the court-house and the murder of the Baron, was the taking off his fingers.

Mr. Walker now resides in St. John's.

Bogle was the friend of Mr. Gordon, and he, I am told, preached in Bogle's Chapel at Stony Gut, but I cannot get authentic evidence of this last fact.

Mr. Grant (a Rebel), who stayed the Rebels at his house, and advised them not to burn yet, but wait for the police arms, and afterwards sheltered the wounded Rebels at his house, was Mr. Gordon's agent at Wood Hill, and looked after his tenants there, and collected his rents.

Chisholm, a black man, another agent of Mr. Gordon, in whose house Mr. Gordon always staid when at Morant Bay, was a known Rebel; he went mad after apprehension.

Simultaneous with the seizure of the list in Bogle's house, at Stony Gut, on the 18th October, was the finding of the proclamation, signed nominally by Bogle and others, but in Bailey's handwriting, calling upon the people to rise "skin for skin;" to roll their drums, as the Maroons were going to join.

Bailey was an agent of Mr. Gordon, a Volunteer deserter and constable, who, disappearing from

AMAICA. Morant Bay at the first outbreak, and, being seen at St. David's, had been pressed by McLean, against his will, to bring Lieut. Oxley's party to Morant Bay, and was not allowed to leave, but found means to write and send the letter from Morant Bay, dated 17th October, or six days after the first outbreak, to warn the parties in Stoney Gut and encourage them.

Many of the Rebels abused the Bogles, Craddock (a secretary), also McLaren (a secretary), and a man who had a chapel in Morant Bay.

James McLaren was openly charged by Craddock that he did all the writing, but "Craddock, you "and Bowie planned," was McLaren's reply.

When Craddock was going to be hanged, he loudly proclaimed about being executed without the Bogles and General Bowie.

A man named Houndslow acknowledged bringing a despatch from Bogle to Spanish Town people.

Simon Sandys Taylor before execution admitted, voluntarily, that he was one of the drill serjeants, but that he had been seized by Bogle's party and sworn to drill.

Before the outbreak six policemen, sent to execute a warrant upon Bogle, were seized by his order in the presence of some 300 people, and their lives spared upon condition that they swore to join them against the whites; the police broke their oaths, and gave information which led to the man-of-war being sent; but they all assert that Rebels beat them shamefully when they found it out, and took their arms (unloaded and useless) from them.

The key of the magazine, kept at the station, was hunted for, but it was hid; the Rebels knew arms were there, and in their rage drove out the inspector's family.

After setting fire to the court-house, they tried to break open the magazine behind the court-house; they did not succeed.

The Rebels marched in from the two extremities of the town, headed by their officers, who all wore swords; the men were armed with cutlasses, some had guns; they had music, and a large mob of women.

The outbreak commenced at Morant Bay at about half-past 3 o'clock on Wednesday, October 11th, and extended that night on the Bath Road to Lysson Estate and Retreat, Mr. Walters' property, who they had killed, and these were plundered; also to Oxford, the Baron's property, four miles off, which was similarly treated, and his family ill-treated. Early next morning Port Morant, seven miles off, shared the same fate, and the custom-house officer had to fly for his life. Leith Hall, Mr. Espeut's, was next attacked; at Burden Mr. Duffu's buggy was set fire to, and he escaped in a boat. Air Mount, five miles from Port Morant, Mr. Ewart's property, and Peiro, was similarly attacked and plundered; Mr. Porter, the overseer, being away, his little brother was fired at and wounded; at Potosi, a mile from Bath and 13 from Morant Bay, the household property nearly all destroyed, Mrs. Herschell narrowly escaping. In Bath parties had entered, and all respectable people fled into the woods; the Rebels plundered the stores and searched for powder, which fortunately was hid. At Wheelersfield Mr. Groves had to fly; at Hordley, six miles from Bath, Mr. Justice Harrison and Mrs. Shortridge, who had sought shelter with her family, were attacked and had to fly.

At Amity Hall they broke out, killed Mr. Hire and wounded his son, together Mr. Jackson, doing damage to his property; from Amity Hall on the same road to Manchioneal, Williamsfield was plundered, and the Rev. Mr. Jones had to fly for his life.

On Friday the rebellion broke out in Manchioneal, the police station, the stores, and town looted. At Kensington, on the Port Antonio road, the people broke out, and Mr. Foote had to make his escape. At Mulatto River they fired Mr. Hinchlewood's house. Port Antonio, 50 miles from Morant Bay, was on the point of being attacked when the soldiers arrived. From Bath (on the right Plantain Garden River), the residence of Mr. Shortridge was attacked, Winchester estate pillaged, Mr. Dunn's life sought. At Golden Grove much damage was done to stores. Duckenfield was also attacked and pillaged. Dalvey village, 10 miles from Bath on the road from Duckenfield, was also plundered; Mr. Groves fled. I cannot find out if any place or estate on the line of Morant Bay to Mulatto, 40 miles river, that had not been suffering from damage, loss of life, and of personal risk of life, except the Rhine, where Mr. Laurence was overseer, near Bath, and this was Mr. Gordon's property.

Belvidere and Roselle, in the other direction towards St. David's, were attacked, and the book-keepers escaped beyond, helping themselves to horses, &c., and Mr. George's carriages, &c. &c. I did not hear that property was destroyed, as it is said they wanted these places, being near Stony Gut.

In the valley district, on the road to Moncklands, Hall Head had an outbreak. At Blue Mountain estate they killed Mr. Fitzherbert's white book-keeper; further on, at Jiggerfoot Market, they plundered the shops. At Whitehall Mr. Smith's property was plundered; he fled into the bush and died. I know nothing of what became of his daughter. From Whitehall on the road to Serge Island the Rebels threatened every one. At Coley they took the two book-keepers prisoners, and committed depredations. At Barracks Mr. Duncan McPherson's arms were demanded. At Old Monklands, at about 10 miles from Stoney Gut, they plundered. It was commonly said Bogle led this party himself, and I have been informed Colonel Hobbs met up with many of them.

Lower down, on the road from Morant Bay to Kingston, at a place called White Horses, four miles from Morant Bay, the Rebels looted a shop kept by Testard, and were bad, as many of them lived there. Lieut. Oxley's party met some on their road to Easington.

The whole of these statements are true, I am of belief, and can be borne out by the inhabitants of the district; I gathered them from personal observation after the outbreak, what I gathered from the statement of respectable parties, and what I heard some of the prisoners themselves state, and I do not think has anything to do with the evidence produced on the prisoners' trials beyond supporting it.

Every person who was present in either of the disturbed districts openly expressed themselves that it was a premeditated rebellion, which was organized to exterminate the whites and men of property, and in Kingston to this period it is doubted whether it has ceased.

I have offered no opinion of mine own, but trust all I have stated to be facts.

I have, &c.

Colonel Hunt, A.D.C. and Private Secretary. (Signed) Gor. D. Ramsay,
Ins. P. and P. M.

The Rev. Mr. Morris to Mr. W. R. Myers.

Sir, January 1, 1866, Rectory, Montego Bay.

I feel it to be a very serious and responsible matter to endeavour to give a suitable reply to the inquiries of the circular of the 28th December 1865, transmitted by the directions of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee. On some points referred to the difficulty is to form a decided opinion in the absence of adequate data, and impressions rather than a very decided opinion are all that can be communicated.

My impression certainly is now that there was recently, say since the public meeting and agitation which followed upon the publication of Dr. Underhill's letter to Mr. Cardwell, a spirit which so far partook of disaffection in perhaps several parishes that it was very susceptible of being formed into positive disaffection or dangerous and seditious excitement by such an event as the sudden and ferocious outbreak of insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East. After that outbreak of wicked violence there would probably have been very serious danger from the kindling and rapid diffusion of a contagious spirit of sedition and revolt if the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East had not been promptly confronted, hemmed in, and quelled. Certainly the sense of insecurity in Montego Bay before the arrival of naval and military protection was of a general complexion, and the feeling of relief, and I trust of gratitude to the Almighty, when such protection did arrive, was of a marked character, especially on the part of ladies and respectable females.

It is a simple duty here to remark that a respectful gratitude to his Excellency the Governor is very generally and deservedly entertained for the promptitude, decision, and sagacity with which the murderous insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East was by him encountered and overcome; nor can it be doubted that in God's good providence his Excellency was thus instrumental in averting tragical outbreaks, collisions, and blood-shedding in other parishes. It is more the dictate of duty and honour on my part to take an opportunity of making this statement, inasmuch as I did not add my name to a recent address to his Excellency from this parish, not being prepared to adopt that address entirely.

If the insurrection could have presented a successful front for even a very few days it is impossible to say how frightful might have been the consequences; from the strong sympathy of blood and race among the black population, not a few of a more peaceful and subordinate disposition might have been quiescent or even drawn in to aid and abet the evil doings of the rebellious. There seemed to be a disposition to speak of the affair as a "war" rather than as a criminal insurrection.

I have heard of one or two cases in which threats had been held out to individuals or arrangements postponed with a reference to Christmas or the New Year, which after the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East acquired a new significance to the parties concerned. But beyond this, and the reports and rumours recorded in the newspapers as flying about vaguely, I know of little or nothing in this parish pointing to preconcert and deliberate conspiracy. It is very possible, however, that emissaries of sedition may have been moving about the Island and suggesting to others like minded a purpose or design or expectation in relation to something to be attempted at the close of 1865 or the commencement of 1866. As regards the present there can be little doubt that dark thoughts are still being cherished by some in various parts of the Island; but I cannot myself offer an opinion as to the probable number or influence of such parties, for I do not feel that I have any satisfactory data on which to ground an opinion. At present there is reason to fear that the spirit of incendiarism is at work in some degree in this parish, one building having been consumed and another attempted to be set on fire under suspicious circumstances.

I have no reason to complain of the black members of my own congregation in this town, nor have I personally encountered any indications of enmity or offensiveness from the black population generally, and I cannot doubt that many of the black population are well disposed, morally and religiously, and that many also of a less trustworthy character will forget or resign all imaginations of a seditious tone if sufficient naval and military protection shall be located in and around the Island for a reasonably protracted period. But assuredly there is sufficient uncertainty respecting the disposition of a considerable proportion of the population to render it most desirable and imperatively expedient that such precautions should be taken and such protection secured.

A new and strange spirit of mutinous evil has, I fear, been awakened to a certain extent, which demands watchfulness and circumspection, and whether many or comparatively few have come under its influence, it is wise to remember that there are supernatural workings of Satanic temptation abroad in the present day which cannot but give increased intensity to such working of evil, and which augment the danger of baneful results. My reference here is the indications of the prophetic Scriptures concerning this time of the end.

The fearful prevalence of licentious immorality in the land cannot but enfeeble the safeguards of social order and of virtue and good conduct in all their forms.

The neglect or desecration of the marriage tie by large proportion of the labouring population in this Island is portentous, hateful, and appalling, and this neglect is countenanced by many in higher position. A prosperous, well-conditioned, and healthful state of the body politic is impossible unless some remedy can be applied to this vast and heaven-daring depravity.

January 2.—For the first six months of 1865 I find but seven marriages registered in the parochial register of St. James, while the baptisms for the same period were 77. In reference to baptisms it is to be remembered that a large proportion of the black population have hitherto been found in connection with Baptist congregations, among whom infant baptism is not recognized. I do not observe that those who attend the services of the Church of England exhibit customarily indifference to the rite of baptism; but the depraved licence of concubinage in which many of the population abide, neglecting at the same time the house of God, or visiting it but occasionally, must necessarily limit the administration of infant baptism, inasmuch as right-minded sponsors cannot be expected to appear on behalf of children whose parents, persisting in an immoral course of life, can only live in the midst of defilement and irreligion; nor can the clergyman request his communicants to present themselves to offer solemn vows in the presence of the Almighty, of the fulfilment of which in the Christian education and training of the children there is no reasonable prospects; the pastor must rather advise them against

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presenting infants at the font who are to be flung back from that font into the midst of all pollution and deliberate obstinate transgression.

There are many steady communicants of the Church of England from the black population; those who are married and well conducted are not indifferent to Christian privileges in this respect, and of these not a few, we trust, would be found marshalled on the side of loyalty and order if sedition were rampant in the land.

I think it not inconsistent with the most sincere respect and regard for faithful and orthodox Christians and really evangelical Nonconformists, to add here the remark that I cannot but think that the bitter invective and protesting opposition that have been exhibited during the last two years, not against the Church of England simply, as supported by the revenues of the State, but against the very principle of governmental or national recognition and endowment of the institutions of religion, have had their share in producing an unhappy state of feeling among a portion of the labouring class in this Island.

I must be permitted to conclude, saying that this letter expresses no opinion respecting particular acts, whether of the civil or military authorities in the suppression of the recent insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East, nor respecting the duration or degree of such measures of severity as were exercised under martial law.

It is intended, however, to recognize very distinctly the seriousness of the emergency which needed to be met, and the great mercy of the Most High in supplying promptitude, decision, and ability to confront the peril.

I have, &c.

Wm. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary of Ex. Committee. (Signed) DAVID R. MORRIS.

(No. 35.) MR. P. H. RAMSAY to MR. W. R. MYERS.

SIR, Morant Bay, December 29, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of circular No. 2,254 respecting my opinion with reference to the late rebellion.

I have to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor,—No. 1. With respect to the past the people were discontented and opposed to all authority.

No. 2. With respect to the present, from what I have seen, the minds of the people are not yet settled. I believe the presence of the troops alone is the cause of quietness throughout the district.

No. 3. I consider, with reference to the late rebellion, that the seditious spirit of that disturbance was general throughout my district.

No. 4. In support of the forgoing opinion, I come to the conclusion that the cause of the late rebellion was from nocturnal meetings, which no doubt unsettled the minds of the people against the authorities; and I am further of opinion that Mr. George William Gordon was the chief mover in the late rebellion.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

(Signed) P. H. RAMSAY,
Inspector.

MR. BROWN to MR. W. R. MYERS.

SIR, Kingston, January 1, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular No. 2,294, in reference to the late rebellion, and to state that it is my firm opinion that the feelings of the lower orders of society in general in this Island have from time to time been influenced by widely circulated publications by a defamatory portion of the press of falsehoods and sentiments dangerous to the peace and welfare of the Island, and calculated to arouse in the minds of an uneducated and impulsive population an angry spirit, and a hatred of the Queen's representative and the public authorities, and thus to sow the seeds of sedition, from which the late rebellion took its rise, and which would no doubt have extended far and wide but for the promptitude with which it was subdued. But although subdued, the public mind is not yet at rest, nor can be whilst some parties in the mother country who, with their wives and children, are at the safe distance of 5,000 miles from the scene of danger, are publishing untruthful and vindictive statements, which are reprinted here, against the civil, military, and naval authorities, to whom, under Providence, the peaceable and loyal inhabitants are deeply indebted for the comparative safety they enjoy for life and property.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

(Signed) J. S. BROWN.

MR. BOND to MR. W. R. MYERS.

SIR, Annotto Bay, January 1, 1866.

IN reply to your circular letter No. 2,294, dated 28th December 1865, I have to report, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee—

That many of the labourers in this parish did not resume work on the estates in August last at the usual time, and appeared sullen and discontented. I have been informed on good authority that parties from St. Thomas-in-the-East were in the parish at that time.

Had it not been for the prompt measures used in suppressing the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East in the first instance, I am of opinion the insurgents would have spread themselves over the other parishes, when I have no doubt they would have been joined by many of the idle and ill-disposed portions of the population. I arrived at this opinion from parties having been taken up here and punished for using threatening language, and threatening notices having been picked up in Saint Mary

and Saint George, and many would have been obliged by threats and intimidation to join them also, although these latter parties were peaceable, and not disposed to join in any acts of violence.

I remain, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee.

(Signed) EDWARD BOND,
Senior Magistrate, Metcalfe.

REV. HENEAGE GUID, Rector, St. David's, to W. R. MYERS, ESQ.

SIR, Saint David's, January 2, 1866.

I BEG to acknowledge your circular letter No. 2,295, dated 28th December 1865, requesting my opinion for the information of the Government of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance to have been *local* or general. I am also requested to communicate certain other facts, &c., which I now cheerfully comply with.

With respect to the past disposition, &c., I have not the least hesitation in declaring it as my opinion that the black population generally would have aided and abetted the rebellion if it had not been so soon crushed, and that such a rising had been for some time contemplated by them.

As regards the present disposition, &c., I believe the spirits of G. W. Gordon and Paul Bogle to be still active, and the elements of insubordination still fermenting, but to what extent I will not pretend to say; but if they should hereafter show themselves in overt acts, Mr. Chamerovzow and his coadjutors of the English press could hardly escape the charge of having pandered to and inflamed them. That their writings are carefully communicated to the negroes it cannot be doubted, from certain rumours which are at present current among them, such as "the Queen has broke the troops and Col. Hobbs "at Newcastle, and that the late Provost Marshal at Morant Bay has been arrested. Such being my opinion on the first two points submitted, I must believe that the seditious spirit of the late rebellion was general and not local. It is quite true that as far as the rebellion had extended it was confined to the single parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, but then that parish is larger than the entire area of Barbadoes, and what with brutally murdering the unprotected inhabitants and effecting loot, &c., the Rebels must necessarily have had a great deal on their hands. They passed through the length and breadth of the parish, visiting, with but one or two exceptions, every respectable residence, and plundering and destroying as they went. They were, in fact, in possession of the parish from the 11th until the 15th October, during which time every man, woman, and child were either concealed in the woods or had escaped by sea; and this will account for the fact so disingenuously maintained by certain parties, that the murders committed by the negroes arose solely out of some hostile collision at Morant Bay, and were thus circumscribed—*the prey had escaped.* The timely arrival of H.M.S. "Wolverine" at Port Antonio on the 15th October checked the onward progress of the Rebels, for it is within my own personal knowledge that that town would that night have fallen into their hands, and having carried the rebellion into Portland, they would have swept the whole north side. With respect to the attendance by the negroes at church, I would observe that it has not been of late so regular or so numerous as two or three years ago it used to be. They observe the rite of baptism very generally, and appear very anxious about having the ceremony performed, but they are very lax in the observance of the marriage rite; I think out of about 120 baptisms in the year, that I may set down 100 of the children as illegitimate.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, &c. &c.

(Signed) HENEAGE GUID,
Rector of St. David's.
2nd January 1866.

MR. CUSTOS RENNALLS to W. R. MYERS, ESQ.

SIR, December 29, 1865.

IN reply to your circular No. 2,294, of date 28th December instant, I beg to state, as I am therein required, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general.

I was residing in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, during three weeks of the first portion of the outbreak, and in that parish, but more particularly in what is called the Above Rocks District, containing a population of about 6,000, I neither saw nor heard of any cause for apprehension of immediate danger to life or property as arising from and among the negroes themselves; but at the same time I felt convinced that had the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East been permitted to spread, and reach over from the disturbed districts through Portland, St. George, Metcalfe, or St. Andrew, and upwards from Kingston into St. Thomas-in-the-Vale there would have been hundreds of disaffected to join in the ranks of the Rebels, and no doubt (though among the worst description of the population) ready to commit the like excesses that took place elsewhere.

To within the last week or two there has been discernible a sullenness among them, I would say, of all classes of the black population. Some have not rightly understood about the rising, or perhaps pretending not to do so; and others, particularly among the youths and young men from 18 or 19 to 25 years of age, and young women, and these of a class capable of reading and writing, appearing to found their inquiries in relation to the apprehension of such persons as Roach, Kelly, Smith, Crole, and such like, but evidencing by their demeanour that, if the occasion arose for it, they would prefer fighting for extrication of these persons to abiding by their loyalty to the Queen. In their present behaviour they appear to me to be returning to their better manners.

I have not heard of those engaged for the most part in the cultivation of the sugar estates having held back from labour; in fact, when in the village of Linstead, where the trade of the parish is carried

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on, there was considerable apprehension in the minds of the storekeepers and other inhabitants for their safety, upon the estates the people were making sugar, and employed upon other estate's work; and I learnt personally from the gentlemen owning or being managers of those properties, that the labourers were working without showing the slightest ill-will or disaffection; and this, I may add, was at the time when certain of the magistrates applied for, and obtained a detachment of the military from Spanish Town, who were quartered at the court-house of Rodney Hall.

Under such circumstances I cannot assert that I am of opinion that there was in St. Thomas-in-the Vale any seditious spirit for a *local* disturbance; but if the attempt had succeeded in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I repeat my convictions that it would have become general, and my parish would not have been an exception.

There were three or four instances brought to the notice of the magistrates, and the offending parties convicted, in due course, before them of using such expressions as "They were waiting for the "Rebels to come (or the Maroons, thinking they had risen against the Government) and they would "join, and fight." Though these were but few cases brought forward, there nevertheless were, I dare say, many like expressions that did not come to the knowledge of the authorities in a tangible shape.

After I had left my mountain residence, a case happened in the parish of Metcalfe, to which my property is close, of a man threatening to burn it down, and attack myself after he had disposed of some others; he, however, had received a sentence of seven years' penal servitude.

There were also three several cases of cautionary and anonymous papers being found in Linstead, advising the Circuit Court not to beheld on its appointed day, and warning Dr. Cargill to avoid danger, and lately to Mr. Hall, the clerk of the magistrates, to beware how he travelled about. The Government offered a reward of one hundred dollars for the detection of the writer or writers. These productions have been placed in the hands of the Attorney-General, but no proof has been adduced from whence they emanated.

I cannot bring to mind that any inflammatory speeches or writings beyond those above stated have been brought to my notice. The parish is happily and comparatively free from political agitators against the peace of the community, in so far as I have been able to ascertain by occasional visitations of the police in different quarters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Samuel Rennalls,
Custos of St. Thomas Vale.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Mr. Inspector Stewart to Mr. W. R. Myers.

Sir, Police Office, Annotto Bay, January 2, 1866.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your circular No. 2,294, dated 28th December 1865, also letter No, 2,311, dated 1st January 1866, the several clauses of which I beg to answer as follows:—

1st. I am of opinion that the recent outbreak at Morant Bay was not local, but was a general predetermined movement, but was prematurely developed.

2nd. As late as last July certain strangers made their appearance in this district and solicited employment on the different estates, but after remaining on them for a few days they left, in some instances leaving their money behind which was due from the estate; after they had left, it was a common remark amongst the negroes of the district that they were not to turn out after August, before they got the law from St. Thomas-in-the-East, and shortly before the rebellion broke out, Mr. R. Swire, who was in company with Doctor Bramwell, was told publicly in the high road at Fort Stewart estate, that he was only over them, the negroes, until Christmas, and that at that time his head would be one side of the road and his body on the other.

3rd. That I am of opinion that disaffection and seditious feeling entered through the whole of the district under my charge, viz., Saint George, Metcalfe, and Saint Mary.

4th. In Saint George threatening letters were written to Spring Garden and Low Leyton Estate, and Messrs. Hosack and Prendergast were to have been amongst the first to be murdered; the man who stated this is still in my custody. Seditious language was commonly used in the parish, and several men were tried by court-martial, and in some instances flogged for the same; in the parish of Metcalfe the language to Mr. Swire was made use of, and in the parish of Saint Mary for several months previous to the outbreak letters were picked up, in different stores and places in Port Maria, threatening to burn down the town and murder the custos and other respectable inhabitants.

5th. I have reason to believe that Christmas was the time appointed for a general rising.

6th. I am of opinion that sedition and disaffection was preached by Mr. Gordon.

7th.* The remarks used to Mr. Swire induces me to be of that opinion.

8th. At a public meeting in Vere, Mr. Gordon told the negroes, I am informed, that the Queen's advice to them was all bosh, and in his tabernacle he told the congregation that they ought to follow the example of Hayti, and take the country to themselves.

9th. My district at the time of the outbreak was quiet and continued so, but from the threatening letters before alluded to I am of opinion that great disaffection existed.

10th. From my knowledge of Trelawney, the city of Kingston, and this district, having been Inspector of Police in all of them, and from my knowledge of the Island generally, I am of opinion that the greatest disaffection and inclination to resist the laws on every occasion prevails all over the Island.

I am also of opinion that the promptitude in hemming in the Rebels and preventing their crossing the country was the saving of the Colony, as had they made their appearance in any small number in my district, I am of opinion that the entire black population, with some few exceptions, would have joined them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Alex. Stewart.
Inspector of Police.

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* Read No. 7 to Question 6, and 6 for Question 7.

The Reverend Mr. Forbes to Mr. Myers.

Sir, The Rectory, Mandeville, January 2, 1866.

In reply to your circular, received this day, I have to say:

1. That in my opinion the lower orders of the population in this Island have for the last three or four years evinced symptoms of a growing disaffection, apparent in swaggering insolence of manner and of speech, or of sullen indifference and significant offensive gestures.

2. In all parts of the country also expressions of a very suspicious nature have been from time to time let fall, unheeded at the time but now assuming a very pointed significance, as, for instance, in my own nursery, a servant girl some few weeks since observed to some of my children, "You give me orders now, "but you will have to take orders from we blacks before long."

3. Then as to the attendance on public worship, it has lamentably fallen off within the last two years; especially is this remarkable as regards the young men of the congregation, of whom there are very few who ever show themselves in the churches at all.

4. The baptisms do not show any marked difference as to numbers. But the marriages have been remarkably few of late. In the parish church there have been for the whole of the past year 1865 only seven (7), two years ago, in 1863, the number was fifteen (15).

5. In the parish of Manchester the people have hitherto been perfectly quiet, but from disaffected speeches which are occasionally heard there is much reason to believe that *fear* is the predominating influence on the minds of the populace, especially since the energetic suppression of the late outbreak under the wise and prompt measures of his Excellency the Governor.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq. (Signed) Wm. Forbes,
Rector.

The Reverend C. Douet to Mr. W. R. Myers.

Sir, Bath, January 1, 1866.

In answering your letter dated December 28th, 1865, I must beg to remind you that I have been resident in this parish only six weeks, and my opinions with regard to the rebellion are only "first impressions," and may undergo change when I have seen more of the people.

I believe the spirit of sedition to have been general, that is to say, that there existed previous to the outbreak a strong feeling against the white and respectable portion of the inhabitants, and am led to infer this from the rapidity with which the attack at Morant Bay was followed up by simultaneous risings in the neighbourhood of Bath, Manchioneal, &c., and also the readiness on the part of the people to join in the movement. But at the same time, whatever may have been the spirit I do not think that the plans of the rebellion were entrusted to all, probably only to those who were known to be particularly and violently opposed to the whites, for there is a settlement of negroes about seven miles from Bath which did not contribute a single man either to join in the massacre or to take part in the plundering of this town. Now this settlement had refused a year or two ago to allow G. W. Gordon to establish a footing among them, and had indeed stedfastly refused to attend the meetings of a man named Warren, who was introduced there by Gordon, and this fact may account for the people not having joined in the rebellion. Of course had success attended the negro cause matters would have speedily changed.

With regard to the present state of affairs, I think that in these parts at least the negroes are perfectly quiet and will not attempt another rebellion.

I have been into every settlement about here and have held religious meetings among the people, and every where I go they constantly say, "That they have learnt a lesson they will never forget, and "St. Thomas-in-the-East will never see such doings again."

By way of confirming what I state, I may mention that I went to a district about eight miles distant from Bath during the Christmas week unguarded and accompanied only by an old man. The people received me gladly, and entertained me in one of their houses, gave me a capital breakfast, as good as I could have got at home, and collected together in a school room for Divine Worship, to the number of 200. I spoke to them *very plainly* of the want of confidence we felt in them in consequence of late events, and in fact did not mince matters with them.

If they had been inclined for revenge they would have taken it, for I was one among many. But on the contrary many came with me on my return home to conduct me over the bad roads and see me safely across the rivers. The example that had been made in this parish had had the effect that was desired.

I am not able to give my own testimony to the attendance at church here previous to the rebellion. I am told it was pretty good. Since that event the church has been largely attended, and an inclination to learn something shows itself in a large increase to the Sunday school.

The Holy Communion I have not yet administered, but it is a great satisfaction to me to state that after a strict examination into the state of the church members with respect to the rebellion, I have not found *one communicant* implicated. Five persons have been executed who were occasional attendants, and eight flogged for taking part in the plunder. All these were most irregular in their attendance.

The rite of marriage is as little attended to here as in other parts of the Island. My impression is that it arises from these two causes:—

1. The well known display that they think indispensable, and which cannot be made without going to a great expense.

2. The hold that the man has over the woman as long as they live in an improper manner. So long as they continue unmarried he can make her work for him, in fact, be his slave, and should she become fractious he at once dismisses her and takes some one else. As soon as he is married this power ceases, and though he ill-treats her yet he seldom resorts to the harsher method.

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The rite of baptism is much sought after by the negroes, and they attach great importance to it, generally preferring to have it administered by a clergyman of the Church of England.

While reading the "Guardian" newspaper the other day my eye fell upon G. W. Gordon's letter to his wife, and I was somewhat surprised to find that he stated there that he knew nothing of the man Bogle.

Having two letters that he wrote to this man in my possession and thinking they may be of some use (especially too as I see this statement has been made use of at a meeting in England), I append them to this letter, together with a return furnished by Mr. Kirkland, senior magistrate here, in which you will see the dishonest means Gordon used to obtain his votes.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Executive Committee Office,
Spanish Town.

(Signed) Charles F. Douet,
Island Curate, Bath.

Names of Parties for whom Geo. W. Gordon licensed Stock, &c., on the 29th September 1865.

		£	s.	d.
960.	George McIntosh, Rhine ; 30 head horned stock, at 1*s.*	1	10	0
962.	Thomas Hall, Stony Gut; 1 gelding and 1 ass	0	14	6
963.	Robert Boyd, Rhine; 35 head horned stock, at 1*s.*	1	15	0
964.	Joseph Saundur, Spring ; 20 head horned cattle, at 1*s.*	1	0	0
964.	Do. do do. 2 wheels of cart	0	12	0
965.	George B. Clark, Rhine ; 1 carriage, 4 wheels	3	0	0
966.	Henry Clyne, Dunney Penn; 2 mules	1	2	0
967.	Wm. Davidson, Rhine; 2 horse kind, at 11*s.*	1	2	0
	2 wheels of cart, at 6*s.*	0	12	0
968.	Adam Grant, Spring ; 3 horse kind, at 11*s.*	1	13	0
969.	*J. B. Stirling*, Rumkin; 33 horned stock, at 1*s.*	1	13	0
970.	James McLaren, Rhine; 30 do. do. do.	1	10	0
971.	Richard Warren, Spring ; 3 horse kind, at 11*s.*	1	13	0
972.	H. J. Laurence, Rhine; 4 do.	1	14	0
973.	*Moses Bogle*, Rhine ; 32 horned stock, at 1*s.*	1	12	0
974.	Richard Brydan, Spring; 31 do. do.	1	11	0
975.	Paul Bogle, Dunrobbin ; 1 horse kind	0	11	0
		£23	4	6

(Signed) W. P. Kirkland,
Collector of Dues.

Mr. G. W. Gordon to Paul Bogle.

Mr. Paul Bogle.

Dear Sir,

Even since I saw you I have been so busy and engaged that I have not had time to attend to *the advance* matter, it must remain over for *a wk.* or 10 days yet.

I hope to be up and see you and Clarke, on some particular matters.

We have a great deal to do just now.

In haste, with best wishes,
Yours truly,
(Signed) Geo. W. Gordon.
Kingston, 10 uly 1862.

Mr. Paul Bogle,
Stoney Gut,
Morant Bay.

Favour of
J. R. Richards, Esq.,
10/7/62.

Letter received on July 13, 1862.

G. W. Gordon to Paul Bogle.

Dear Bogle, Kingston, February 5, 1864.

We have had much to deplore, none of us being good. To-day is a fast day, to call to mind our sins.

To implore God to grant us mercies and to help us in all our necessities.

To bless our relations and our friends.

To pardon *our enemies.*

To take away the reproach of sin from our land.

To bless all lands with the light of Gospel truth.

To grant prosperity to our cause for His glory in this city.

To bless M. Warren in the word and in his mission to St. Thos.-y-East.

Think of these things and of the wickedness in our land, and pour out your spirit in supplication and prayer, and though we are surrounded by difficulties the Lord will surely hear and bless us. My kind remembrance to your good wife, and with best wishes,

Believe me,
Yrs in shar* regard,
(Sd.) Geo. W. Gordon.

in
ial.

Mr. Paul Bogle.

RESULT of an EXAMINATION of all the COMMUNICANTS belonging to my CHURCH as to their connection with the late REBELLION.

Charles Logan, an African, reported to having been returning from his ground, when some soldiers accosted him as to the direction a fugitive Rebel had taken; Logan replying he did not know was shot.

Sydney Thyne, an African, being accosted by some soldiers and answering rudely was shot.

Mary Bailey, guilty of plundering, was flogged and committed to prison.

Letitia Cornwall, guilty of having goods knowing they had been stolen, was committed to prison.

One man, who said he had gone to look at Duckenfield House after the attack, was accused and flogged.

One man who went down to the Grove and mixed up with some Rebels on Saturday October 14, was taken to Portland and hanged.

A man named Walters was flogged for having some plunder belonging to Winchester estate.

Each member of my church has been examined publicly, and the above cases are all which I have been able to discover.

J. W. SLOAN, LL.B.,
Theological Associate, King's College, London.

St. Andrew's district, Golden Grove, extends over an area of 36 square miles with a population of 4,000. There are eight estates; five of them are under the management of one gentleman, the three others under the management of different gentlemen. The entire population, excepting about 45 persons (men, women, and children) is black, I have not seen any East Indian or Chinese immigrants in this district, except about a dozen of the former at Amity Hall.

My predecessor, the Island curate of St. Andrews, had been labouring here about twenty years before I succeeded him in March 1864; I came into the district a stranger, and took up my abode on Richmond Hill, which the Rev. Wm. Smith was about leaving.

The Disposition (part) of the Blacks.—With the exception of the members of my church and a few others, their demeanour on the road was discourteous, manifesting no token of respect.

This conduct evidently arose from vain and conceited notions of their personal importance, and was very remarkable on Sundays when they had on their best clothes and were on the road to some Wesleyan or Baptist meeting house.

The supercilious bearing of the Baptist preachers, especially of "Manning," a dark brown man who continues to be postmaster of this district, and Harris a negro, who had a chapel at Manchioneal as well as one near Golden Grove, when riding past dressed as ministers, was very annoying. Nearly all the negroes on Richmond Hill profess to be Baptists and Wesleyans. According to the experience of the Rev. Wm. Smith, who preceded me, and my own during the sixteen months I lived on the Hill, nothing portable was safe from thieves, no trust could be placed in their most solemn asseverations; during night goats, turkeys, fowls and ground provisions were stolen; at break of day cocoa-nut trees were stripped. On Sunday when it was known no man would be on the premises, boys about 14 years of age entirely naked used to climb the trees without detection, the servants left in charge finding it difficult to distinguish their persons without any kind of clothing on. When any black happened to come into my yard, and I complained of my loss, the only reply I obtained, was "Massa, every one is a thief this side." The blacks frequently quarrelled among themselves and would listen to no advice. On one occasion, September 14th, 1864, a man and a woman created so great a noise immediately in front of my door, that I went and requested them to go away; though they were standing off the path (claimed by the negroes across the hill as right of way) and trespassing on my ground, they left off their quarrel, drew their knives, and threatened to stab me. I declined turning from them until they should pass out of my gate, a distance from the spot of about 300 yards; during their progress the man thrice tried to trip me over a deep gully, striking me swinging blows on the chest with his left hand, prepared to lunge with his knife if I attempted to close with him. I was unarmed and to provoke me to strike him he at last struck me in the mouth with his fist I called my servant but he refused to interfere or to tell me the names of my assailants. After hearing for several days a call Parson come out and fight, the affair ended.

Very few persons living on Richmond Hill are married, and the children are generally compelled by their parents to undertake severe labour while they themselves remain in their huts sleeping or smoking; whenever a child disobeys its parent it suffers cruel chastisement.

Frequent meetings were held at night, and when the moon was up, continued until 2 or 3 in the mornings. I do not know the nature of the meetings; there was sometimes much loud singing of hymn tunes; at other times beating of drums, and what appeared to be very remarkable playing on a fife of some quick simple tune, very near to our house, the player not beginning until past 12 o'clock and continuing for perhaps a couple of hours on the same spot. No one could explain the affair, and, since the rebellion has occurred, the suspicion I have is there was some secret meeting being held either for the purpose of conference or drilling on the land portion of my ground.

I knew a large meeting was to be held at Belmont (a part of Richmond Hill) on August 1st, 1865, because a young man, one of the sons of a black constable named Hilliard, came to me inquiring if I would let him have some writing paper. On my requesting to know the use he intended to make of it he replied, to write letters to different parties about and at Morant Bay, as they intended to have a tea meeting and an assembly of about 200 persons.

I could never learn what transpired at that meeting, as I left Richmond Hill the latter part of July 1865, being unable any longer to remain among such a set of lawless people.

I came to Stoakes Hall, about a mile from Golden Grove July 1865. Here the character of the blacks is the same. Many of them are Baptists, attending the teachings of Manning and Harris.

Because I refused to accept of a girl as servant on account of her being a Baptist, she and her friend threatened my servant with violence if the latter dared to carry me water from a spring happening to be on the ground of these Baptists, (the only sweet water available for us and open to all

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besides ourselves,) necessitating our use of bad brackish water. Nothing whatever was revealed about the forthcoming rebellion. I had either heard or read in the "Morning Journal," (I do not read the Jamaica papers, but the "Morning Journal" happened to be then taken by some blacks here, two schoolmasters, and fell into my hands') that an outbreak would take place during the month of September. I gave no credence to the rumour, I noticed that my congregation had been remarkably small during several Sundays preceding the month of October, but the extraordinary wet weather which set in the middle of September may partially account for that.

The present Disposition of the Blacks.—Most of them appear terrified; these may be persons who never took part in the rebellion; and from what has happened to the Rebels are afraid another disturbance will occur and expose them to suffering.

Many on the other hand wear an aspect of sullen hatred and determination to have revenge. They appear to be well informed of the nature of "martial law" and that for the present it has ceased. Many have tauntingly said, "You can't touch me, martial law is over." The other day, as the officer in command at Stoakes Hall, Lieutenant Niven, was driving with me near Bowden, three women placed themselves before our horse in the road and jeered us, they repeated the same conduct as Mr. Shortridge passed in our rear about 15 minutes later.

For the following reason, I believe the rebellious spirit was general, and the outbreak in this district part of a general plan. I remained with my wife at Stoakes Hall House the whole time the rebellion was going forward, witnessing the movements and hearing the words of the Rebels, from Thursday mid-day until about 2 p.m. on Saturday, when the military arrived and escorted us to the gun-boat "Onyx." Our house was not attacked during this period, though the Rebels passed laden with plunder within 20 yards of our windows, and some actually came between our house and the kitchen, in order to cut the road short to Springfield. They, women and children did not go along in haste, as if they were ashamed of what they were doing, but leisurely, laughing and apparently joking, marching in files of from 20 to 100.

1. The signal came from Morant Bay. When it reached Plantain Garden River only a few hours after the massacre of the whites at Morant Bay, it was understood by a certain party; a council of war was held by the Rebels in the meadow between Bachelor's Hall and the river, and the attack planned.

2. The period chosen was one when the blacks were not at work, and could not be got together without previous secret information; yet the Golden Grove mob numbered about 800, I believe. Our market day is on Saturday. When I examined the members of my church, they told me they knew nothing about what was to happen. A body of Africans on the Duckenfield estate, who are members of my church, and known to be much better than negroes, having a small place where service is conducted by them according to the Prayer Book, informed me they knew nothing previous to the outbreak, and on hearing the blowing of shells and horns and beating of drums, and going out under the impression that a fire had broken out, they had to flee for their own safety. This is the explanation they gave on my requesting to know why they did not fight, and defend at least the estate where they earned their bread.

3. *The Strategic Occupation of all the Outlets from the Plantain Garden River District.*—At 7 o'clock on Thursday morning, October 12th, Rebel sentinels held the roads leading to Bath, questioning all passengers, and allowing no one to proceed beyond Bath. My servant was permitted to go so far as Bath, and return unharmed. Dr. Crowdy's servant was compelled to return on entering Bath, because he was proceeding to Morant Bay.

4. The Rebels, on their first attack, passed by some estates and proceeded to the store of Mr. Tavares, Golden Grove, a white Jew, who had been only a few months in the district, and had rather benefited the negroes than otherwise, by selling his goods at a lower rate than charged at other stores in the vicinity. Then they attacked a little store belonging to E. N. Harrison, a volunteer. I was informed by E. N. Harrison, on the testimony of the woman tending the store at the moment of the outbreak, that the attack on his store was begun by his immediate neighbours, who are the Baptists previously alluded to as refusing me water, and soon after taken up by the general mob.

5. *The Control the Rebel Leaders appeared to have over the excited Mob.*—Cane fields, sugar works were uninjured. Not a match was applied to any building, excepting a fruitless attempt on Friday night, October 13th, to fire Amity Hall great house, which may have been done to consume the dead body of Mr. Hire, either to conceal the deed or from some superstitious notion. Cattle were driven to pasture on Thursday evening.

6. The moment a place was known to be without defenders it was pillaged by the female relatives and friends of the Rebels, who could scarcely think of enjoying the produce of robbery, unless secured by a successful rebellion; and the property was brought back only when the scheme proved a failure.

7. The feeling of confidence all the blacks appeared to have in each other, and their unity—rare qualities among negroes—their war cry was "Colour to colour." They aimed at the destruction of the whites simply because they are white. We heard Rebels calling out beneath our windows, "All buckras "must be killed." On inquiring of my man, an African acquainted only with a little English, if he had heard any Rebels express good or bad of me, he answered, "They say you do no harm, but you share the spoils (*i.e.*, receive Government pay)." When the military arrived, the first news I heard from the blacks was they, the soldiers, would side with the negroes and destroy the whites. George William Gordon possessed a strong hold over the people here, most of them hiring ground on the Rhine estate, and therefore coming into frequent contact with him and his overseer Lawrence. I know nothing of G. W. Gordon beyond this, that he visited my church on Sunday, July 2nd, seated himself in the servants' pew, introduced himself to me in my vestry after sermon, and made some remarks about preaching the Gospel. On going out and finding him standing among my people, he entered into conversation with me, inquiring who among the overseers attended church, remarking my congregation was small, and adding, he found a difficulty in getting people together, for that morning, having ordered the blacks to meet him at the Rhine at 6 o'clock, they kept him waiting until nearly 8 before he could begin his service.

On my calling at the "Nineteen Mile Tavern" on November 24th the hostess, Mrs. Noels, informed me that Gordon used to be a frequent visitor * * * * * * * * Gordon told Mrs. Noels how he disliked Mr. Herschell and the Baron, expressing himself very bitterly against them.

Mrs. Noels' own remark was, "the strongest love changed into deadly hatred." The cause of dislike was money matters between Gordon and the Baron. Gordon uttered his sentiments on his way to the vestry which preceded the one held on October 11th, 1865.

Inflammatory Speeches and Writings.—I have not heard or read any. Some time in June last a meeting was held in the Baptist meeting house belonging to Harris at Stoakes Hall, to consider the Underhill letter. Harris, I learnt, was canvassing my people on the Sunday previous to this meeting. On making inquiries last Sunday, December 31/65, of some of my people who went there, they either forgot they had been, or said they could hear nothing on account of the crowded state of the room.

Attendance of Negroes at Church.—During the last six months preceding the rebellion I have not been satisfied with the number appearing in church; since the rebellion their number has been satisfactory.

Attendance at Holy Communion.—The following are the numbers of negroes at the monthly communion, the attendance of each being registered by a card being placed in a box at the time:—

1865.

January	129	
February	127	
March	116	
April	144	
May	52	heavy rain.
June	128	
July	147	
August	95	
September	57	heavy rain.

No person is permitted to be a communicant who is known to be living in sin or encouraging others to do so.

Their Observance of the Rites of Marriage.—They care nothing for marriage, the lowest phase of prostitution is practised here. There is but little concubinage where a man and woman live together for years, and try to keep together. They lie together under hedges, and anywhere by stealth; numbers of young girls got with child told me they have *never lived* with any man. During the past year I have performed the marriage ceremony only *four* times.

Baptisms.—Fornication being so very common here, and practised under circumstances so shameless, members of the church decline answering for bastards.

Parents of illegitimate children are very desirous of having their offspring baptized, but they are refused unless they marry, give sufficient probability they will sin no more, get the children adopted by members, or have been living a chaste life for a few years since the birth of the child.

Numbers of girls, not more than 16 years of age, have come with their children. Girls and boys are compelled by their parents to work in the fields at so early an age as eight years; the fields are full and our schools are empty, because the parents care more about the 3*d.* a-day a child may earn than the child's education and salvation; hence the immorality, and the hesitation members of the church feel when requested to become sponsors.

During the past year I have baptized 21 legitimate children; 3 illegitimate (dying or adopted); 22 Africans (adult).

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. W. Sloan, LL.B.,
Theological Associate, King's College, London,
Island Curate, St. Andrew's, Golden Grove,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Hon. Robert Nunes to W. R. Myers, Esq.

Sir, Falmouth, January 4, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular, No. 2,294, in which I am requested to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population of this Island with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general.

I feel that I am sufficiently well acquainted with the general disposition of the negroes to be justified in stating that they are entirely deficient of the feelings of loyal subjects, and in most instances they are readily disposed to follow the counsels and teachings of mischievous demagogues, to which baneful influences is to be attributed the late serious rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

It does not admit of a doubt in my mind, that the unfortunate outbreak of the 11th October was a premature development of a premeditated and organized arrangement, and that the original intention was *not* to limit the insurrection to the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, nor to the adjacent districts, nor even solely to the county of Surrey. I unhesitatingly and confidently assert, that had it not been for the judicious promptitude and necessary rigorous measures adopted by his Excellency the Governor, combined with the forcible examples which were made at the locality of the insurrection, a general rising throughout the Island would have succeeded the initiation of the bloodthirsty scenes enacted by the Rebels at Morant Bay.

I regret that I cannot think otherwise than that the present disposition of the lower orders is not such as to justify the expectation that life and property would be safe without the continued protection of the military now stationed throughout the Colony.

There is no doubt that very great influence had been exercised on the minds of the black population in bringing about this late rebellion, of which I regard Mr. George W. Gordon as having been the

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principal instigator; and it appears that he travelled through the Island during the months of July and August last for the express purpose of sowing the seeds of disaffection and rebellion. While he was in this parish, in August, he obtained an opportunity of addressing the congregation of the Baptist chapel in this town, but in consequence of the seditious advice and inflammatory language indulged in by him he was stopped in his harangue, and was prevented by the Rev. Mr. Lea (the minister attached to the chapel) from continuing his improper course. I deem it right to state, that I obtained this information from the Rev. Mr. Lea *after* Mr. George W. Gordon had been apprehended. It has also recently come to my knowledge that a similar course was pursued by Mr. Gordon in the Presbyterian kirk at Green Island, when he was also for the like reason checked, and compelled to discontinue his address.

I deeply regret that I feel it my duty to state that, from the best information I can gather, it is evident that a spirit of disaffection still undoubtedly prevails among the peasantry in many districts of the Island.

With the assurance to the Government of my sincere gratitude for having saved this Colony from a general insurrection on the part of the negroes, and which was inevitable, had it not been for the prompt action taken and just punishment which followed,

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT NUNES,
Custos of Trelawney.

CAPTAIN KENT, R.N., Stipendiary Magistrate, to Mr. MYERS.

Belle Vue, Port Royal,
January 4, 1866.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst., stating that his Excellency and the Executive Committee request that I would furnish Government with information on the several questions appended.

1st. Whether the outbreak at Morant Bay was entirely local and caused by the accidental occurrences of the moment, or whether it was a pre-determined movement though prematurely developed?

Answer. There is not a doubt in my mind that an organized movement of the blacks was to take place at Christmas, when all were assembled in their churches on that sacred day, and that not a white man was to be spared. Many of the coloured people inimical to them would have shared the same fate, but certainly not all, as they are connected by ties of blood.

2nd. To state any circumstances, facts, or evidence which you can give in support of such opinion.

Answer. To the injudicious and intemperate conduct of Dr. Underhill is mainly to be attributed this fearful outbreak and loss of life. For that gentleman to state that the negroes were starving and could not obtain work was false in the extreme; few seek work, preferring to bask in the sun, those that do turn out do their work in the most superficial and slovenly way, seldom giving more than five or six hours' labour, and no man dare to remonstrate with them, or he stands a risk of being murdered with the hoe or cutlass, for they are always armed with the latter weapon, and many of them with a short butcher's knife.

3rd. Whether I have any reason to suppose disaffection, seditious feelings, or evil intentions extended to any other parish besides St. Thomas-in-the-East?

Answer. I am at a loss to answer this question. I certainly expected some fearful doings in this Island several months before the insurrection, and openly expressed myself to that effect. I was forcibly struck with many of the negroes throwing off their small scull caps and suddenly appearing in hats of at least two feet six inches in diameter, in which no man could work, and spoke out openly that there were secret societies forming, of which these men were to be the leaders. These hats have disappeared since the crushing of the rebellion.

4th. To state the circumstances, facts, or evidence which I can give in support of my opinion?

Answer. This question has been in a measure answered. I would, however, remark that the fearful robberies going on showed clearly that life and property was not safe in Jamaica. Four fearful robberies have taken place in my house during the past year—the last on the 1st of July, when I had left home with my family only for a day; my dressing-room window was broken into during the night, and two cases, both with Bramah locks, carried off into the negro burial ground, and there broken open with stones, and every valuable abstracted, money and watches and jewellery, to the amount of 200*l*., and, notwithstanding a large reward has been offered, not a soul will give information; this is a sad state for any country to be in.

5th. Whether you have reason to believe the outbreak at Morant Bay was premature, and that some later period in the year had been intended for such outbreak, or for a more general one?

Answered in Question No. 1.

6th. State the circumstances, facts, or evidence which you can give in support of your opinions?

Answer. The violent conduct of the blacks, even so late as the 16th of last month, will show what they are capable of doing; two black men, brothers, attack a coloured young man, overseer of a plantation, one seizes him by the neckcloth and endeavours to strangle him, throws him on the ground, and there bites off part of his nose, whilst the other stabs him in the thigh, and he is taken up senseless from loss of blood.

7th. State any circumstances, facts, or evidence in believing that the spirit of disaffection and sedition which existed or may still exist either in St. Thomas-in-the-East, or any other parish, was led to, stimulated, or encouraged by the proceedings or teachings of George W. Gordon or others.

Answer. I firmly believe that George Wm. Gordon, who has justly expiated his crimes on the gallows along with his coadjutor Paul Bogle, was at the head, and instigator of this rebellion, and that it was a most fortunate event for the Colony that he was not at Morant Bay at the outbreak in October, as he would have held them back till the time appointed; but the negroes, with their impulsive character, would brook no delay, but rushed on to the fearful slaughter that ensued. The meeting-houses, with native preachers, throughout this Island are a great evil, and fraught with great danger to the Colony; they should, without delay, be denounced.

8th. State any circumstances, facts, or evidence you can give in support of such opinions?
I have already answered all these points.

9th. State the condition of your districts at the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and for a fortnight afterwards, and whether there were indications of disaffection or sedition?

Answer. There was none; they soon learnt that the insurgents were hemmed in by the troops, and could not approach us through the Blue Mountain Valley, and the negroes remained quiet.

10th. State any facts or circumstances tending to throw light upon the condition of the Island, and the feelings of the people generally, as far as regards their disposition to be peaceable and keep within the law, or otherwise, either before or during or subsequent to the rebellion?

Answer. At the time of the outbreak consternation seized on every family, they one and all felt their lives in imminent peril, and they now feel that only by the prompt measures pursued that they have been spared.

In conclusion, I would respectfully state that I have served afloat and on shore 65 years, was throughout the whole of the West India islands, 1807-8-9-10, and have now been in Jamaica since November 1834.

I have ever been considered the friend of the black man, and, therefore, would not write prejudicially against him, but I feel that I have a public duty to perform in making an honest statement of every circumstance I am acquainted with.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary Executive Committee. (Signed) H. KENT, Stipendiary Magistrate.

MR. ROYES to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Windsor, St. Ann, January 2, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of circular, 28th December 1865, No. 2,294, and in reply beg to state,

1st. That for some time past the conduct and bearing of the rising generation (now forming a large proportion of our adult population) has exhibited a gradual and marked contrast to that of former years; they are less industrious, less orderly, and less respectful than the older people to constituted authority, often exhibiting a gratuitously offensive demeanour in that respect, and I do not believe generally they have made any moral or social progress of late years, more especially since the Revivals.

2nd. I can form no correct opinion as to whether the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East was local or general, and would rather not indulge in a speculative one. I have no reason to believe, if there was a conspiracy, that there was any organization in St. Ann.

3rd. The news of the outbreak necessarily caused great excitement and uneasiness among all classes. Rumours of seditious language and threats were plentiful, but, save in one instance, I could trace none to any authentic source. Many of the black population expressed their regret and asked me what they were to do in case the rebellion came here, they hoped it might not, and there seemed to me an undefined fear that such an event was not looked upon as impossible, although I told them if they were true to themselves it could not. The news of the suppression of the outbreak following so immediately produced a marked change in the demeanour of those alluded to in my first paragraph, they became very civil and respectful, and will, I hope, continue so, although I fear the violent and unjust tone of some of the English papers may create a bad effect in an excitable race.

4th. St. Ann's, fortunately, has been singularly free from political demagogues, the only large meeting I know or have heard of was the one held at the end of July, presided over by the late Mr. G. W. Gordon. I attended to open the meeting, and then came away. I cannot learn that any directly seditious language was used, the people were most orderly, cheerful, and well behaved. I have heard of a placard, addressed to the "starving people of St. Ann," having been distributed and placarded, but I have not seen one so placarded, and my utmost efforts have failed to procure a copy.

5th. Although I do not believe in the existence of any organized conspiracy in St. Ann, and believe that the mass of the people are peaceful and loyal, I have no hesitation in expressing my firm conviction that had the measures adopted by the Government in the first instance been less prompt, energetic, or decisive, or had they failed in the least degree, the tide of rebellion would have flowed on, gathering strength as it went, and there would not have been wanting in St. Ann's numbers of idle dissolute people to swell the Rebel ranks, ready for any amount of bloodshed and plunder, whilst the bulk of the well-disposed, although I believe out-numbering by far the others, would have remained quite passive, and I ground this strong conviction on my long experience of the negro character, over 36 years.

I must also, in justice to these, express my belief that they would, under proper guidance and direction, prove their loyalty, if the Government took steps to call it forth.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq. &c., &c. (Signed) CHARLES ROYES, Custos, St. Ann.

POLICE INSPECTOR of KINGSTON to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, Police Office, Kingston, January 4, 1866.

I HAVE the honour, in reply to your letter of the 1st inst., to state for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, that I have already, to the best of my judgment, stated my opinion in reference to the disposition of the black population generally, in reference to the late rebellion, in my letter dated 30th December 1865.

Reply to Question 1st. I beg to state that I am of opinion that the late outbreak at Morant Bay was local and predetermined in that district. Because the resolutions passed at the Underhill

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meeting at Morant Bay court yard, previous to the outbreak, by the late Mr. G. W. Gordon, and his coadjutors Paul Bogle and others, as reported in the "Watchman" newspaper, furnish abundant proofs that the outbreak was pre-determined, and deliberately developed itself on the fatal day, 11th October 1865.

Reply to Question 3rd. I have reason to suppose that disaffection and seditious feeling extended to other parishes besides St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Because the "Watchman" newspaper (the organ of the black population) has published very strong resolutions, passed at the Underhill meetings in almost every parish in the Colony, and whose pernicious effects tended to create disaffection and seditious feelings in the minds of the large mass of uneducated persons of that class.

Reply to Question 5th. I have no reason to suppose that the outbreak at Morant Bay had been intended for a more general one, or at a later period in the year. It was commonly rumoured that a general rebellion would have broken out about Christmas.

Reply to Question 7th. My belief is, that the spirit of disaffection and sedition which existed in St. Thomas-in-the-East was stimulated by the improper teaching and pernicious advice of Mr. G. W. Gordon and his adherents; and I am further of opinion that if the St. Thomas-in-the-East negroes had not been goaded on by Mr. G. W. Gordon and other agitators in that district, they never would, of themselves, been guilty of the late deplorable and sanguinary outbreak.

Reply to Question 9th. During the first fortnight of the late outbreak at Morant Bay, there was an indication of disaffection amongst some of the citizens of Kingston. Because several anonymous seditious letters were forwarded through the Post Office, to several persons in authority, threatening the safety of the city; but in consequence of the expeditious and vigorous measures taken by his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, and the civil authorities in Kingston, the city was saved from conflagration.

Reply to Question 10th. Since peace has been established I have perceived a better feeling amongst the people of this city; they were under considerable fear and anxiety during the prevalence of martial law, but now they are peaceable, and more observant of the laws. The Races and Christmas holidays have passed off in a more quiet and orderly manner than has been known for many years.

I cannot help regretting the tone of a section of the English press, in reference to the late rebellion. Their undeserved and harsh attack upon the acts of his Excellency and other gentlemen, who had so ably carried into effect his Excellency's orders, for the suppression of a suspected general outbreak throughout the Island, and the preservation of life, limb, and property, is, in my opinion, wholly unjustifiable, since their opinion can only be based upon exaggerated statements, from persons in this Island, who know very little of what occurred at Morant Bay.

Such writings tend very much to create disaffection in the minds of a people who are too prone to receive pernicious and unsettled opinions.

I have, &c.

A. NAIRN,
Inspector Police.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee,
&c. &c. &c.

MR. T. HART to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Police Office, St. Ann's Bay, January 5, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1st instant, No. 2,311, in which I am required to state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general.

My knowledge of the black population is limited to that of the parish of St. Ann; I am, therefore, not in a position to answer the questions propounded to me, beyond stating that I do not think there was existing among the population of this parish any organized plan to disturb the peace of the Island, but I am disposed to believe that had the rebellion succeeded in St. Thomas-in-the-East, it would have become general, and it might have extended to St. Ann.

I arrive at this opinion from the fact that there are several discontented characters in the various districts of this parish, who are always talking of unequal laws and oppressive taxation, and I am told that in many of the villages people have said that the white inhabitants must be destroyed.

I have observed among the young people a want of respect to the authorities, more especially at the courts, where they are usually ill-behaved and turbulent in conduct, ready to create a disturbance when decisions adverse to themselves have been given.

During the time of the Underhill agitation, when the meeting was held in St. Ann's Bay, at which Mr. George W. Gordon presided, there was great excitement among the people who attended it, and who expressed themselves to the effect that there was one law for the white man and another for the black man, an opinion which I have reason to believe that Mr. G. W. Gordon promulgated.

I did not, however, believe at that time that any mischief would have ensued.

After the rebellion became known, the people of the Western District of St. Ann were very much excited, to such an extent, indeed, that it was necessary to ask his Excellency the Governor for troops, to preserve order in that portion of the parish.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS P. HART.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

MR. INSPECTOR MITCHELL to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Police Office, Falmouth, January 4, 1866.

IN reply to your letter, No. 2,311, 1st instant, I beg to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that I cannot say anything authentically about the rebellion except with reference to whatever occurred in this district, but from what I have heard I am of opinion that the greater portion of the black population of this Island were in favour of it, and I consider there still exists a seditious spirit among many of them, which is only kept under by the strong military force that has been brought against them.

That the outbreak at Morant Bay was, I believe, a predetermined and deliberate movement, and that it was intended for a later period in the year, when it would have been more general.

In support of this opinion, I must state the following facts, that several persons have been apprehended in this parish and punished, some for saying to their employers, whom they were threatening, "The 25th December will soon be here, and then you may look out;" and another for declaring that on the 25th December he would burn down Deeside village.

The above facts are answers also to sections 3 and 5 of your letter.

I further believe, from what has transpired, that seeds of disaffection *were* sown by the late Mr. G. W. Gordon in his tour round the Island in August last, for the purpose of giving public lectures in the several parishes. He, however, failed in the attempt to hold a meeting at the court-house in this town, as no one would go to hear him, but he afterwards attended a public meeting at the Baptist chapel here, when he commenced to lecture, using very inflammatory language, until he was called to silence and requested to leave the platform by the minister of that chapel. With regard to the people of this district I am sorry that shortly after the outbreak at Morant Bay a spirit of disaffection appeared, although in very few cases. One man was apprehended for saying that if he had 12 like himself he would go on a certain day into the shops and cut off the head of every white man in Falmouth. Another stated that the Rebels would soon be from Morant Bay at Hampshire, and he would "shoot "all the white men about that district," at the same time mentioning several gentlemen whom he would shoot first.

In reply to section 10, I am aware that a number of men assembled several times at Deeside shortly before the rebellion for the purpose of being instructed in the rifle drill; these assemblies being unlawful, were, on the report of the same by the police, prohibited.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. MITCHELL,
Inspector.

MR. PALACHE to MR. MYERS.

Police Office, Manchester, Mandeville P.O.,

SIR, January 5, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch No. 2,311, of date 1st January 1866, requesting me, by directions of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, to state my opinion, for the information of the Government, of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion.

1st. That for months before the outbreak in Morant Bay, the black population generally, and the young people particularly, exhibited the greatest insolence of manner, even in this parish, and occasionally let drop expressions which at that period passed unheeded, but which now prove to have been significant.

2nd. I am clearly of opinion that the outbreak at Morant Bay was not local, though prematurely developed, and I come to that conclusion by having observed that when the news arrived here not one black person expressed any horror at the atrocities; and one young man named "Chambers" actually said to Mr. Isaacs a magistrate, and Mr. Justice Sturridge and myself subsequently (for some trifling matter at which he had taken offence), that "had we been in Morant Bay we should have been shot or "served the same as Mr. Price."

3rd. I have every reason to believe that disaffection and seditious feeling extended even into this parish, because it was brought to my knowledge by the land surveyor, Mr. Angell, that a property near Mandeville called "Caledonia," (which was for sale in lots, and for years previously, was much sought after by the settlers) was entirely neglected, and people were heard to say they would not buy, for they should soon get land for nothing.

4th. I can give no fact in evidence in proof of the outbreak in Morant Bay having been premature, but I share the belief that the rising, if successful, would have spread over the whole Island.

5th. Mr. G. W. Gordon having held meetings in the parish of Vere, on the borders of Manchester, and which were attended by notoriously bad people from Grove Town, Marley Hill, and Victoria Town, in this parish, leads me to the belief that the peasantry might have been stimulated by his teachings, to insubordination and disaffection. One Samuel Holt from Black River had also at a meeting at Porus, told the people "not to work for the white man, and that they must form an agency in England, "and send their produce there direct."

6th. This parish generally was very quiet at the time of the Morant Bay outbreak. When martial law was proclaimed, the peasantry became obsequious; a marked change on their previous demeanour; and respect took the place of familiarity.

7th. I have no reason to believe that the peasantry of this parish are at this time otherwise than peaceably disposed. The show of force by the regulars and volunteers may conduce to this end; and I have no fear that so long as the strong arm is extended that peace will continue. The settlers and labourers are earning much money from a bountiful coffee crop, and spending it liberally in clothes and finery: but there is still an under-current of feeling among many, akin to disappointment, which makes me uncomfortable. It has come to the knowledge of the people that the English press (in part)

JAMAICA.

advocate the cause of the insurgents in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and I believe such unfair advocacy may cause general discontent throughout the Island.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. PALACHE,
Inspector of Police,
Manchester.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee.

REV. C. H. HALL to MR. MYERS.

SIR, The Rectory, Chapelton, January 5, 1866.

I DULY received by last post, 2nd instant, your circular, written by direction of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, requesting my opinion with reference to the late rebellion.

A rebellion *it was*—there can be but one opinion on the subject. Those only who live at ease at a distance safe from danger can term it a local riot.

As to the past disposition of the black population, I have ever hitherto considered them as loyal and peaceable, and with all their faults, not of a revengeful and sanguinary character.

But facts are stubborn things, and the unexpected unprovoked nature of the outbreak, the ferocity of the actions, the numbers engaged, the opinions expressed, and the threats held out by the late insurgents, have developed new and sad features in their disposition.

I fear the negro mind has received a great shock. Peaceful if left to themselves, as their own agitators admit, they can be lashed into the fury and brutality of savages by the harangues of ambition demagogues.

They have had topics brought prominently under their notice which cannot but act injuriously on an ignorant people.

Their numerical superiority openly insisted on; the defenceless condition of the few white and coloured proprietors, overseers and bookkeepers scattered about at distant intervals; the apparent ease with which they might be surprised and slaughtered; the appropriation of lands and properties to themselves—are facts that have been vividly brought before them of late, and must, more or less, serve to affect and unhinge their minds. The firm and necessarily repressive measures of the Government, for which they are ever to be praised and thanked, have checked for a time the work of demagogues and the spirit of insubordination; but how long? Traitors within and enemies without seem bent alike on ruining white and black and coloured inhabitants. The prosperity of a country is bound up in the welfare of all classes, and how can a house stand divided against itself, as this Island at present is.

In this parish there was only one act indicative of a rebellious and insubordinate spirit, and that was an attempt to set fire to the court-house; that, however, might have been the act of one or two disaffected characters, and such are to be found in all classes and among all communities. I am not aware of any inflammatory speeches being uttered or seditious writings issued in this parish.

I must say of our people generally, that I believe them on the whole to be peaceable and quiet. It has always been their character.

But I must also say that during the rebellion they showed no outward interest, exhibited no excitement, uttered no opinions on passing events.

The attendance in church on Sabbath days during the past six months was most seriously diminished. The communion not half as full, and only 31 baptisms, and not one marriage during the period.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. H. HALL.

REV. DR. MOORE to W. R. MYERS, Esq.

SIR, The Rectory, Port Maria, January 5, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular, No. 2,295, and for the information of the Government to state that I have had little opportunity to form an opinion of the past or present disposition of the black population beyond those connected with my own church. In the past, that is before the Underhill meeting, there were no particular complaints of deep distress, beyond the usual parochial pauperism; but after Dr. Underhill's letter, and the letter of the Baptist ministers of the Island to his Excellency the Governor of Jamaica, grumblings and discontent manifested themselves abundantly, meetings were held in other parishes, complaints against the Government and of distress became louder and louder. It was resolved that a meeting should be held here, at Port Maria. I was, I may say, *compelled* to take the chair at that meeting. I may here premise that few if any connected with the Church of England, took part in or were present at the proceedings of the day. I heard and learned more at that meeting of the alleged distress and discontent of the inhabitants of Jamaica, than I had done in the last 20 years that I have been in the Island. Some of the resolutions, condemnatory of the Government and of the unequal administration of justice, I refused to put to the meeting until the offensive passages were expunged or qualified; and I protested against the truthfulness of the whole of the resolutions and proceedings of the day, belied as they were by their own appearance there at the meeting, they being well clothed and in good condition, and mounted on good horses, decently saddled and bridled; and I appealed to a Scotch gentlemen, the most vehement of the speakers, whether he did not know that there was more real distress in one square mile in the west of Ireland than in the whole of the Island of Jamaica.

Ultimately when the proceedings of that meeting were sent to me for signature I signed them, protesting against them in toto. From this period up to the late outbreak, knots of a few men might be seen, in which the conduct of the Government and their own grievances were discussed. Into one of these I myself stumbled. I have it on good and reliable authority that when the Governor sent down the "Queen's advice," one man said "He wished he knew in what way he could free himself from the

"authority of the Queen;" another said, "The throats of all the whites should be cut." When the news reached this place of the massacre of St. Thomas-in-the-East, there was no sympathy in their countenances or demeanour, they appeared rather exultant; but when the counter news came of the just retribution upon the rebel murderers, then they were downcast and sullen.

Before the outbreak and subsequently, several threatening letters were sent through the post office and otherwise, to merchants and gentlemen upon the Bay.

The mind of the black population appears to be quiet at present, but whether this arises from fixed principles of loyalty to our Queen, or is the result of the energetic and efficacious measures adopted by the Government in suppressing the late rebellion, I cannot say.

On hearing of the occurrences in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I seized the first opportunity of bringing before my people the sin and horrors of rebellion, and the ingratitude of those concerned in it, and I have put the question to them both individually and collectively, "Would you act so sinfully against "God, and so ungratefully against your good Queen, as those Rebels in St. Thomas-in-the-East?" and they unanimously answered in the negative.

I am not of opinion that the rebellion was systematically organized in *every* parish of the Island, nor do I think that it was *only local;* but this I believe, that in many parishes it was systematically organized, and that had they been able to have brought their evil machination to maturity they would have easily carried with them the other inorganized parishes, which might be more or less previously prepared, or more or less decided on the course or side they should take.

Besides what I have said above, I cannot adduce any other facts that came under my own knowledge, nor was I present at, nor did I hear any inflammatory speeches, other than those reported in the public papers.

I have not perceived that the late rebellion had any effect whatever upon the negroes, in their attendance at church, or at the holy communion, or in their observance of the rites of marriage and baptism.

In concluding this reply to the queries of your circular, I have only to express it as my firm belief, that had not God confounded their wicked designs by causing the rebellion prematurely to burst forth, and by inspiring the Government with the spirit of decision and promptitude to act as it did, we would have had this day a very different tale to tell.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) JOHN H. MOORE,
Rector St. Mary,
Jamaica.

Wm. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee.

Sub-Enclosure 6, Part II.

CUSTOS HOLLINGSWORTH to W. R. MYERS, Esq.

SIR, Brumalia, January 5, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular No. 2,294 from his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, requesting my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion and upon other points connected therewith.

I beg to premise that I am senior custos in the Island, having been appointed by Lord Elgin in 1843. I have permanently resided in the Island 29 years, and can without hesitation declare that I have never known of any case of oppression to the black population either privately or officially, and that I know the black population to be most free and independent of any population in the world.

Until the late outbreak I had no idea of the existence of disaffection among the black population such as has too unmistakeably developed itself in St. Thomas-in-the-East; but for some time past I have observed a sort of defiant and insolent demeanour amongst the young men and women, and it is now too apparent that general disaffection had existed through the Island, and that but for the premature outbreak, a scene of carnage would have ensued frightful to contemplate.

I cannot but fear that so long as designing and evil disposed fanatics are permitted to use their influence unchecked over the lower classes, so long will the minds of the people continue in a state of excitement. Fortunately for this parish, the disposition of the people has generally been of a more pacific nature than other localities, not having had amongst us any of those political firebrands, who incite the people's minds with inflammatory speeches.

I cannot, I am happy to say, furnish any cases of inflammatory speeches and writings in this parish, although I have heard from undoubted authority that such is the case in adjoining parishes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN R. HOLLINGSWORTH,
Custos of Manchester.

Mr. G. M. LAWSON to Hon. EDWARD JORDON.

SIR, Montego Bay, January 2, 1866.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting for his Excellency the Governor, a report of the investigation into the cause of the fire which took place in the town of Montego Bay on the morning of the 22nd December last, and while I repeat that there is conviction in the minds of the magistrates assembled that it was the work of an incendiary, I regret that no clue as to the originator of the act has been discovered.

The evidence of Sarah Small, of Rosina James, and of Sarah Melburn, taken on the 28th of the same month, indicate the determination of evil-disposed persons to persist in the destruction of property by incendiarism, and I shall have to report an attempt of that kind made on the following Saturday morning the 30th, in Fort street, but which happily failed.

Copies of the letters to Messrs. G. L. Phillips and Brothers, and the copy of one to Mr. Edwd. Aarons, are herewith enclosed. The originals are retained in the hope that the handwr iting of the authors of them may yet be identified.

The threat in reference to Mr. Aarons has been carried out, and when I connect that circumstance with the attempt in Fort street, there is, I think, full reason for believing that much uncertainty hangs over the security of property inthis town.

I have made inquiry personally into the conduct of the black population resident here during the time of the fire of the 22nd December, and I have learnt that while the women were active in carrying water for the fire engines the men gave scarcely any assistance, most of them folding their arms and looking on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. M. Lawson,
Senior Magistrate,
St. James.

Honourable Edward Jordan, C. B.,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 1.)

Anonymous Letter.

Roper must be kilt coming from his hill.

That night tell all your frines to keep out of this way.

We shall burn every darn place belongs to the rich Jews especially 7 days time, if the price of cloth, which is up do not come down for the wages is low and how can we buy if it is low, so we will set fire and robb whilst it is burning who try to hinder we will kill we will and must, for we are to be paid by a gentleman to do it, and vowed with an oath to try, with the loss of our lives. Bby God ! this is too much, we can't stand it.

(No. 2.)

Dear Sir,

I only take up my Pen to address you once more to say that we all mind is perfectly make up now to Battle with you the Custos to come out to Battle. We hear that the Bulldog is in Black River. Is to come up And help the Cadmus. We do hear a couple of vollies fireed on Tuesday morning, a Boute 10 and 11 o'clock, But that do not shake us, An if you have Brass on your outside to send for them, we or good steel within to Burn Down Retirement, Because we hear that you An your Govenior is makeing laws to Rob we poor people in Jamaica, So take my advice, you Better make theym send in A Bung shell on Saturdaidy to Granville And Distroy that Bloody Place at once, or if you waite any Longger untill the Cadmus go away, wo wo unto Retirement, that great Estate, An your Bank in Montego Bay, the Bank for Saving in Montego Bay.

I am your, Dear Sir,
A Friend from Bellfield.

August th.

A Letter to Mr. George L. Phillips, the Custos on Brothers.

Montego Bay.

We only waiting for you now at preasant, an if you name man make the firist Actakk you will Fly to Affrica with us.

And if you like you can Put it in the Press if you Like.

Resolved—That Messrs. G. L. Phillips & Bros. be requested to be good enough to permit a copy to be taken of the two threatening letters addressed to that firm, with a view to be forwarded to his Excellency the Governor.

Resolved further—That his Excellency be informed that the originals have been retained in the desire of discovering thereby the writer, and that with reference to the letter sent to Mr. Edwin Aarons, of which the original is forwarded to the Governor, that the envelope on which the address to Mr. Aarons was written, was unfortunately lost by that gentleman.

(No. 3.)

Anonymous Letter to G. L. Phillips.

G. L. Phillips, 27th June 1865.

Let me tell you this is to certify that we wont wait longer than this week for the reduction of prices of cloth, for next week is our time ; we are only waiting till the others come from Lucea. We will burn every Jew store in town the night of the fire if we meet any of the Phillips, except Joe, will be lick down dead, so be cautious 12 of us take a solemn oath to it, and it must be done if we die by it; 4 bakers, 2 tailors, 3 wharfmen, 3 barbudoes.

it will be hell itself for fire.

George Phillips, the Prince, we are to try to make a dog of him.

To George Phillips, Mo. Bay.

Quick answer.

(No. 4.)

Anonymous Letter to G. L. Phillips & Bros.

Dear Sir, Montego Bay, July.

I have been somewhere and heard a discus amongs some villains about coming to steal an robb your store and burn all in town if they were caught in the act the others were to kill any one who informed on them and set fire through the town every where to be burnt down public buildings & all except the poor peoples houses so for the safety of your property and your town comply with their desire that is to lesson the price of your cloth &c. or raise their price of wages for myself alone

I am willing without any hesitation for I would rather sacrifice a little than lose all I am worth in the world so let us all join and look after It for it will be hell on earth to see the town in a blaze be cautious not stiffnecked for the niggars are willful to do any thing they say (We are not slave then why we should suffer so much yoke about our necks) so look out this week dont pass For they will play hell by God ! they will.

I cant sign my name only a friend But come to my store as you go round you will get my signature as well as the rest for the reduction as much as we are able.

Montego Bay, December 22, 1865.

INVESTIGATION before the MAGISTRATES relative to the recent Fires which occurred in the Town of Montego Bay.

James R. Crooks, serjeant of police.—Last night, Dawkins at cage; Spence, Bernard, and Hall patrols, in town. George Dawkins first saw fire in centre of Aarons' store, smoke outside, and called out fire. This was 3 a.m. this morning. One Wallace was seen about 2 o'clock going to Purdies. Aarons Bay came at moment of fire, and dodged back, named Connor. Fire lasted about one and a half hours.

George Dawkins.—About half-past 3 saw heavy smoke outside and large fire inside store. In middle of the store, no flames outside. I ran to Market square and gave the alarm "Fire, fire," and rang the bell about five minutes after. Met no one then. Hall came first to assistance, and Bernard. I was at the cage that night.

Policeman Bernard.—I saw at half-past 2 a.m. this store all right. Met Butcher about 3 going to Stall in mule cart. About five minutes to 3 o'clock MacNish went down St. James street, near Theodore Nunes's office, and returned to the square and crossed it. Fire detected about half-past 3. Persons can go through MacLeans to Aarons' back premises.

James O'Connor.—Am servant to Mr. Aarons, and attend the store after 4 yesterday. Store locked up by Aarons and self and another, and went away. Properly fastened doors and windows. All bolted and fastened and we went away. David Aarons, clerk to him, took the key to Miss Cohen's. I slept in Wilford Nunes's yard. Awoke and saw a glare, as of fire. Saw Bernard. We gave the alarm of fire. Saw about 10 persons running for engines, &c. Fire was burning inside house, inside new store. We don't keep matches there, nor kerosine oil.

Edwin Aarons.—Locked up about 5 p.m., usual time, self and David Aarons and Connor. Left no-one in premises. Saw all secured, doors and windows. I took home the key; it is there now. Back yard is open. Lawson keeps his place open until late at night. Keep a box of matches for my own use only. Received a threatening letter in July, stating that unless the price of goods was reduced the town would be burnt down, and beginning at my house. I have lost about 150*l.* in silver and cheques and gold, consumed in iron chest, and valuable papers besides. No portion of my property was insured.

John K. Hall.—Met one Wallace at Jacobs's after 3 and before the fire. Pass at Market street. I hailed him, and he answered, "I am Wallace the baker." He came from lower part of town, and went home. Dawkins gave the alarm of fire.

Montego Bay, Wednesday, 27th December 1865.—INVESTIGATION continued.

PRESENT:

Hon. G. M. Lawson,	G. R. Phillips,	Neil Malcolm,
R. W. Buchanan,	John W. Parker,	Alexander Holmes,
C. N. Phillips,	C. W. Masters,	James Hewett.
S. G. Corinaldi,	Abraham Hart,	

Wilford Nunes states, that on Friday morning of fire saw a great light, and looked out and saw Aarons' shop in a blaze. I called out and made a noise. No bell was rung. I saw no policeman, to the best of my belief. Immediately, as I gave alarm, I heard cry of "Fire, fire." The whole building appeared on fire. Sign-board was on north front. Heard no alarm when I first saw fire.

— *Wallace.*—On morning of fire went to Rodrique's place before fire. Baker said it was after 2. I came from William Ken to Rodrique's. Saw no person in the tavern. Returning, it struck 3 before I got home. I was at Charles Levy's. One policeman at Jacobs' asked me who I was; I told him Wallace. There was no fire then; I heard nothing moving about. About ten minutes after I heard of fire. Hall is the policeman who challenged me at Jacobs's.

George Dawkins.—As the bell is pulled sometimes it is troublesome. I was coming from the back of the court house when I saw the fire. My orders were to remain at the cage. In order to keep myself awake I came out and walked about. Fire was at half-past 3; heard 3 o'clock strike. I called the hour (three) in the parade, and walked round the back of the court house after calling the hour. I remained at the cage and then walked round the court house.

Policeman Bernard.—About twenty minutes after 3 I was passing along Market square; I was alone. I went down to the bridge and returned. I discovered a high smoke, and heard the policeman Dawkins cry fire; he came direct from his post then. I knew his voice well. Dawkins then commenced to ring the bell. I called fire also, as that time the flames were just bursting through the roof.

JAMAICA

Thursday, 28th December 1865.—INVESTIGATION continued.

PRESENT:

Hon. G. M. Lawrence,	Neil Malcolm,
R. W. Buchanan,	S. G. Cornaldi,
Charles N. Phillips,	and
Alexander Holmes,	Abraham Hart.

Sarah Small.—I live at Mrs. Mills's, Church street; am servant there. I overheard on Sunday night, the 24th instant, a conversation with two tall black men, and one other coloured man, a short man. It was past 8 o'clock at night; they were going down the street, and I was standing up at the gate outside. One man said "Come, let us go and light up the Blue store first." The other said, "No, "the St. James' store will be better." They passed on, and continued talking, and I went into the yard. I was born at Barneyside, Westmoreland. Have been living there about two years. The short man spoke first. Can't tell if these men saw me; a pear tree overshadowed the gate. Where I stood it was dark, moon not shining.

Rosina James.—I live at Mrs. Mills's, in Church street, as a servant. I came down from the mountains two years ago, and have been with Mrs. Mills since then. Remember the fire at Aarons', but don't remember the night it happened. It was Sunday night last (24th); I was standing outside the gate of Mrs. Mills. Saw a child running along before a man, who said "Run, and look sharp, for "the devil was going to play in the town that night." It was a little after that that the clock struck *nine*. He was a brown man, and tall enough; dressed in Oznaburgh trowsers and white shirt and white straw hat. No people were walking in the streets at the time. I told my mistress at once about this. I would not know the man again, for I had no opportunity of looking at his face.

Sarah Melbourne.—I live in Fort street, this town; was sickly and was lying in my house. I first heard they said (the people as they passed) that they were going to set fire to the town. I don't know what o'clock it was. It might be about nine or between eight or nine. I have a buzzing in my head, and can't hear well. Six o'clock does not catch me out of my bed. At first I never heard Mr. Hart's man nor any other man. It is a current report about the town that they are going to set fire to the town. Afterwards I did hear them say they were going to set fire to Mr. Hart's place, but I don't know whether they meant his store or his house. Don't know whether it was a man's voice or a woman's voice—I can't really tell. Can't really tell what night it was, but think it was after the fire at Aarons'.

I gave Moulton this letter; he asked me for it on last Sunday. He heard I had it, because I talked about it. I picked it up in my yard about the commencement of Bogle's affair, about seven weeks ago, under the tree in the yard. I threw it among some papers. I heard people talking about picking up letters, and so I spoke of it. I gave it to Moulton with the seal broken. Seal was broken when I found it. Don't know the handwriting. Two black girls, Cecilia and Mrs. Maxwell, live in my yard. Anne Moulton lived there, and her sweetheart lived there before. No one lived in yard when I found the letter; only me lived there.

Mr. HARRISON to Mr. JORDON.

SIR, Hordley Estate, Plantain Garden River, January 2, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith declarations from several persons relative to late rebellion. Also a statement from myself, all of which please hand to his Excellency the Governor.

I have, &c.

Honourable E. Jordon, C.B. (Signed) J. HARRISON.
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

Francis Thomas Macfarlane.—I am a planter; I have been in Jamaica three years, I came from Dublin, Ireland. A few days before the insurrection at Morant Bay, on 11th October last, Mr. Walton (the proprietor of the estate I was then residing on, viz., Retreat estate, near Morant Bay) informed me there had been a commotion in the court house.

From the general conduct of the negroes before this, I felt convinced it would not end thus. He, Mr. Walton, expected it too, and requested me to clean up a revolver and a double-barrelled gun. I did so, and kept them.

On the 10th October he asked me for them, and said he had been warned by two parties (negroes) to come home before dark as he was a marked man amongst them. He and I sat up all that night with our fire-arms loaded. The next day I re-loaded his revolver and he took it with him to Morant Bay; he was murdered that same day; I was hunted after and escaped; I did not go to Morant Bay; Retreat estate is two miles from Morant Bay; the works dwelling-house was sacked.

FRANCIS THOS. MACFARLANE.

Declared before me this 2nd January 1866.
J. HARRISON, J. P.

James Harrison.—I am a magistrate of St. Thomas-in-the East, and have been so for the last seven years. I have been in this country about 20 years; I came to Hordley estate about 10 years ago and am still there as manager. Hordley estate is the property of Admiral Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart., General Pringle Taylor, and Stewart Macnaughten, Esq. About 200 labourers are employed on this property per day during crop and about 100 after crop: the wages paid are about 2,500*l.* to 2,600*l.* a year. Wages have been paid without a single disappointment every Tuesday afternoon to strangers or non-resident labourers, and every Friday to estates-resident labourers.

This year an especial medical attendant was provided for those persons who worked here (whether residing on estate or not) that were afflicted with small-pox, and a considerable sum paid by proprietors

for that purpose. Another medical man besides is expressly employed to attend immigrants. Last year a donation, considered very liberal by recipients, was given to assist repairs of Wesleyan school house, nearly all our labourers being of that persuasion. The decayed old people, formerly slaves of this estate, get a weekly allowance till they die, when they are respectably buried at estate's expense; no reasonable expense is grudged by the proprietors that humanity and kindness may dictate towards our labourers.

The people on the whole have worked well and cheerfully during my management till within the last four years, when the revival commenced. They have since that period been getting more and more dissatisfied and indolent, although I have not increased their task nor decreased their wages, in fact on some work an increase of 25 per cent. has been paid this year.

For four months previous to the rebellion, things became so bad that I was at a loss what to do, able-bodied persons only earning 3*d*., 4½*d*. to 6*d*. a day, whilst they were easily able to earn three to four times that amount. The consequence was there was great mutual dissatisfaction. Their minds seemed very unsettled, and neither persuasion nor intimidation seemed of any use to the majority. Robbery became more frequent, and many of my best hands had their houses broken into in broad daylight and robbed whilst they were at work, till at last only part of a household would come out at a time, the rest watching their houses and provision grounds.

On Monday, 26th June, all work was suspended suddenly, only 13 persons, five of whom were children, turned out to work, and I believe the seven other estates in the district were similarly situated. It seems notice of a grievance meeting had been given out at Belle Castle Baptist chapel the Sunday before. Persons were stationed at the principal roads to stop such labourers as were ignorant of the fact, and a gigantic meeting was held at Stokes Hall Baptist meeting house, about two miles from here, at which it was computed 1,000 labourers were present. I sent one of my bookkeepers there to hear what was said; when he got there there was a large crowd, and he could not get near to hear distinctly. The Rev. Mr. Harris, Baptist minister at Belle Castle, Manchioneal, took the chair, supported by Mr. Manning (a coloured man), a shopkeeper and local preacher, and incumbent of the Stokes Hall meeting house, and a black man named Anderson. Anderson was a principal speaker, and denounced the planters in general, and Mr. Hire in particular. Several other persons, principally labourers, held forth, denouncing other managers as oppressors, and stating only 1*s*. to 1*s*. 6*d*. per week could only be earned on many estates. One speaker, Richardson, a black carpenter employed here, whilst denouncing the other managers, was kind enough to speak of me favourably. Resolutions were passed supporting Dr. Underhill's views, and subsequently published in the "Watchman" newspaper.

The meeting dissolved quite peaceably as I could learn. One black man from Manchioneal rose up and said, much of their distress was their own fault, they did not bring up their children to industry and good habits, and consequently they became idle, and thieves. He was hooted down.

Things after this became worse than ever, as far as idleness and robbery were concerned. From eight to a dozen cases on the calendar at petty court at Bath, which was the case five years ago, there were never less now than 30 and often up to 40 and 50 cases the fortnight.

A shopkeeper, a tenant of mine, Mr. C. M. Kirkland, complained to me that his weekly sales only amounted to 12*l*. a week, sometimes as low as 8*l*., whilst in March last they were upwards of 30*l*. per week.

A passively, impudent, and sullen style of conduct was the general rule, and an expectation of I know not what, took possession of the minds of those I came daily in contact with. The most absurd reports that "The Queen was sending them out money and clothes," another "The Queen had ordered them "not to work," were current amongst them.

About this time Mr. Cardwell's despatch in reply to the St. Ann's petition was published, I had several posters and handbills of it printed at my own expense, as it was such an able document and so suited to the real position of affairs. I gave many of the handbills to heads of families, and exhorted them to read it and inculcate it to their children and friends, and not be led away by idle stories and false teachers. They took them willingly, but I saw no good result. Soon after this I saw one printed paper stuck up in Bath, apparently in reply to this despatch. It was anonymous, but the style left no doubt on anyone's mind as to its author being any other than Geo. Wm. Gordon. It denounced the late Baron Kettleholdt (our custos), Rev. Mr. Herschel, and Rector Cooke, and called on "the naked "people of St Ann's," "starving people of St. Ann's," &c. I did not see it anywhere else, but heard in the mountain negro settlement there were several stuck up.

I observed no material change for better or worse after this document appeared.

A few squatters on a mountainous run of land belonging to Haming and Rolandsfield, between this district (of Plantain Garden River) and Bath, had gradually increased during five years past till they numbered about 300 to 400. The attorney (Mr. Hire), on behalf of the lessee, Mr. Child, of London, served me and several contiguous neighbours with notice of survey. On the day appointed to run the lines I was unable to attend myself, but sent some of my head negroes to watch the lines on my behalf. They reported there was a great row and the chain was jerked to and fro by a great crowd of negroes and ultimately broken. One negro, David Fuller, a yellow-skinned man, had his face blackened and all were armed with sticks and cutlasses. Mr. Hire and Mr. Swire took out processes against a dozen or so of the ringleaders, and at the examination before me I could see by their signs and gestures that whenever the case was adjudicated at the circuit court there would be a disturbance: the circuit court was to be held at Bath, on 18th October, but was not done so owing to the rebellion breaking out the week previously at Morant Bay. Many of the persons implicated in Mr. Hire's murder, and of Mr. Crichton and Mr. Jackson, and ringleaders of the Rebels here and in Manchioneal, were leaders on that occasion.

The Sunday night before the rebellion some houses were broken into on this estate and doors and windows stolen. From information received, a search was made at Haming and two doors identified as belonging to this estate in a man's premises, called Charles Farmer. The parties were taken to Bath and bound over to appear the next week at the circuit court.

Whilst there I mentioned to the deputy clerk of the peace, Mr. Hitchins, that I had heard a strange report of the rescuing of prisoners at Morant Bay, and asking him if he knew particulars. He said he

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did not, but was not surprised at anything negroes now did, as a spirit of insubordination seemed to pervade all ranks, the smallest boy would scarcely give a civil reply, and he said solemnly, "Mr. Harrison, "it is not to be wondered at, for all decency and propriety seem to be set at defiance by the personal "attacks of the press on the Governor; the barrier being thus broken, there's no knowing where "things will end." "I am afraid we will be called out on active service soon to quell some devilish "mess or other." "I don't like this report of things at Morant Bay."

I agreed with him. He then showed me the new brass instruments for the band. Poor fellow! I never heard him speak or saw him again!

Next day he *was* called out on active service. Fell back and fell back with his noble little band, out of humanity to the misguided crowd, and never fired till they attempted to wrest the rifles from his men's hands. He fell, and every white and coloured member of the corps was cut and hacked to pieces. Poor fellow! he had been my 1st Lieutenant, and on my resigning the Captaincy of the No. 1 corps, was promoted. It was a corps I had been the means of forming, and was the first in the Island inspected by Governor Sir Charles Darling.

Early on morning of the 11th October, a bandman of the No. 1 corps rode up to my house in great haste and said he was requested by Captain Hitchins to show me the paper he held; it was an order from him for all volunteers to meet at Bath on pain of being punished as deserters. He hurried off, and soon after I saw Wm. Harrison, Rutty, and MacGowan gallop pass in undress uniform and slung rifles.

Soon after a letter was brought me by a constable from poor MacPherson, the coroner, written the night before, and stating "Strange doings this side—police assaulted and oaths administered by leaders "of bands of negroes." I showed the letter to Rev. Mr. Alfred Bourne who was with me at the time. I said this is serious, this is regular rebellion. He seemed to agree with me. He requested me to hold the inquest for him as he could not leave Morant Bay.

About dark one of my bookkeepers and a headman came hurriedly to me, and said they saw a large fire towards Morant Bay way, 21 miles from here. They had met some persons saying there was a great row there and the fire must be at Retreat or Oxford estates, as they had set fire to the court house. I then saw things were come to a crisis, and quietly sent for Golden Grove overseer, Mr. Chisholm, swore him in a special constable, and requested him to pass the word quietly round for all overseers and bookkeepers to come and be sworn in, so that we may see what could be done if they broke out here. I was swearing in, till midnight, a little after which Mr. Sinclair, of Duckenfield, and Rev. Mr. Girod, Rector of St. David's, came, and we talked the matter over, but could advise no particular plan just then.

At 6 a.m., on 12th October, a hurried note from W. P. Kirkland, senior magistrate at Bath, was sent, stating enclosed would speak for itself. It was a request from Captain Hitchins for 1,000 rounds of cartridges, as the rebellion had assumed a "terrible form."

I then sent off special constable James A. Wilson in command of four trusty rural constables in a sort of skirmishing order to gallop to Bath and bring the ammunition I knew was there at all hazards, but, if interrupted, to destroy it in first stream. An hour after one of the rural constables galloped back, stating Wilson was knocked off his horse, and Bath full of Rebels with volunteer rifles in plenty. In the meantime I had sent special constable David Ford to gallop on to Bowden side of Port Morant to see if a drogha was there, as it would be a retreat for the ladies if the worst came to the worst. He quickly returned; no drogha boat, and a large body of people in the distance, which made him turn back. Before this I sent a head rural constable to summon all the other rural constables to come to Hordley. Only two or three came out of 50. They are principally black men. I then determined to get all the ladies and children in the district to Hordley, as I could depend on most of my people; the house was the most central, comparatively fire-proof, being built on brick walls, and roof slates and iron, the only one of the kind in the district, and at 2 p.m. they were all here except Mr. Sinclair's family, who had started off towards Port Antonio. Mr. Alexander Groves was then sworn in as a volunteer trooper, and a certificate given by me as to his being on active service. I gave him a small despatch to the Governor at Kingston, which was to be eaten if molested, and had no other method of destroying it; so I read it to him and told him to show it to J. P. Jones the custom-house officer, and tell him to prepare for the worst and provide him with a fresh horse.

The gallant fellow did his duty well and performed the journey, nearly 100 miles, in 28 hours.

Jones, I hear, ably assisted by Paul Ramsay, got some field pieces into position to command entrances to the town, and were all ready at day-light next morning.

In the meantime the Morant Bay Rebels stopped to rest at Bath, and started that evening *viâ* the Cunha-Cunha mountains en route to Port Antonio, sending on two or three of their people to lead on the other body that were waiting for orders at Pleasant Hill from Pera, Arcadia, Rocky Point, and other negro settlements. At 4 p.m. the attack was commenced at Mr. Tavare's store, Golden Grove. We were all at dinner here and heard it distinctly; poor ladies, it was dreadful to see their pallid faces. My people were at work till then and left off, being the usual hour. I went out to them and exhorted them not to join bad company but stop at home or they would get the worst bye and bye. They seemed to heed what I said, but a few did go and some returned to tell the news. Just then, nearly all the young men of the district rode up armed only with short cutlasses or macheat, and with only one double-barrelled gun and a pistol between them. Without rifles to support them, a charge into so large a crowd by so few of them would only end in certain destruction, as they would be surrounded with no point to retreat back on. Their only plan it was agreed on was to divide into two sections, one taking the S.E. or Golden Grove route, and the other the west or Winchester route, and act only on the defensive. No good could be done here, quite the reverse, as it would centralize the attack without means of resisting, to be avoided on account of the ladies, and I could depend on my people if they did come.

Just after dark we heard the Rebels at Duckenfield beating and crushing up the house; we then heard the estate's bell ring for a long time, and saw flashes of fire which seemed to be put out as often as raised. About 10 o'clock they left there and came down northward to Amity Hall works; the same kind of beating and breaking up of house was continued, with frequent shouts of "Colour for colour,"

"Colour for colour." After a while there was a partial lull, and it turned out they were debating whether to come first to Hordley or go north to the "top house" on the hill, and from thence to Holland and leave Hordley. It was decided, seemingly, to go up the hill. There was a continued lull of about half an hour; all at once we heard the shout raised of "Colour for colour;" "murder the white "b——;" "break open the doors;" "go to the back door;" "light fire;" "see none of them escape." Then commenced a battering and a crash as of a door broken, then a clashing as of swords; at last one said, "One white devil is dead, give it them all;" "don't spare one;" "save the doctor," "we want "doctor;" "burn the house;" "don't burn it;" a cry of Capt. Johnson, Capt. Johnson; then a cry of "don't burn the house;" mercy, save me; loud screams, then all ceased and there was a moment's lull. Then the shout of colour for colour was resumed, and smashing accompanied it. At last they ceased, and the shout was raised, to "Holland, Holland;" then a lull, and a voice distinctly said, "No," "Hordley," "those damned Scotchmen were there at dark." They fired off a shot or two. They then came down the short cut across the hill to us, singing, "Cheer boys, cheer, Sebastopol is taken." At the foot they were met by several Hordley people and a loud altercation took place. At last we heard "They have no business there—we will rip the women and children up as we can't get the man." Some of my people then rushed in; Diana Blackwood said, "Massa, it's no use. If you turn out "Mrs. Shortridge and children they won't come." I said, "All right, Diana, no fear of that; you take "care of the ladies and hide them and the children at bamboo root behind trash-house yonder." She said, "Massa, for God sake don't fire on them, they have guns and it will raise them worse, and they "will never rest till everyone murder," "we no power enough to hinder them." She then took up my two boys and others, took Mrs. Shortridge and her five children, my wife, and infant only three weeks old, and eldest child, and rest of ladies following, and all were safely hid. I then went through the house to see if no one was left, and went down my front step; I had scarcely done so when I heard my two large dogs at the back of house barking and some men crying out as if bitten; then a yell from one of the dogs, and immediately after the house was surrounded. I was hid behind pigeon house at this time near the house. Everything was most silent—not a sound, but the works full of people. There was a little talking in an under tone, then a few men went up cautiously the front step, one with a double-barrelled gun, and cried out, "Come out you fellow, Harrison." Not hearing anyone answer, they stepped in, one shouting, "Mind the back door; don't let one of the damned women go; we will "rip them up this night." The house seemed immediately to be filled, and the cry "Colour for "colour, colour for colour," raised, and the work of demolishing furniture and house commenced. At last some one said the women must have gone into the trash-house, we will burn it down and roast dem all up. Some one bawled out, a voice I knew, "Yes, dem in Gordon trash-house," (the one nearest the house), and the one farthest from where they really were, and no doubt said on purpose by some of my people. A light was brought, and it was commencing to burn, when a voice I recognized to be Cameron's, said, "No, obey order—no fire—we want trash-house by-and-bye for ourself to make sugar," and they beat out the fire. It was fortunately a showery night, or the megrass or trash would have caught too readily. (For this act Cameron's life was saved at the court-martial, although he was a principal in the robberies at Amity Hall and Hordley, the feeling of the court-martial being to give everyone the benefit of any kind act or mercy shown.) I then got into the canes close by the carnage, and shouts of "Colour for colour," "Colour for colour," still going on. All at once there was a cry of lots of liquor in store, and a sort of lull. Soon after a crash of bottles, laughing and shouting "Hurrah! "buckra country for we—lots of sugar and rum bum-bye," "Colour for colour;" laughing and yelling, "Never mind de buckra women and picney, we get em bumbye when we want dem; country for we "now." A few went into the book-keeper's house and commenced smashing there. I was about 150 feet from them in the canes all this time. They left Hordley between 2 and 3 o'clock a.m. and shouted "Holland, Holland."

At break of day different negroes of Hordley came to the ladies and carried up the children to their houses on the hill; my wife was so weak she had to be carried all the way. Several negroes went near to where they thought I was, and cried out, "Massa, massa, all clear." I recognized their voices; my groom got me a horse, and accompanied by Alexander Scott a headman, I took the main road, telling him I was off to the Light-house. We met Smart Papley and Richard Brown, who, expecting I would pass a certain point, laid wait to murder me, it seems, and kept asking for me. The report I had gone to the Light-house got circulated, and a gang was sent in pursuit. I, however, took a circuitous road and reached the negro houses and saw all ladies and children safe there. I called Diana Blackwood on one side and said, "I don't know what is my fate to-day, Diana; but you and all the negroes that "respect me must take care of missus and the children, and protect and hide Mrs. Shortridge and her "children, and the other ladies, and don't let them murder them. Here's a parcel of money. I will "be back soon, if not dead, and deliver you all." She promised she would stand by them to the last. I told Mrs. Harrison I must be off, keep a brave heart, and tell all the others to trust to Diana and the Hordley people she knew I always had confidence in. If possible, I would be back with assistance and deliver them next day. I then let go my horse and left the saddle in the house, struck off through the woods to gain a mountain that gave a command of Port Morant harbour. I thought I heard the sound of cannon in the distance; being almost exhausted I rested under a rock at the side of a hill, not far from the negro houses, for nearly an hour. I then heard a cry, "Sister, sister, them coming," and a great commotion in negro houses. A little after a shell horn was blown, and a large gang of Rebels seemed to be in the negro house. I then heard an altercation, a cry of "Come on, we will see," "Hordley nigger, Hordley nigger," "they want to burn our house." Some headman of the Rebels said, "Don't bother with them, we have lots to do. Big gun at Port Morant, no take care sailor catch "we." They then went off to Manchioneal, some calling again at Amity Hall to mutilate the dead body of Mr. Hire, crying out "Colour for colour, colour for colour." About half a dozen seem to have been left behind to search for the ladies and children hid now in the woods. One came across me and met his doom just before dusk. At dusk I went back to the negro house determined to walk to Morant Bay, about 21 miles, to get soldiers to our aid, as I saw no signs of a "man-of-war" at Port Morant; it seems she was lying too close in shore for me to see her from the mountain. I went into one of the houses and got a negro cap, for which I gave my hat, and a negro girl gave me her

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Madras neckerchief and tied up my face; then rubbing my forehead and front part of my face the neckerchief did not cover with the blacking I could get off my boots, with a black lad I could trust, I started off thus disguised on my perilous and lonely journey. The black lad was to answer if questioned, "We were David Ford's coppersmiths." After taking unfrequented paths and fordings, we got to Port Morant, 10 miles from here, about 10 o'clock at night, and fortunately found Capt. Luke and Ross's detachment had arrived there a few hours before. I stated my case and was very kindly treated as far as they had the means. I was quite exhausted and my feet blistered and bleeding.

A little while after his Excellency Governor Eyre arrived, accompanied by Colonel Hunt, Brigadier Nelson, and others. He congratulated me on my escape, as did the rest, heard my story how matters stood. A consultation was held, and a detachment determined to be sent off at day-break to rescue the ladies and children from their fearfully perilous position. A small body had previously been sent on to Bath.

I, of course, gave all the information I could, and satisfied his Excellency that the Plantain Garden Rebels were a distinct lot from the Morant Bay ones; they, the Morant Bay ones, had gone over the mountains to get to Portland, where they were to be met by our "River" Rebels apparently, but I stated my fears that they had already got there, as I saw a large fire in Port Antonio direction as I came along. I found out afterwards it was a Mulatto River house, about 18 miles from Hordley, northward. It was decided to use all haste to "head them," and we tried to get a couple of hours rest. I had the only pillow in the place (a very dirty one too, and very suspicious in appearance), but which no one would take from me, as they said I needed it most. The Governor managed to get a bundle of odds and ends, which, covering with their cloaks, formed the pillow of himself, General Nelson, and Colonel Hunt. The bed was the bare floor, covered over with the dust and dirt from the hundreds of Rebels feet that had been there in the morning. His Excellency remarked there were many worse beds, for they had a dry floor and dry roof, which had often been their lot to go without. Captains Luke and Ross and myself were at the other end of the room, weary soldiers lying in an outer room asleep, all resting, except those on guard. At 4 o'clock the bugle sounded, and all was astir, and by break of day we were ready. Just before starting, Captain Ross and a small party returned with the Rebel Fleming and some women. The women were clearly accessories, but were let go. Fleming was tried, convicted on the clearest evidence as a murderer and Rebel, acknowledged his guilt, and was hung just after we left. We started at daybreak, and a weary march it was for me and many of the soldiers, with blistered feet, crossing streams as they came in our road, and getting shoes filled with sand and gravel. Capt. Ross's boots were cut through by the stones, and he must have suffered a great deal. We picked up horses as we went on, and they were ridden bare backed, and with "withes" in their mouths as bridles, and we hurried on. At Bath we got some bread, enough to give a loaf to each man, and after a quarter of an hour's rest, pushed on to the Rhine, where Ensign Cullen and his detachment were. On getting up the hill, to my inexpressible joy, I saw my wife and children. We asked no questions, as neither of us could speak. My three eldest children then ran up to me, and I saw they were safe. Not seeing Mrs. Shortridge and her children, I asked what had become of her. She said she did not know, somehow they had become separated. About half an hour after we saw a carriage coming at full speed. I soon recognized the horses as mine. As it came nearer we saw the appearance of ladies' dresses, and to our great joy Mrs. Shortridge, Miss Jones, and the little children were safe.

Hearing soldiers were at the Rhine, my wife and sisters and children had partly walked, and partly been carried to the Rhine by some Hordley negroes, and in the morning two of my fleetest horses were caught and harnessed to the carriage, and Mrs. Shortridge and family put in it, escorted by a few on horseback, and drove in as fast as they could. It was a great relief to my mind to see them all safe, for my anxiety on their account during the last 48 hours had been intense.

The unfortunate beings thus saved were Mrs. Harrison and infant, three weeks old, and three other children, oldest six years old; Mrs. Shortridge and infant and four other children, eldest ten years old; Mrs. McDermott and nephew, five years old; Miss Elizabeth and Henrietta McDermott, Miss Elizabeth and Matilda Mackay, Miss Jones, Miss McQueen, and some coloured servant maids, and several ladies besides from other parts.

After resting an hour at the Rhine the order to start came; horses and carts, besides the different carriages for the ladies, having been procured, the footsore and tired got relief. We started off in a drenching rain. Advanced guard, refugees in centre, and escort and rear guard, the procession was upwards of a mile long.

At Pleasant Hill the main body halted, and a detachment was sent off to bring those who had been left for dead at Amity Hall, and unable to move from their severe wounds. The advanced guard had scarcely gone out of sight, when shots were heard, and one of the men galloped back. Captain Ross pushed on, and a desultory sort of warfare was distinctly heard, the guns of the Rebels and the crack of the rifle being in contrast. Fortunately no soldiers were hurt, as small shot, stones, and slugs fell short of them, whilst their rifles carried far.

The half-murdered people of two nights before, and a host of prisoners and booty, and several fowling pieces taken from the Rebels, which, as they were recognized as our property, were ultimately delivered us, were brought in by Captain Ross's party. Mr. Crichton, a gentleman upwards of 60 years old, and only a few months from Scotland, was shockingly mutilated about the head, and Mr. Jackson, another old gentleman, was in about the same state.

We reached Bowden side of Port Morant. The "Wolverine" and "Onyx" steamed up. We were ordered to embark on the "Onyx," the rain pouring in torrents. As soon as we got alongside the "Wolverine," orders were given to put up a centre awning. The Governor sent word he was sorry he could not give better shelter to the ladies and children, and he did all he could along with Captain De Horsey to make us comfortable. Tea, brandy and water, and biscuits, and a host of blankets were sent on board, and attention and kind officers to see them served out from the "Wolverine." The rain continued all night, and the decks were swimming in water. The ladies and children and wounded were "stove" away below in the little after cabin, almost stifling in heat, but it was dry. At daybreak the "Wolverine" left us, with the soldiers on board, for Port Antonio, which place she reached

before noon. We started same time for Kingston, and got in at 5 p.m. Sunday. A miserable-looking set we were. JAMAICA

After getting my wife and children safely housed in Kingston and provided for, I returned in the "Onyx" to Morant Bay on the Wednesday following. On landing, all the male inhabitants of the Plantain Garden River district that had returned, formed ourselves, with the General's consent, into a body styled Irregular Volunteers, and the command wisely given to Mr. Henry Ford (under Captain Adcock), a storekeeper in Kingston, and comparatively a stranger to the district, so that in no way could any punishment that was inflicted be put down to vindictiveness or passion.

The courts-martial at Golden Grove were always held by the "Regulars," complete strangers to everybody, and anything spoken of the former good character of any delinquent was gladly received by them. I was enabled to speak well of some I saw, and they were either pardoned or sentence commuted. Women by the scores, although in many instances as bad, if not worse, than the men, were let go after a few hours imprisonment. I never saw in my life more humane men than Captain Adcock and Ensign Cullen. I was their guide all through the district, and I never heard a harsh expression used by them towards the unfortunate misguided creatures they were obliged to punish for their crimes and misdeeds, nor would they allow it from others.

The outbreak in this parish was general in the fullest sense of the word, and premeditated, from one end of it to the other, and the devastation committed in it, extending over 42 miles, is scarcely credible.

There is not the least doubt if the measures adopted to suppress it had not been most promptly and energetically carried out, or Her Majesty's troops met with a single reverse and thus lost their prestige, it would spread like wildfire far and near, and the whole Island convulsed, and thousands of white and coloured persons murdered.

The fermentation seems to have been going on ever since the Revival, but was brought to a crisis by the agitation and excitement made amongst the labouring classes by Dr. Underhill's letter to the Secretary of State. Could the worthy doctor have seen the result, none I am sure would deplore it more than he.

It is, however, one of the many instances of unguarded statements made to an ignorant and exciteable people, not able to appreciate their blessings, and to think and judge for themselves, and thus easily are made the tools of designing persons. To use the simple but expressive words of a black woman, Diana Blackwood, a headwoman on this estate: "It all come from lazy and bad advisement."

That it was premeditated I am fully convinced, for in a conversation with George W. Gordon himself, when spending an evening with me along with his wife at the end of June or beginning of July last, in spite of his great caution and command of words and temper, he admitted that he had been asked to head or organise a rebellion, but he refused to do so, as he wished to try what a demonstration would do first. I looked upon it, as others did to whom he said the same thing, as an idle boast. Subsequently the same evening, when speaking of my wife's health, he said most earnestly, "Take all your family "off the country, start before the rainy seasons set in, and don't be back till after Christmas, or you "will repent it; your life and that of your family is above every other consideration. I am going off "myself to Paris this Christmas." I said, "Why not go to England? you can't speak French fluently." He replied, "My wife, you know, is half a Frenchwoman," and laughed. I thought nothing of it at the time, but recent events fix a terrible import on his words.

Mr. Henry Ford, of Kingston, told me that the sale of gunpowder in his branch store at Bath had been unusual just before the rebellion, so much so that his stock was all but exhausted, and, fortunately, the Rebels got little or none on their entry into Bath, and search in his store.

(Signed) J. HARRISON, J. P.,
Hordley Estate, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Jamaica, 1st January 1866.

Alfred Alvarenga.—I am a druggist and assistant to Dr. Crowdie. I was at Morant Bay on Wednesday, the 11th October last. I went to the vestry, having an account against it. My father is a vestryman. Whilst the vestry was sitting, Mr. Arthur Cooke galloped up to the court house and said to the custos and Capt. Hitchins, "A large crowd is coming." About five minutes after I heard a noise at the police station house like doors being broken. Soon after I saw an immense crowd, at least 1,500 or 2,000 men and women. Some of the men had muskets and bayonets. I recognized them as the police muskets. The police on duty at the court house had no arms with them. They were nearly all at the vestry. I saw about 11 or 12 there. The volunteers were all sitting in the school house below. Captain Hitchins called out to his men to fall in. They formed a line about 10 or 12 yards before the court house steps. I heard no order given to load. The crowd pressed on close to the volunteers. Captain Hitchins said, "Three paces to the rear, step back." The volunteers stepped back, the mob pressed on; the order to step back was again given, and again given for third time, mob pressing on and flinging stones and glass bottles at volunteers and court house. At this time their heels kicked against the court house wall. This was about 2 or 3 o'clock. The custos waved a white handkerchief and cried out, "Peace, people, peace." The mob roared out furiously. Some cried out, "Peace, no; Hell;" "Go "in at once and murder every white and coloured brute amongst them," "Spare none;" "Our time is "come;" "Now is our time." By the time the "Riot Act" was read they were trying to wrest the rifles from the volunteers. The order was then given to fire. Then the volunteers retreated and kept firing up the steps, and kept the mob from entering court house. The school house at foot of court house is a low building, the eaves of which roof is about seven feet from the ground. It was of cypress shingles: they easily set fire to it. The wind carried the sparks on the court house roof, which was also of wood, and it became on fire. All this time the mob was firing guns into the court house and throwing stones at us all. I rushed out and escaped, being a doctor's assistant. The court house roof fell in some time after. I heard no more shots, but yells and screams of the white and coloured people for mercy. The Rebels went into several stores and took out all powder and ammunition they could find, and robbed and pillaged the stores and private houses. Amongst the rest my father's house was

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pillaged and injured. They caught me the next morning, and were going to murder me, but some cried out, "He is a doctor, don't kill him, we'll want doctor by and bye;" "Kill all the rest, don't save a "white or mulatto man, woman, or child;" "Kill all black that help them."

ALFRED ALVARENGA.

Declared to before me, 1st January 1866.
J. HARRISON, J.P.

James A. Wilson.—I am a planter; a book-keeper on Golden Grove estate. On Monday, 9th October last, two or three days before the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay, I had occasion to speak to Edward McTarvish, a head cane-hole digger, about some bad work done in the cane field. He got very impertinent and abusive, and said, "Wait a bit, you mulatto fellow, your time is soon coming; Christmas "will do for you. I will then let you know what I can do with you at Christmas. If I don't shoot you, "Wilson, the Devil shoot me." I was going to take out a process against him, but the rebellion broke out before I could spare time to go before a magistrate and get papers from clerk of the peace. He was one who knocked me off my horse when sent by Mr. Harrison for ammunition. I have mark of the chop from cutlass on my back now.

JAMES A. WILSON.

Declared before me, this 1st January 1866.
J. HARRISON, J.P.

JAMAICA, S.S.

I, Charles M. Kirkland, am a storekeeper residing in this parish, and having four shops—two situated at Manchioneal Bay, one at Bath, and the other at Pleasant Hill, near Golden Grove estate, in the P.G. River district. For several months past, say from the end of March, I have found my daily sales fall off very much, say from an average of 25*l.* or 30*l.* per week to 8*l.* or 10*l.* per week. I also heard on one occasion some people who came into the shop at Manchioneal Bay, say that "You won't sell us the "goods now cheap, but bye and bye we will take them for nothing." This was about two months before the rebellion, say in August last. On the 12th and 13th of October last all my shops were pillaged of their contents and partly destroyed, which has completely ruined me, causing me a loss of over 1,000*l.* in stock, and over 100*l.* in book debts, my books and papers being burnt.

CHARLES MATTHEW KIRKLAND.

Declared before me, this 1st day of January 1866.
J. HARRISON, J.P.

John Brown.—I am a carpenter by trade, but now chief headman and overlooker on Hordley estate. I am a black man, and was formerly a slave on Hordley, and the whole of my generation was Hordley slave from time, and nearly all Hordley people is some family to me.

On the night the Rebels came down from Amity Hall house I was close to them as they passed near my house on the hill. As they were walking they kept crying out "Colour for colour; colour for colour." "We must murder all the white." They went to the works, and I heard them cry out "Where is "James Harrison? Where is James Harrison?" meaning the massa. Soon after I heard them breaking up the house.

I am a head constable; so as soon as I could venture out, a few days after, as my life was sought for, I identified John Pringle Afflick as a great leader of Rebels here and at Manchioneal. When I and other constables took him into custody he said he did not expect to break out then, as it was to be the second day of Christmas when they were to break out. John Afflick and myself are about one age. We used to be great friends. After he left working at Hordley we did not meet often, as he used to stop on his own place at Jericho, near Haining estate. Sometimes he cut wood at Hordley. He used to carry canes to the mill, and was a man I could trust in the cane yard to push on work when I was away for a little elsewhere; this was about nine years ago. He was well off, and had three nice horses and a donkey. I don't know if he is a member of the Baptist chapel at Belle Castle, but I know he only attended worship at Mr. Harris's chapel.

I have never worked on any other estate except Hordley since I learnt my trade. I never wish to leave the estate. I own two acres of land at Rocky Point, and have a house and 20 cocoa-nut trees on it there. I used to rent it out, but don't do so now. I own two horses and a donkey. I am married and have eight children alive; one of my daughters is married. I was 15 years old at the last martial law (1832) and recollect it well. The black people were not near so bad as they were this rebellion in October last. Everybody was then at their work. Only some Haining people broke out, and two were shot. This time almost everybody seemed to join it that did not live on the estates. They were from all about—from Rocky Point, Pera, Arcadia, Pear Tree River, Jericho, near Haining, Duckenfield bought land, and Manchioneal side. I never saw such a big crowd of people in my life as I saw walking through the River district on the Friday morning after the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay on the Wednesday before, breaking up the estates houses.

I was up in a tree when they came to Hordley negro houses to search for the buckra ladies and children, and they were swearing if they catch the smallest piccaninny they would kill it, as buckra must all die this time.

I have been chief headman for 10 years on Hordley. Months before the rebellion broke out all the labourers, estates people, and strangers have been very lazy. I could scarcely get the work to go on. No extra task was given, and everybody got the same wages as they used to get. Some work was paid a deal more, but the people would only work for 3*d.* a day, and some of the best hands but a 6*d.*; at the same work I have known them make 1*s.* 6*d.* a day easily. I nearly lost heart as a headman. I often complained to my minister, and he used to beg them to be industrious and not give way to lazy, as it would bring sin and trouble on them. I never knew house to be broken into on Hordley, but lately before rebellion every good person was afraid to leave his house without some one in it, to go to work,

as the doors would be broken of some one's, and their food and clothes robbed out, by the time they came back. I and other constables tried to find it out, but no use.

Since the rebellion many of we seem sorry for the bad way our colour went on, and are working well and making good wages. My mind is much easy now, and they obey me properly, and show me respect when I tell them their work. Before, they used to curse me, and wanted to do just what they liked, and said ship was coming from England with plenty of clothes and money from the Queen. Massa (Mr. Harrison) used to tell us not to listen to such nonsense and bad advice, but it was no use. All Hordley people are mostly Wesleyans, and rest go to the Established Church. We have not a single Baptist living on estate. Plenty stranger that come are Baptists, but they go away on Friday nights, and don't live here.

his
JOHN × BROWN.
mark.

Sworn to before me, this 2nd day of January 1866.
JOHN SINCLAIR, J.P., St. George.

John Wilson.—I am ahead rural constable, a black man, a mason by trade. I was formerly a slave of Amity Hall estate. I bought land from the estate, and built my cottage and garden on it, and live there. I have another plot of land elsewhere, bought from Mr. Barclay. I am now headman in the stillhouse at Amity Hall.

On Saturday morning, three days after the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay, I was at Amity Hall works, and I saw Lucre coming from Duckenfield; I said to him, "John Lucre, I hear you warrior "swear to kill me?" He replied, "Yes, I hear them say so myself." I said, "I don't know what I "have done to these people." He said, "What Mr. Hire say you say, and you Mr. Hire favourite." I said, "I only do my duty;" and I again said, "When you kill all the white people what are you "going to do with the cane and estate." He said, "All we will make sugar of it, and share it amongst "ourselves. We never mind about the ship."

John Lucre was the chief murderer of Mr. Hire, and along with others would scarcely allow his body to be buried, but dragged it down the house steps, and chucked it into the hole. They would not allow it to be put in the coffin standing at the door. John Lucre was shot.

his
JOHN × WILSON.
mark.

Sworn to before me, this 2nd day of January 1866.
JOHN SINCLAIR, J.P., St. George.

Mary Heslop.—I am a black woman, a native of Grange Hill estate, Manchioneal. My father was a headman on Grange Hill, and married my mother. Two days after the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay, and the same day that Mr. Harrison and all the ladies and children were in the woods, I saw Charles Farmer, a black man I knew, standing at the Blue Shop at Hordley? I said, negroes are not justified in killing buckra this way, what are we to do without them? He said, "You had better not say "so, or let anyone hear you, or they may kill you." "I saw the blood sprinkle the other day at Belle "Castle chapel and we know war was to come."

He left me and went on to Manchioneal. Farmer is a black man, and belongs to Haining, Manchioneal. He attends Belle Castle Baptist chapel, at Manchioneal, and I believe is called a member of it.

her
MARY × HESLOP.
mark.

Declared before me, this 2nd January 1866.
J. HARRISON, J. P.

Diana Blackwood.—I am a black woman. I was born on Hordley estate in slavery time. My mother's name was Mysie Blackwood. My father also belonged to Hordley estate, his name was George Blackwood, and was married to my mother. He was head penkeeper of stock. My grandmother was a headwoman for planting, and a midwife when wanted. My mother was a headwoman for planting when grandmother became old and weak, and my mother being now too old, I am the headwoman for field planting on Hordley estate now.

The labourers of Hordley, especially the strangers, had behaved a long time before rebellion very idle, and all my talking to them they would only do half work, some not that. I quarrel with them much, but no use. On the afternoon of the rebellion, I could not keep them to their work. I had 110 people before me, and two other drivers under me to help me to look after the work, cleaning out backwater canal. They kept saying others are getting the things out of Mr. Tavare's store, and they don't see why they should not get some. I beg them to keep from bad company, and Mr. Harrison, the busha and trustee, rode up and begged them hard to keep at home from bad company as it would come against them. They worked till 1 o'clock, when bell rung; some left for Golden Grove to join the Rebels, but a good many of them heard what was said to them, and did not go.

About middle of the night a tremendous gang of people came down from Amity Hall top house. I could not count them they were so many; they had just done murdering Mr. Hire, Mr. Henry Hire, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Crichton, who they boasted they had killed, and they would serve Mr. Harrison, book-keepers, and all the buckra women and children they could find in the house the same. They had guns with them and bayonets, and kept on crying out "Colour for colour," "Colour for colour," as they walked along.

I and my brothers and brothers-in-law and family and estates people tried to keep them back, but they said they would come and they must kill all buckra; Christmas time was the time, but as they broke out at Morant Bay yesterday already they must have buckra life and have the estate, and be busha and book-keeper themself.

MAICA.

They were principally Arcadia free settler and Golden Grove and Duckenfield bought land people; no Hordley people seemed amongst them, and only one Hordley boy living on Hordley got flogged; he got 25 lashes.

I hid Mrs. Harrison and her little babies, and other folks took the other ladies and pickneys, or they would have been murdered. On leaving Amity Hall hill, after murdering the whole of white people there, they were singing, "Cheer boys cheer, Sebastopol is taken," and fired off guns.

They destroyed the inside of the house at Hordley, and cried, "Colour for colour," "Colour for "colour," and took all the clothes of everybody, and all the pillows and bed clothes and cut up the furniture and stole some of the beds and broke all the windows and went into the store, when they cried out, "Lots of liquor here," and those in the house rushed down and knocked down Duffus who tried to keep them out of the store. They said, "We don't want the buckra women, we can get them "when we like, and know wha tto do with them." "Off to Holland, off to Holland" before it get too light, was theorder, and off they go to Holland estate.

Next day they come back to Hordley negro house and works to search for buckra ladies and piccaninnys, as they would have them. I put ladies in gully, and went and hid myself; they were going to burn down my house, but my family and people said blood would spill if they touch it, and they cry out, "Colour for colour;" they then went to Amity Hall and find Mr. Hire just dead, and they believe the three other buckra dead. They then drank rum and sing out "Colour for colour;" "now black man time." They went on to Manchioneal, some left behind to search the wood for Mr. Harrison and the ladies and children; they search for me and threaten to kill me. After Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Shortridge and the other ladies and pickney leave, I had to hide and get into Bath. They wanted to kill me for hiding Buckra. They kill Mr. Harrison, hogs, and fowls, and ring the big bell and cry, "To day is ours, we win the day, buckra country for we." I was not far from them all this time, and identified many Rebels to the officers and maroons.

The people have behaved well since the rebellion, and get their 1*s.* and 2*s.* a day now; same price as before given for work. Every one sorry to see black get on so vile. All come from lazy and bad advisement.

her
DIANA × BLACKWOOD.
mark.

Sworn to before me, this 2nd day of January 1866.
JOHN SINCLAIR, J. P., St. George.

Joseph Rose.—I am a black man. I belong to Hordley estate. I was formerly a slave on it. I am married and have a wife and seven children alive on the estate. I am head stillhouse man on Hordley estate, and a rural constable.

A month before the rebellion, Charles Farmer told me "he had seen blood sprinkle at Belle Castle "chapel, Manchioneal," and that was a sign there was going to be a row soon. I said, "Nonsense man, "you talk foolish." He replied "You River people are too afraid of white people." "There's letter "going and letter coming, and the Queen order that it is time for every black man to look out for himself." Charles Farmer is an owner of land at Jericho, near Haining, I believe, at least he lives there if has not done paying for it. He is a married man, a member of Belle Castle Baptist chapel under Mr. Harris. He can read, and often said he would make a better preacher than Mr. Harris. He was hung for being one of the murderers of Mr. Hire.

A few days after the rebellion, I heard John Pringle Afflick say it was lucky for the whites the war broke out at Morant Bay, as (they the blacks) were waiting for Circuit Court at Bath on the 18th or 19th October, when all the white folks from Port Antonio side and Morant Bay side would be in Bath, and they would burn the court house and kill all white and coloured people. It was the best place and time, as few buckra would be left at home. John Pringle Afflick is a black man, married; is a member of Mr. Harris's Baptist chapel at Belle Castle he has several children grown up; he owned land at Jericho, near Haining, and had three horses and a donkey. He was hung for trying to cut Mr. Phillips's throat, a black man, for not telling him where Mr. Harrison was; he was a leader of the Rebels at Manchioneal, going from house to house telling people to turn out in rebellion. He rode his own horse and threatened those who did not turn out that he would have their heads cut off bye and bye

A David Fuller, a yellow skin black man, was heard by me during the rebellion to say that they would kill all the buckra; there was plenty of black boy could read and write now and manage the estate; they would cut the canes and make sugar themselves, and get what they wanted by ships from England.

He has been hiding the last 9 or 10 weeks, but was found last week in the high mountains by the maroons, and is now is custody for rebellion and robbery. He goes to Mr. Harris's Baptist church at Belle Castle; he used to be a member, but is no regular one now.

Mr. Reid, the saddler, told me as a constable, that Wm. Troop, a black man of Grange Hill estate, said at the night of Mr. Hire's murder, the day after the rebellion broke out at Morant Bay, "Burn "down the house we don't want this house, works house of use. I am order to take charge of Amity "Hall and cut the canes next week. We will find our own book-keeper, and you black nigger that "don't join me when we done killing buckra we will kill you and make your wife and children "slave."

He was one of the folks assisting to kill Mr. Crichton and Mr. Jackson, and kept calling out, "Buckra "blood must be shed, buckra blood must be shed." He has since been hung for rebellion and murder, and plenty of witnesses against him. He did not attend any church regularly; some time at one place some time another.

his
JOSEPH × ROSE.
mark.

Sworn before me, this 2nd day of January 1866.
JOHN SINCLAIR, J. P., St. George.

The Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic to the Secretary of the Executive Committee. Jamaica

Dear Sir, Kingston, 2nd January 1866.

In answer to your communication of the 29th ultimo, I beg to state that of the five clergymen (myself included), of which the Catholic clergy in this Island is composed, four are residing habitually in Kingston, some of them visiting occasionally four or five stations, the most distant of which from this is in the Buff Bay District of St. George's. The knowledge which they have of the late rebellion is nearly exclusively derived from the accounts of it given in the newspapers and from verbal reports, both of which cannot always be trusted.

The congregation in St. George's is chiefly composed of blacks; not one of them had anything to do with the late rebellion, and I am not aware that anyone of them had been tampered with by any of the Rebels.

The Rev. Mr. Woollett is the only member of my clergy that may be in a position to answer the questions contained in your letter, but as he has had a severe attack of fever since his return here last week, and is not yet recovered, I shall wait until he is sufficiently well to communicate your letter to him.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary to the Executive Committee.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. Dupeyron, Vicar Apostolic.

Inspector of Police, Kingston, to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir, Police Office, Kingston, 30th December 1865.

I have the honour, in reply to circular No. 2,294, dated 28th December 1865, to state for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, that as a native of this Island, and having held the important office of inspector of police for a period of 32 years, I have had, from the nature of my official position, the most abundant opportunities of judging and thoroughly understanding the negro character, more particularly as I have done duty in almost every parish in the Colony.

On due consideration, I am of opinion, that for some time past a considerable degree of discontent, idleness, dishonesty, and disrespectful demeanour generally amongst the black population were quite observable, not only to myself, but to the most ordinary observer. This opinion I have already advanced in an official communication dated 21st July 1865, and this feeling has been considerably augmented since the unfortunate visit of Dr. Underhill to the Island, and the pernicious results of the meetings held in the different parishes by the Underhillites.

As far as my judgment suggests, I believe that the disposition of the majority of the black population generally, in reference to the late rebellion, has been one of sympathy for their own race, and very little commisseration for the unfortunate and unoffending massacred white and coloured people, who were murdered and mutilated, in open daylight, while attending one of the most important duties in the chief town of the parish where the rebellion broke out.

And I have no hesitation in stating, that if the vigorous and prompt measures that were adopted by his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, and ably carried out by the army and nava authorities, had not been resorted to, and the progress of the rebellion thus successfully checked, it would have spread like a devastating fire through the length and breadth of the Island, and the consequences would have been most fearful.

From what I have stated, you will perceive that I unhesitatingly have come to the conclusion, that the seditious spirit of the late melancholy rebellion, had it not been crushed, would have assumed a general character.

I have, &c.
W. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary Executive Committee. (Signed) A. Nairne, Inspector.
&c. &c. &c.

Senior Magistrate of St. Catherine to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir, Spanish Town, 30th December 1865.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the circular, No. 2,214, issued from the Executive Committee office, in which I am requested to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, "the past and present disposition of the black population" of the Colony in relation to recent insurrectionary occurrences, communicating such facts as may support any opinion I may express on the subject.

In all that relates to the past, and in the inferences that may be drawn from *that past*, I would refer the Government to my report as stipendiary magistrate and Secretary of that Department, published in the Parliamentary Papers for the West Indies, No. 691, part 1., representing the state of the labouring population, 1846, vol. v., pages 41 to 49. The information therein contained relative to their moral, religious, and social state for 10 years after emancipation from slavery, is in those 10 years a fair indication of their progression favourably and unfavourably.

His Excellency the Earl of Elgin, in transmitting that report to the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Gladstone, recommended it to his especial perusal.

For an account of the present means and condition of the people, I refer to my communication dated the 15th of March last. It was made in furtherance of the inquiries suggested by Dr. Underhill's letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. Cardwell. I can neither add to nor diminish the character of that report. On the recurrence of favourable seasons after a long drought, when every circumstance seemed to promise adequate returns to industry, nothing had taken place beyond ordinary misdemeanors to excite doubts of the loyalty of the black population or apprehension for the peace and safety of

MAICA. —. Sic.

the Island. I can only reply to the last paragraph of the inquiry now directed to me, by saying, that locally* there has been no occasion for abated confidence in the people. They came forward with alacrity to uphold order and ensure the public safety, by undetaking the duties of special constables, with requisite household qualifications for the services required of them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Richard Hill,
Stipendiary Magistrate, senior resident Justice of the Peace for the precinct of St. Catherine.

W. R. Myers, Esq.

Inspector of Police, St. Ann's, to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir, Police Office, St. Ann's Bay, 2nd January 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular letter of 28th ult., No. 2,294, and in obedience to the directions of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, I have to state my opinion that in St. Ann the people generally were and are peaceably disposed, but there are some turbulent characters in the several districts of the parish that would gladly see discord and rebellion, in the hope of advancing their own interests. As the black population are excitable and easily led, any successful insurrection in one part of the Island would, I think, have encouraged its extension in other districts until it became general. From my observation during the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I am induced to think that several people in St. Ann were anxiously awaiting the result in order to encourage a rebellious spirit among the people here.

I know of no inflammatory speeches or writings except by hearsay; but I could not on inquiry obtain any evidence strong enough to justify my taking action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Thomas P. Hart,
Inspector of Police.

Wm. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary, Executive Committee, Spanish Town.

Mr. Lawson to Mr. Jordon.

Sir, Montego Bay, 4th January 1866.

I have the honour of handing you herewith a copy of the statement made by persons who were examined on Tuesday, the 2nd instant, before a bench of magistrates, in reference to the attempt to set fire to a house in Fort Street, on the morning of the 30th December last, and to which I alluded in my letter of the date first named herein.

Mary Ann Chambers' statement of the unwillingness of a man (a negro) who occupied a room in the under part of this house to afford assistance when the alarm was given, and for which he was turned out of it by her husband; and of her having heard the expression late in the evening of the same day, from a female voice, that "the house must burn when there are so many people in the town ready for re- "bellion," cannot fail to induce the belief of the unsatisfactory state of the town as regards its safety. We observe in the case of the man an indifference to the destruction of property (such as marked the conduct of the negro man during the fire of the 22nd ultimo), when serviceable aid was required, and an affected regard for it by his removing some of the shingles from the house after the fire was put out; and in that of the woman an expression of what she either knew or believed to be true.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) G. M. Lawson,
Sen. Mag., St. James.

To the Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B., Gov. Sec., &c.

Montego Bay, Tuesday, 2nd January 1866.

PRESENT:

Hon. G. M. Lawson,
S. G. Corinaldi,
R. W. Buchanan,
Neill Malcolm,
} Justices.

Re the fire at Fort Street, Saturday morning, 30th December 1865.

Mary Ann Chambers states: House was locked up by self on Friday night at 7. Saw two men standing by the door, and I shut the door and locked it, and went to bed, self and two children, and my sister and little girl, Virginia, alone slept in the house in same room. About 5 a.m. Saturday morning, not quite daylight, Virginia discovered fire. I went and saw it burning, and coals falling from the roof inside. The doors were not opened after I locked and latched them same night.

I found the back door open when I saw the fire; Virginia said she opened it. A man (Gennard) lived in the yard, and rendered no assistance. Saturday night after fire I saw standing up near to my house five women and two or three men, whom I heard say, "As to burn; it will burn, for there is "many persons in this town that is up for a rebellion." The females who said this. The people said that we ourselves had put the fire to the house. Street door was open that Friday night until 7.

Virginia Manderson (about five years of age) states: I was sleeping the Friday night, and smelt the cloth burning. Did not say anything; but when I got up in the morning saw sparks dropping on the floor. Looked up and saw the fire. When I saw the fire I called and told Mrs. Chambers, and then I opened the back door, which leads into the yard. I had to draw back the latch to do this.

Mr. Chambers states that he was at home that night, being on duty as a volunteer. He has since discharged the man Gennard, having learnt that he displayed great apathy when fire was discovered.

John Chambers states: Went fishing at 8 p.m., Friday night. When I landed about 6 heard alarm of fire, and saw it. Sung out for assistance. George Gennard, who sleeps under the house, was very slow in coming. He said he was asleep. Wind was southerly all that night.

Grace Plummer.—I reside with my sister, Mrs. Chambers. Slept there Friday night. Was not disturbed until Saturday morning, when little girl Virginia called out and gave alarm of fire. My room opens into my sister's. I went through her room into the hall when I saw the fire. As I came out to the hall I saw the fire. The street door in front was locked, and I opened it myself. It is a hard lock to open. I called up Virginia, and she got up to go out. When she gave the alarm of fire it was inside on the ceiling.

The Hon. John Salmon, Custos, St. Elizabeth, to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir, Malvern Post Office, St. Elizabeth, January 6, 1866.

I beg to forward my reply to circular No. 2,294 of 28th December 1865.

I have known the negroes for 45 years. In slavery I was extensively connected with them, as attorney or agent for proprietors residing in England; and, I may say, I inherited from my father and am now in charge of properties which have been held by myself and relatives for near 100 years.

I have nothing to be afraid of in reference to my management as a master of slaves. As a member of Assembly, I always advocated the cause of the slave, and the abolition of the whip, especially the use of it as a punishment for the female. As a Member of Council, I have to congratulate myself on strenuously advocating the emancipation, and on having usefully exercised the interest and influence I possessed to carry that measure through the Assembly. I have continued civil and kind to the black man to the present time (yet one of them, who I do not know, and never, to my knowledge, spoke to, said publicly, as proved on oath, he intended to cut my head off, as one of the first), and assisted several by loans of money, and also of land, to suit convenience, &c., &c., and thus, as it were, intimate with him. I think I know him, and can speak with knowledge and without prejudice and a hardened heart.

The disposition of the negro for some years after freedom was kind and respectful, and he was trusted by his former master and their families, and especially by their children. However ill-disposed to labour, about which there were many disputes, as there ever will be, there was a confidence of security which never dreamt of bolts and bars.

The former slave was welcomed as a clansman, visiting his old master who had brought him up, or whose children he had waited on and played with. I speak of the families,—proprietors. Of course, neither here or in any part of the world are all masters kind and considerate, nor are all servants well-disposed. I do not desire to claim a good feeling as universal, but there was a confidence which was so strongly impressed on most of the old family masters, that I believed all hailed freedom as a promise of improvement, and a settlement of a quiet and well-disposed people.

How, then, was this anticipation disappointed; or how was the disposition relied on, so soon altered?

After freedom the masters of slaves received compensation, and this slave value, in the hope that the freedman would become a steady labourer, was readily paid away in the cultivation of property, though the owner fully comprehended that a good return for a year or two could scarcely be hoped for.

The proprietor also relied on the pledge of the Queen's representative, that protection should be continued on colonial produce, as a return for the relinquishment of a claim which yielded a large income, so that, allowing even a year or two of loss, he hoped, with time, as it passed, the negro would feel the necessity of labour as he acquired a taste for an improved mode of living. During these years, the negro receiving money, and the master but unprofitable work, the one got rich and bought land, leaving the property he was a slave on,—the other became poorer.

The negro was invited to become religious; he had money, and was impressed with the position of a congregationalist. The more respectable and well-to-do became officers in the church, and censors of the manners and morals of their neighbours.

Large sums were paid to ministers, who became rich and bought properties, and built chapels of their own, which were filled to overflowing with people who were promised great things in return for these contributions. These monthly, and quarterly, and other payments became so sufficient that the Island branch of the society proposed a self-supporting separation from the parent society, the Baptists; this was acceded to. All was well.

The compensation money gradually became less; the means of payment of labour, which was badly performed, pressed on the proprietors; the negro's means began to lessen, and his zeal cooled, and his church payments fell off. Then commenced the outcry that the master was a robber and a cheat; then the negro was told that he was oppressed, and bad advice was poured into his ears. Suddenly, without inquiry as to what would follow, or whether there existed a possibility for the former slave owner to compete with the admission of slave-grown sugar, the duties on free and slave sugar were equalised (so to say). The proprietors could not carry on cultivation; one by one they fell under the reduction of value per hogshead, equal to 5*l*., 7*l*., 10*l*., and the result was the ruin of three-fourths of the estates and cattle pens, which became ruinate properties.

Under a consequence which was inevitable, it might have been expected the minister would have exerted his utmost influence in explaining to the negro the difficulties against which the proprietor had to contend; that he would have advised the cultivation of the property the free man possessed, and some reliance on himself and the soil.

I quite understand that the minister suffered, but did he suffer alone? Instead of pressing on so great an influence in England as the Missionary Society the truth, which the ruin of the Island made an argument which could not be denied, his manner of proceeding was to incite the negro to claim

JAMAICA.

increased wages on a depressed produce, and from men who had it not; to urge upon him his suffering from unequal law, unjust taxation, impediments to the fair disposal of his produce, and maladministration of justice by the magistracy; to lead him to believe there were great things in store for him, and that they would be obtained for him by those who were pleading his cause.

Time, however, brought the truth, that there was no truth in all these expectancies.

The minds of the people thus set on ill were prepared for the advice given by demagogues, and their own preachers, who, living on the passions of the people, could find no subject so grateful or so likely to be profitable as such statements and charges as have been lately sent out, under a name they are told is so influential, and which have been read and enlarged upon until the negro has been brought to hate, and to desire to get rid of, every other class, minister and layman, brown and white.

This I believe to be the present state of the greater portion of the mass of the black people. That these continued stirrings up of angry feelings and ungratified expectations led to the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East cannot be doubted, for it was not the act of men who suffered from privation or from want, who had not a home, or the means of procuring comforts, nay luxuries, if good houses and property of value and productive, and horses, and good clothing be luxuries.

I believe that the lives of the white and coloured inhabitants are in great jeopardy at this moment, and that a large portion are anxious to get away from the Island, and that many who can hope for the possibility of living elsewhere will leave it, and that many are inquiring as to the likelihood of making a livelihood in some other country. Can such a state of society be borne, as that no man is without his revolver in his pocket, even when about his farm business or on the road? This is our case now.

We may be told that this is fear, which is not justified, and that there was no intended murder or rebellion, and that the outbreak was caused by the whites and their oppression; and this is said by men in England in safety, but our trust in the negro has been shaken by his bloody deeds. It will take a life to reconcile a man to the necessity of such atrocities, where oppression cannot be pleaded, and God can be thanked for mercies on the afternoon of a butchery, and the cup of blood and gunpowder taken as a pledge for the carrying out slaughterous intentions. What do men with families feel when they see the negro bewailed over by English papers and letters, without any correct information or knowledge, as slaughtered by murderers and worse than savages? Men who had only one course, to kill or be killed, to preserve their wives and daughters from pollution and death, or to protect them. It is not denied the alternative is lamentable, but would any man in England hesitate? And if, in preventing a wide-spreading desolation, even savage acts be done, who has caused them but a people well off, and who cannot throw the blame on those whose properties they desired to possess, and who will not or perhaps do not understand how to charge their misleaders.

The immediate action on the part of the Governor alone prevented the Island being destroyed; every man in it allows this; and such destruction still hangs over it, and it will come ere long, for many of the parishes, especially St. James and Trelawny, where there are bad advisers, are very ill-disposed, unless the British Government strongly declares its determination, at any risk, to put down the spirit which is abroad, and to punish with the severest rigour any attempt at rebellion.

I believe, and it is generally believed, that the presence of troops and vessels of war prevent disturbances now, and that removing them from the different stations will be at great risk to the inhabitants, and will cause very general alarm.

If the true situation of the Island were understood in England, we have no fear that the general feeling would be, measures to prevent that which would be deplored when too late.

One mode of proceeding appears to me to be very necessary, that the determination of the Queen should be strongly expressed by Her Proclamation. That this should be put up on every church, chapel, and public building by the Queen's naval or military officers; that meetings should be called in Her Majesty's name, and the Proclamation read by the officers, and that they should be commanded to explain that they acted by Her order, and that severe punishment should be threatened, and rebellious acts tried by courts composed of officers.

It is quite useless the Governor issuing a warning on the Queen's authority, the negroes are immediately told it is "a lie."

Peace and submission to law and the security of life, or rebellion and destruction, are now to be decided.

I have, &c.
JOHN SALMON,
Custos, St. Elizabeth.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

The REV. J. S. WOOLLETT, Catholic Priest, to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MY DEAR SIR, Catholic Presbytery, Kingston, January 6, 1866.

I REGRET that sickness has prevented me from complying with your request, to put on paper a few remarks I made in conversation with you on the 27th ultimo, regarding the present disposition of the black population. Those remarks were identical with statements I had made to the Rev. Mr. Jones at the Catholic Presbytery. I have the letter before me, and it is dated Lucia, November 25, 1865, and I extract from it the following.

"As regards the parish of St. James (and I have traversed it in every direction), I find but one opinion amongst all classes, viz., that the people were and are quite ready for a revolt, and that it is only the presence of the military and cruising of the ships of war that has deterred them as yet from revolting. So many *detailed* facts have been given me by overseers, book-keepers, and small settlers that I cannot doubt but that this opinion which I have found to be so general has a good foundation. I have been told that even (well disposed it must be presumed) some black people have asked how they were to be protected when others rebel.

The *silence* of the black people is remarkable. I mean silence, and an air of indifference in greeting as you pass, &c. In other places they are *unusually* civil, but sometimes scowl in St. James; it is remarked that they show a determination to pass you as if they were quite unconcerned, and had no reason to notice you. But then in isolated cases of anger a threat is used, and a threat *having reference to a revolt, e.g.*, "Wait till leaven come," "Wait till Christmas," "Me suck your blood yet," even. It is *currently* reported that Hewitt, the Baptist preacher, said he knew of 5,000 blacks who were ready to revolt if they had a leader. How far Hewitt is cognisant of treason is one thing, but another is certain from this, viz., his opinion as to the spirit of the black population. I have heard mention of instances in which black people have declared that they would revolt if they had a leader, and that those who heard them, either through timidity or prudence, thought proper not to notice their words. Here, or rather three miles from this, at Georgia estate, the officer in command of the troops told me that a few days ago a black man told Mr. Neilson the overseer (a J. P.), that if he got a leader his blood would be the first he would suck. Mr. Neilson, the officer told me, did not like to apprehend the black man. On certain properties the black people would defend the proprietors; *e.g.*, at Ramble. But instances like this are mentioned as *exceptions*, and thus the *general* feeling is more manifested. Here, at Lucia, I am told all is quiet, but that the interior of the parish is not to be relied on.

During my sickness a communication was received at this residence from the Government, requesting the opinion of the clergy regarding the present disposition of the black people, and whether the seditious spirit of the late disturbance is in their opinion local or general.

The journey I have recently made to visit the Catholics scattered through the Island commenced on October 9, and terminated on November 27. During that time I must have traversed on horseback between 1,000 and 1,100 miles, as usual on these expeditions, visiting the parishes of Clarendon, Vere, Manchester, St. John's, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, St. Ann's, Trelawny, St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth. My course was zigzag through every parish, and I crossed and re-crossed the Island five different times, by different routes, in this last journey. I was thus brought into communication with every class of person.

Everywhere, in every parish, the opinion prevailed from the time of the outbreak that the spirit of disturbance was general. Such, too, is my decided opinion.

I think the following facts will go to show that this spirit of disturbance was general before the late rebellion. About June last I was at *Pisgah*, a large settlement of brown people principally. They told me that they were afraid to plant, as they had heard the black people intended to rise. I, thinking it nonsense, persuaded them to plant as usual. This "Pisgah" is high up in the hills, where the parishes of Westmoreland, St. James, Hanover, and St. Elizabeth meet. I had already been asked in St. James and in Westmoreland, near Negril, if the black people were to be made slaves again, and I was told they were taught to believe so. At Black River there were certain so-called meetings of the distressed negro people, and I was told of most seditious language being used after those meetings. Even amongst the "Parottees," on the Pedro plains, I was asked if the people are to be made slaves again. This last November the overseer at Irgall, in Hanover, told me that at Sandy Bay, in August last, a Baptist preacher, lately arrived from England, preached against a contemplated revolt. It shows a cognizance of the fact, or at least his opinion. I inquired if he had mentioned anything to the magistrates, and was told he had not. I remarked that if he had good grounds for his opinion he was bound to mention it; if not good grounds he was feeding the congregation with his own ideas.

The above facts seem to me sufficient to confirm my opinion.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) J. SIDNEY WOOLLETT.

ACTING RECTOR of ST. JOHN'S to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, Spanish Town, January 4, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, and to state in reply my firm conviction that the spirit of disaffection, which gave rise to the late outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East, was by no means confined to that part of the Island. Since my arrival in Jamaica, more than three years ago, I have constantly noticed with surprise the very insolent and defiant bearing of a portion of the black population, a bearing the very reverse of that attributed to them in England; as also a very general disposition to gain their living, not by honest industry and the faithful discharge of their duties to their employers, but by a system of larceny, by which even their own class have been sufferers. With their religious character I have been greatly disappointed. I have failed to discover in them that spirit of docile humility, and that ready submission to authority, or even that eager attention to sacred subjects, which I had been led to look for in them. On the contrary I have had to regret, in common, I believe, with the rest of the clergy, the very perceptible decrease in the attendance of the negroes at church and on the rites of religion.

During my two years' tenure of the cure of Swanswick, Trelawny, the congregation gradually dwindled away; the ceremony of marriage was performed but three times, and I may venture to say that three-fourths of the children baptised were illegitimate, and this though every effort was made to keep up in them a sense of duty.

In St. John's I find from the books that from January 1, 1864, to December 31, 1865, the baptisms have been, legitimate 140, illegitimate 188, total 328; the marriages have been 19.

The number of communicants in 1864 was 371, and for 1865, it was 837. Notwithstanding, however, this numerical increase, I regret to have to confess that I do not consider the attendance of the negroes at Holy Communion a sufficient criterion of their moral worth. I fear they look upon it as a kind of charm, and too often require to be dissuaded from an unreflecting participation of it.

It would be far more satisfactory could they be brought to entertain a higher estimate of the rite of marriage, at present so lamentably neglected by them. I am fortunately unable myself to testify to any inflammatory speeches or writings, but I feel bound to mention that it has been reported to me

JAMAICA. that drilling in the woods continues in the Red Hill district. The people professed, I believe, to be getting up a volunteer corps for the defence of the parish, but this can hardly be reconciled with the secret manner in which they have gone to work.

The police, however, have, I understand, full information on the subject. I may add that I consider the unsettled state of the black population, for the last two years, to be mainly the result of the so-called "Revivals," seconded by the injudicious language of certain preachers and the seditious harangues of political demagogues.

I feel bound also to express my grateful sense of the fact that, had it not been for the prompt, unavoidable, and most necessary measures adopted by the Government, the rebellion would rapidly have spread among a people so excitable and so easily misled.

I have, &c.
JOHN DOWNIE, Acting Rector of St. John's.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Alexander Bothwell, being duly sworn, states: I reside at Spring Garden, near to Stoney Gut. On 10th October last I went over to Stoney Gut, along with the police and rural constables. I was present when the warrant was read to Paul Bogle. Bogle said he would not go; George Fuller Osborne then went up and held him, and said, "You are my prisoner." Bogle immediately caught hold of Osborne. William Grant, who went by the name of Captain Grant, called out "men." Immediately about 300 persons made their appearance out of Bogle's chapel and cane-piece. Bogle called the chapel a "fort;" the men were armed with sticks, cutlasses, and bayonets on sticks. Captain Grant had a double-barrel gun. I saw the Rebels running after policeman William Fuller. As I was going up to Fuller, Moses Bogle collared me; he said to me, "Yes, you are one of our enemies," and that I had given information on Saturday to the Inspector of Police of what they were doing. Policeman Fuller (William) was carried into Paul Bogle's house. Can't say what took place inside the house.

(Signed) ALEXANDER BOTHWELL.

Taken and sworn to before me, this 4th day of January 1866, at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. EWART, S.M.

William Lake, policeman, sworn. On the 10th October last I went to Stoney Gut in company with other policemen to apprehend Paul Bogle and others for a riot on the Saturday previous. As we got up to his yard, policeman Mackay read the warrant to Paul Bogle. Bogle said, "I will not go." George Fuller Osborne said, "Make him a prisoner; you are my prisoner." As Osborne said, "You "are my prisoner," Bogle laid hold of Osborne's hand; he alsoheld police man Lake, and said, "Men, "come out." There were about 300 men immediately run out from the cane-piece and from Bogle's chapel. The Rebels laid hold of me and Fuller; they took away Fuller from me. Two men held and asked me "What I came there for." I said, "I am a policeman, and am obliged to execute my duty." They said "They had a great mind to kill me; I had no right there." I said, "For God's sake, save my "life." They then said to me, "Will you join me?" I said, "What for?" They then said, "They were "going to the Bay to kill all the white, brown, and black that will not join them, but those of the browns "and blacks that will join them they will not kill." I then said, "I would not join, as I get interest "from the whites and not from the blacks." One of the men drew a sharp ground cutlass at me and said, "I have a mind to kill you, sir; what right you have to your police?" I said "I was working for "my honest bread." He said, "If I could not get bread otherwise than to your police." He drew the cutlass again at me. I bowed and said, "Do, massa, let me go." I ran away to my house. I was followed there by Charles Geoghegan and his brother, since hung. They said, "I must go down to Bogle's house to "take the oath." I said, "I would die before I would take it." Policeman McKay was with me whilst they had returned to tell Bogle we would not take the oath. We made our escape out of the house.

(Signed) WILLIAM LAKE.

Taken and sworn to before me, this 5th day of January 1866, at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. EWART, S.M.

The REVEREND F. S. BRADSHAW, LL.D., Rector of ST. ANN'S, to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, St. Ann's Rectory, January 4, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, in compliance with your Excellency's circular No. 2,295, that I am of opinion that the spirit of the black population in this Island is still, and has been for a long time past, most hostile to the white inhabitants.

Disaffection still smoulders and quietly awaits *its* opportunity.

From some significant facts which occurred within my own observation when a resident in Kingston, from August 1st ult. to October 12th, I am persuaded that the outbreak had been previously expected by the black people to have extended, if not commenced there, and that they all were cognizant of it.

The facts I read clearly by the light of after events.

I was ministering at St. Michael's church in Kingston last year, and noticed a decrease in the number of marriages and baptisms.

In this parish at present there exists a strong undercurrent of uneasiness among the respectable classes, and the impression is general that the parochial authorities are *over-confiding*, and have not provided sufficiently for the security of the white and loyal inhabitants.

I have, &c.
F. S. BRADSHAW.

His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq.,
Governor, &c.

I have omitted to state that I spent the 1st of August ult. in Bath, with the late Mr. Herschell, and was greatly struck with the prosperous appearance of the peasantry of St. Thomas-in-the-East, who attended divine service in the church that day.

On the day following (2nd August) a treat was given to the children of the schools in the court-house (since burnt down), and being requested by Mr. Herschell to address them, I took occasion to contrast their condition, their expensive dresses, their ornaments, gold watches, chains, and lockets, which they then wore, with the starved and squalid appearance of the children of a school in Gloucestershire (near Cheltenham), whom I had addressed three years previously.

Mr. Georges, who spoke after me, adroitly complimented the prudent and thrifty habits of their parents, which enabled them to send their children to school in such a state of comfort and independence.

F. S. B.

The Honourable Custos Lowe to Mr. Myers.

Sir, Chapelton, January 4, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., No. 2,294, requesting my opinion on the past and present disposition of the black population with reference to the late rebellion, and if the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general.

My impression at the time was that there would be no disturbance if the people of this parish were left to themselves, but I feared the escape of some of the Rebels from St. Thomas-in-the-East, and I also apprehended danger from Vere, where great disaffection was said to prevail.

I was not then, however, aware that the late Mr. Gordon's visit to this parish had extended beyond his own property, Crawle River, nor had I heard of his intention to send a preacher there from St. Thomas-in-the-East, in whom he had great confidence, although the work of fitting up a building for a chapel had at the time commenced, the knowledge of these facts, added to the attempt to burn the court-house, and the subsequent threatening letter to have the volunteers out of it, induced me to think differently.

Mr. Gordon spent several days in the mountainous parts of the parish, and was often seen after dark travelling from place to place. His attempt to get up a meeting at John's Hall was unsuccessful, but he remained some time in that neighbourhood, and was often at the house of one George Russell, a brown man, by trade a saddler, with whom he kept up a correspondence, from whence he proceeded to Thompson Town, to visit the Rev. George Moodie, a Baptist preacher of colour.

It is extremely difficult, from the taciturn character of the negro, to discover their feelings, and I am unable to come to any conclusion as to their knowledge of the intended outbreak, but I may remark that managers of estates and others, more competent of judging than I am, are of opinion that it was generally known.

It is equally difficult to determine the present disposition of these people, but it is quite certain that their minds are in a very unsettled state, caused principally, I believe, by the sympathetic writings of a portion of the English press, for those of their colour who suffered in the late rebellion, and changes of all kinds are talked of, all having a tendency to the belief of their possessing the country at no distant day. One favourite idea seems to be that of having a black governor very soon.

There is no other circumstance that occurs to me as worthy of report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Francis Lowe,
Custos of Clarendon.

P. Harrison, Esq., to W. R. Myers, Esq.

Sir, Old Harbour Bay, January 2, 1866.

I am in receipt of your circular No. 2,294, of date the 28th ult., wherein I am desired to furnish my opinion, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, of the past and present disposition of the black population with reference to the late rebellion.

I beg to say that my knowledge of the conduct of the black population is chiefly confined to the inhabitants of the parish of Saint Dorothy, where I have resided for 50 years past, and have never discovered in them a rebellious spirit against the constituted authorities, and are not given to listen to sedition mongers by holding political meetings. This happy state of things is all owing to the even-handed justice meted out to them by the magistrates when they come before our local courts. Although the smallest parish in the Island, we have three Episcopal Churches, and four school establishments, all supported by the Government; one Wesleyan and two Baptist chapels supported by their own bodies. We employ and pay one hundred and seventy pounds per annum to a medical gentleman to attend the poor. The paupers are regularly paid a weekly money allowance, where by such fostering care of the black people they have had no just cause to be insubordinate or discontented.

From the accounts I read in the newspapers and other information, I am of opinion that a most formidable rebellion had been concocted in the eastern parish of the Island, and were it not for the interposition of a good and merciful God to frustrate the designs of the conspirators before their hellish plans had been matured, and were it not for the prompt and energetic conduct of the Governor, aided by the other authorities, in bringing the outbreak to a speedy termination, I am afraid the rebellion would have had a wide spread, and thereby a vast number of human beings and property would have been sacrificed to their murderous inclination.

I have, &c.
P. Harrison,
Senior Magistrate for the parish of St. Dorothy.

MR. VICKERS to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Belleisle, Grange Hill, December 21, 1865.

I HAVE to acknowledge your letter, No. 2,227, authorizing me to direct the No. 2 Volunteers to hold themselves in readiness in case of any disturbance of the peace.

I may here report, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that considerable uneasiness prevails amongst the educated classes as to some anticipated disturbance likely to arise during the approaching holidays, which is caused from the many vague rumours and threatening letters that are in daily circulation.

I have satisfaction in stating that while the labourers on the sugar estates are working cheerfully, and sugar making is progressing very satisfactorily, it is (*now*) in the Darliston mountains, on the confines of St. Elizabeth's, where there are a large number of settlers on their own lands, that disaffection is said to exist.

I shall take all necessary precautions to secure the public peace.

I have, &c.

The Hon. E. Jordon, C.B., Governor's Secretary.

(Signed) BENJAMIN VICKERS, Custos of Westmoreland.

MR. J. G. SAWKINS, Director of the Geological Survey, to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, St. Ann's, January 2, 1866.

I REGRET my time will not allow of my replying to you to the extent I consider the subject demands, but as far as time will admit I beg to state that from conversations I had with the much lamented Baron von Ketelhodt, a rising of the negroes in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East was feared by him after the anticipated disturbance that called the attention of the Government to the western parishes in August last, since which rumours and acts have justified a belief in some subtile movement among the negroes, that had for its object the destruction of the white population.

Prior to this I had frequently crossed the track of Geo. W. Gordon, who seldom travelled except by night, and heard of his preaching and praying, or building a new "tabernacle" similar to those common about the properties held in his name, which, in an agricultural point of view, and the dilapidated state I had generally seen them, gave positive proof of their being under his superintendence, and as I once told him, no man appeared to hold more properties and leave them to the elements of destruction than he. On my asking him why he did this his reply was, that he was waiting until the negro population was larger, which by the emigration from Barbados he hoped would soon be, his conviction being that the white man would not be found in Jamaica in 1872. These were the ideas of G. W. Gordon, and I fear there are many who thought the same, until the prospect of a change in the form of Government, and the House of Assembly destroyed. This was the subject of conversation of all the intelligent men I met with in the course of a tour round the western portion of the Island in 1863, but the Government did not appear to be aware of this, or did not wish to propose such a measure until the foul and bloody revolt at Morant Bay had been enacted on a few of the best friends the negroes ever possessed.

With the Rev. Victor Herschell I held that sort of acquaintance I usually do with the clergy of the parish in which I live. He came to reside at Bath while I was engaged on the survey of that part of the Island, and occasionally went with me into the mountain districts.

His labours were previously among the Maroons at Mooretown, where he was much beloved. He continually complained of the difficulties he had encountered in endeavouring to convince the negroes of the sin of living in adultery and incestuous intercourse. At last he determined not to allow any that lived in that state to receive the sacrament at his hands. This was regarded by the negroes as unjust, and they went over to the Baptists, or Geo. W. Gordon's "tabernacle," at Spring, where there were no restrictions of that sort.

I firmly believe these efforts on the part of the Rev. V. Herschell to have been the germ of all the antipathies that grew up against him, and, as far as I can learn, those who murdered him were among those whose souls he tried to save.

My intercourse with the clergy, from his Lordship the Bishop of Kingston down to the curates, has convinced me the result of their labours is most unsatisfactory to them. Among the Presbyterians I have also had much interchange of ideas, all of whom lamented the time they had expended in trying to improve the negro. On one occasion the Rev. Mr. Watson declared to me he had spent nearly 30 years of his life striving to make them understand the Christian religion *without result*, adding, "had "he have laboured so long in his own country he would have found the reward he felt he merited."

My own experience teaches me that neither truth, nor gratitude, nor morality will ever characterize the negro. A barbarous superstition has a greater control over him than Christian teaching. I dare say there are few in the Island whose opinions and convictions are not, that the negroes of Jamaica place more reliance on Obeahism than the word of God. It is under this same dark, subtile, and to us unfathomable influence the negroes are to all appearance labouring under.

This is demonstrated in cases of theft, murder, and arson even among themselves, for if ever the truth is discovered it is the result of accident.

In the execution of my duties of geologically examining the Island on two occasions, I have had to contend with armed resistance by the negroes; the first in the vicinity of Stony Gut, St. Thomas-in-the-East, the second near Palmetto Grove, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. On one other occasion, in Clarendon, stones were lifted by a number of young men, with a threat to kill me. To what denomination they belonged I do not know, further than that they were not of the Established Church. At another, on the road from Old Harbour to Spanish Town, near Hartsland, a stone was thrown which struck my servant, who was riding near me.

My colleague, Mr. Wall, was also attacked by a negro with a cutlass, when in the execution of his duty in the parish of Metcalfe.

I have heard from the mouth of a clergyman, who has ever appeared to me among the most esteemed in the Island by his congregation (between 300 and 400), that from the disturbed feelings of the negroes

in his neighbourhood he considered it requisite to go armed to his church, attributing these insurrectionary feelings to the preachings of a native Baptist parson in his vicinity, by the name of Gordon.

Of the well-disposed negroes, and I have no doubt there are many who would not voluntarily rise in rebellion, but who, from fear of worse treatment from those of their own colour in rebellion than from the white people, would join in any insurrectionary movement that occurred in their vicinity, the history of the past compels the conviction that had not the Government used the means it did, combined with the activity, Geo. W. Gordon would have lived to realize his convictions in 1865 instead of, as he believed, in 1872.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee.

(Signed) James G. Sawkins,
H.M.W.I. Geological Survey.

The Hon. John Shea Clachar, Senior Magistrate, Portland, to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir,

Port Antonio, January 5, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge your circular letter of the 28th December last, No. 2,294, requesting me to state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general.

In reply to your inquiry I do not hesitate to say that I consider the rebellious spirit to have been general throughout the Island, and I arrive at this conclusion from the following considerations.

I am of opinion that a great error was committed at the commencement of the emancipation of the slaves by admitting them without restrictions of any kind to the full exercise of the elective franchise. They were an ignorant and credulous people, unfitted to be entrusted with this important privilege.

It gave, therefore, unlimited opportunity to the agitators in the Island to corrupt and deceive the negro mind at every election for members to the House of Assembly, and to the parochial vestries. It is well-known that the most violent denunciations were used against the white population, who were incessantly represented to be their enemies and oppressors, and they were urged never to record a vote in favour of that class, as they intended to make the blacks slaves again. They were told that the whites were usurpers and foreigners, for the country belonged to the negroes.

These dangerous doctrines, by a constant repetition, made a deep impression upon their minds, which has resulted in rebellion.

The assembly thus chosen, many improper persons found their way into it, and the scenes therein enacted, the violent speeches and systematic obstruction of the public business, and the gross insults to the executive authority, at length brought it into utter contempt, and induced all right thinking men to desire its abolition.

Then again, evil disposed persons, and a portion of the Jamaica press, were in the constant practice of traducing and vilifying the Governor, the judges, the clergy, the magistracy, and all the intelligence and respectability of the country, thus bringing all authority into contempt, and preparing the negro mind for acts of violence, treason, and murder.

As to the present disposition of the black population, I fear it is anything but satisfactory. I know that agitation is still kept up among them, and that certain Baptists here are actively circulating the speeches and writings of men in England hostile to the conduct of the Jamaica Government in the means taken to suppress the rebellion.

The rebellious spirit, I consider, has only been checked, but has not been thoroughly subdued.

It might be roused at any moment, and from my own observation I feel convinced that a dangerous impression has already been made, calculated to disturb the public peace. At the same time I believe that many of the black people look on this rebellion with abhorrence, and that they will use their influence to check rebellious thoughts and designs among their own race.

I am happy to think that one great cause of antagonism and irritation will be removed by the change of Government likely soon to be inaugurated in place of the ancient constitution of the Island, which has been found to be unsuited to the present time.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee.

(Signed) John S. Clachar,
Senior Magistrate.

The Hon. Peter A. Espeut to Mr. W. R. Myers.

Sir,

The Retreat, St. Andrews, Kingston, January 6, 1866.

In reply to your Circular No. 2,294, dated the 28th December 1865, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Government, that my opinion of the past disposition of the black population is that they were a well-disposed and contented race, rather attached than otherwise to the whites.

It is indeed a matter of astonishment how they could have been otherwise than well contented, taking into consideration their very few wants; this facility is the cause of the present lazy disposition, for they can, by working a few hours a day for a few days each week, earn more ready money than they can spend.

I have frequently seen the negroes on my own estates leaving off work at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, having earned by that time two shillings; on my remonstrating with them for not going on with the work, their reply has always been, "Hi! Massa; what for me go kill myself; me no worke; two "shillings already; dat nuff; me no wantee more, me can spend dis self;" thus showing that they only worked to suit their convenience, and only for so long as it pleased them.

I must remark, however, that it was not these people who participated in the late rebellion so much as the small settlers and others supposed to be too well-to-do to work on the estates, but who spend their time in idling about the villages.

AMAICA.

2. I have no doubt whatever that the late rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East was caused by the seditious preaching and haranguing of Geo. W. Gordon and his companions, and that, but for the premature outbreak at Morant Bay on the 11th October, and the prompt and energetic measures adopted then by his Excellency and the Government, the whole of the black population would have risen simultaneously throughout the Island for the murder of every white and coloured man in the Colony.

I have also no doubt whatever that Gordon had organized extensive ramifications tending to further and nurture disaffection among the negroes, and it is well known that Gordon and Paul Bogle travelled throughout the Island during the last 18 months, and that they preached together wherever they went.

I have myself met Gordon two or three times in different parts of the Island, and in reply to my question of what he was doing, he told me "He was looking after his people;" he has said to me, "Oh! "my poor people, they are badly treated by the Government;" and on my remonstrating with him for saying such things, he has invariably replied "that they were ill treated, and must have more considera- "tion." I have been on many occasions greatly shocked by his exaggerated and unfounded statements.

3. I was present at Morant Bay the day after the lamentable scenes that occurred there on the 11th October, and from all I heard then my opinion was confirmed that Gordon had been the instigator; the inhabitants said so, and the last words of the dying Rebels were "that Gordon had brought them "to this."

4. With regard to the intimacy that existed between Gordon and Paul Bogle, I have to state that I saw several letters from the former to the latter, commencing, "My dear Bogle," and ending, "Your "very sincere friend."

I have seen several Bibles presented by Gordon to many of the ringleaders of the late rebellion, one of which, presented to Paul Bogle, accompanies this letter. It will be seen that the following words appear in it in Gordon's own handwriting:—

"Presented
"by
"Geo. W. Gordon
"to
"Mr. Paul Bogle,
"With best wishes. Spring, 2d Novr. 1862.
"Isaiah 30 Cap. 18 *v.*
"St. Thos.-ye-East, Jamaica.
"Mrs. Gordon's *best wishes.*"

5. With reference to the late rebellion being confined only to Morant Bay, and that ill-feeling did not exist elsewhere, I would in contradiction call attention to what happened (two days after the outbreak of the 11th October) at St. Margaret's Bay in Portland, distant sixty (60) miles from Morant Bay.

The negroes being called upon to take the oath as special constables *refused*, stating that they would not take the Queen's oath (as they called it) until they had seen their people from Manchioneal, whom they had been expecting the night before.

6. The enclosed documents, a careful perusal of which I have the honour to recommend, will bear me out in my statements, and go far to show that the ill-feeling and seditious condition of the people was not "*merely local*" and confined to Morant Bay, but that it was diffused throughout the Island.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to the Honourable
the Executive Committee.

(Signed) P. A. Espeut,
Custos, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Statement of Edward Danvers.

I, Edward Danvers, living up the Valley, do declare that I knew that Mr. G. W. Gordon and Paul Bogle were friends, and very intimate; that Paul Bogle used to accompany Gordon to Spring Pen to assisting (sic) people, and that Paul Bogle often preached in Gordon's chapel with him, and that Mrs. Gordon was often with them.

I have also heard it was the determination of the black people to murder the coloured people as well as white and take the Island to themselves.

(Signed) Edward Danvers.

Bath, January 4, 1866.

Emily Brown.—I lived at Morant Bay before I came to Mr. Kirkland. My mother is cook at Mr. Marshalleck. About two months before the rebellion there was a meeting given by the Bogles at Mr. G. W. Gordon's house in the Bay. I wanted to go and see what it was, but my mother prevented me going out at night. I heard the meeting was private, because they would not let any of the brown misters that live in Morant Bay in while the meeting was going in (sic).

her
(Signed) Emily × Brown.
mark.

Witness, Emily Brown's cross.
(Signed) John Hamilton.

Sworn before me, this 4th day of January 1866.

Declared before me, this 4th day of Jany. 1866.
(Signed) W. P. Kirkland, J.P.

SIR, Serge Island Estate, Morant Bay, January 4, 1866.

IN compliance with your circular note of date the 28th December ult., requesting that I would state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that wicked disturbance was merely local or general; and that I will at the same time communicate such facts as I may be able to furnish in support of my opinion, including among such facts cases of inflammatory speeches, writings, and acts.

My opinion of the past disposition of the black population generally is, that for the last three years they have been uncivil, disobedient, and exceedingly indolent, and wished to place themselves on an equality with their superiors; they held courts of their own in the interior district of Manchioneal and punished offences by way of money fine, and the same procedure up to the time of the late rebellion has been carried on in the Blue Mountain Valley, at a village called Huntley. I have a summons now that was taken from one of my Africans since the rebellion, and signed "John G. Lamont, J.P.;" this man is a field labourer on Serge Island estate. I have no hesitation in saying that the black population are treacherous, and but for the strong arm of the law they would again revolt. These opinions are based, not only upon what I have heard from clergymen and laymen, but I have formed from my own knowledge. Their present disposition, as far as I am able to judge, does not differ in any way. I am of opinion that the seditious spirit of that wicked disturbance was general and not local, inasmuch as that on the 16th December last, Edward Francis, the head cattleman of Mr. Michael Muirhead of Manchester, brought some cattle to this estate, and he told my book-keepers that the late Geo. W. Gordon had been to Manchester and told the black population that they must put in plenty of corn and coffee, that the country would soon be theirs. I am also informed by my book-keeper, Mr. J. C. Smith, that the head constable on Albion estate in St. David, told him a few days ago that the people in that parish were ready for rebellion, as they were blowing horns about the parish; and I aver it is owing entirely to the very prompt means which his Excellency the Governor adopted in crushing the rebellion in this parish that it had not been general throughout the length and breadth of the Island.

I have, &c.

The Hon. P. A. Espeut, Custos Rotulorum, St. Thomas-in-the-East. (Signed) WM. C. MILLER, J.P. St. Thomas-in-the-East.

SIR,

On reflection I think it is proper to enclose you at once the "summons" alluded to in the foregoing.

(Signed) WM. C. MILLER.

JAMAICA, s.s.

Parish of ———

Saint Thomas-in-the-East. To James Millin of the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, labourer, did make use to one Richard Grant of the said parish on the 25 day of Feby 1865, abusive and calumnious languages tending to provoke a breach of the peace, in words following, to wit:—

"You are to give me your stick;" against the (*sic*) in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

These are therefore to command you the said James Millin in Her Majesty's name to be and appear on Saturday the 4th day of March at the court house, Huntley village, before such justices of the peace as shall then be there, to answer to the said charges, and to be further dealt with according to law.

Given under my hands this 28th day of Feb. in the year of Lord 1865.

(Signed) JOHN G. LAMONT, J.P.

Copy Summons.—The Jure against
James Millin.

SIR, Devon Penn, St. Andrew's, January 3, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular, which was handed to me by Lieut. Nevin on my way to Kingston.

Save during an interval of eight months, I have resided in Jamaica nearly 10 years, and have during that time had ample opportunities of studying the negro character. As a general rule, I have found them indolent and dishonest, rarely caring to do more than half a fair day's work. In explanation of this, I mean to say when a certain task is given to a negro to perform for a stated sum, say 1*s*., they often finish that task by 11 o'clock in the morning, and then go home and sit down the remainder of the day, and then unjustly complain their wages are small, when by ordinary diligence they might earn a capital week's wages. For some months past I have found it extremely difficult to collect rents from the negroes who lease land from me, or to induce same to work on the estates to clear off their new debts.

Some months ago I wrote to my friends in England that I should not be surprised if there were a rebellion in Jamaica, the people seemed so indisposed to work, and were so insolent when spoken to; and on several occasions I noticed expressions that dropped from negroes that seemed to me indicative of a turbulent spirit.

I consider the seditious spirit of the late wicked rebellion was not merely local, but *wide* spread, if not general. For support of the above opinion, I beg to state that two days after the bloody massacre at Morant Bay houses and property 37 miles distant from that place were burned, plundered, and sacked, and this was carried on up to the very day troops were marched from Port Antonio to Manchioneal. I myself, nearly a stranger at Morant Bay, attended in my magisterial capacity the quarterly vestry held there on the 11th October last. I escaped from the court-house only as the burning roof fell in; and again from Mr. Price's house, when that building was in a similar condition, and was hunted and shot at in every direction, and finally fell into the hands of the savages, who yelled, "Colour for colour," "Death to the white man," "Kill every one." I was instantly thrown down, and

when on the ground received a slash across the forehead with a cutlass and a shower of blows with bludgeons. Then I cried out I was a doctor, and instantly some one shouted out, "Save the doctors; we "shall want them." A parley ensued, and after being stripped of my watch and chain and other effects, and being forced by Paul Bogle (who was called to decide on my case) to swear a solemn oath I would not dress a white man's wounds, and on pain of death to mind what I was about, I was carried by these men up to the house of a druggist, where my wounds were attended to; and Paul Bogle told me that in the morning I should be sent to a place of safety.

Everywhere I heard the same cries of "Colour for colour," "Death to the white man." I most sincerely believe that had not our Governor acted with such astonishing and unequalled promptitude, and at the same time been so ably assisted by the naval and military authorities, few if any white man would have been alive to have given you any information on the subject you now solicit. It is really distressing to every right-thinking man to read the outrageous articles on the rebellion in certain portions of the English press, and the gross misstatements circulated as gospel in their columns, and which appear to be greatly misleading the English public.

I am of opinion that nothing but the various military outposts have prevented the people rising *en masse*, nor do I believe there will be any security for life or property if the military are withdrawn from these outposts; persons from several different parishes were concerned in the late rebellion, from Portland, St. David's, and other places, being, I consider, additional evidence that the rebellion was not merely local. I have not myself heard any inflammatory speeches, save those reported in the Island press as coming from G. W. Gordon, but which I believe he contradicted

I have, &c.

P. A. Espeut, Esq.,
Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East,
Kingston, P.O.

(Signed) Arthur Warnington, J.P.,
and Lieut. of Volunteers (Unattached).

Mr. George Ward to the Hon. P. A. Espeut.

Sir, Fair Prospect, January 4, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular of the 23rd ult., and beg to state, for the information of the Government, that it is my most candid opinion that had it not been for the very prompt and energetic measures taken by his Excellency the Governor in suppressing the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East, that every parish in the Island would have been in an open state of rebellion. I will also state, for the further information of Government, that the Rebel spirit had extended into the parish of Portland, as the Rebels, after plundering and destroying everything they could find in the houses on the adjoining properties to my own, proceeded on their march of destruction, and but for the truly meritorious and loyal conduct of the rural constable of the name "Buckley," who after much exertion on his part to collect people to support him at the risk of their lives, defended this property for one night; and there is not the slightest doubt that the Rebels, who were to return with a much stronger force to overpower the few loyal men here, would have put their threat into execution but for the aid of the troops. They arrived on the very day of the intended attack to destroy my house. The defence of Fair Prospect, in my opinion, saved the "Castle Boston" and other properties in Portland, as well as the town of Port Antonio.

I have, &c.
(Signed) George Ward, J.P.

Mr. James Duffus to Hon. P. A. Espeut.

Sir, Bowden, Port Morant, January 3, 1866.

In reply to your circular of the 28th ult. I have to state as my opinion, that the disposition of the black population generally before the rebellion, for some considerable time, was strong disaffection against the constituted authorities of the land, as well as against law and order; and that my firm belief always was, and still is, that such disaffection was caused by the political religious teaching of the Baptist element in the land, inciting the lower orders to believe themselves oppressively taxed and under-paid for their labour, in place of exerting themselves to instil true religious teaching and moral training amongst them; and often so expressed myself in writing to my friends in England, that the Baptist body did much harm, which was brought to a climax by the various seditious writings in newspapers, and speeches made at meetings held relative to the Underhill misrepresentations, which had so agitated the whole land that the seditious spirit of the wicked insurrection which devastated this parish would have been general throughout, from the rapid manner it spread throughout the whole of St. Thomas-in-the-East, the Island, but from the prompt and energetic action of the Governor, in the manner he met the first outbreak here, and precautions he took to secure order in the other districts, for which we one and all owe him a debt of deep gratitude and sincere thanks.

My firm opinion is, from the still rude and insolent manner of many of the people, that the minds of the blacks is far from being settled, that a seditious spirit still exists and is incited by the pseudo philanthropist writers in English newspapers, who show great ignorance about the matters on which they write, and copied in our local newspapers, particularly the "Morning Journal," that a vigilant watch is required.

In support of my view of matters before the rebellion, I could instance the writings in the "Watchman" newspapers, the (*sic*) of that traitor George W. Gordon, a copy of which fell into my hands in August last, containing a report of the proceedings and speeches made at the meeting held at Morant Bay on 29th July, under the leadership of George W. Gordon, which were most seditious and inflammatory; besides which it contained communicated articles containing gross falsehoods respecting the upper class of society in their dealings with lower orders. This paper chiefly circulated amongst the adherents of Gordon's policy.

I am, &c.

Hon. P. A. Espeut,
Custos, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

(Signed) James Duffus.

Mr. Groves to the Hon. P. Espeut.

Sir, Dalvey, P. G. River, P. O., January 5, 1866.

In accordance with your circular of the 28th ultimo, requesting my opinion, for the information of the Government, of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, I am decidedly of opinion that it was not merely local, but that a general uprising of the people was intended, and it was evident to me such was contemplated a considerable time before the occurrence took place, indeed fully three years, by what I overheard from a labourer at Holland of a disaffection there, more particularly about the time the late G. W. Gordon was canvassing as member of Assembly for the parish, in the event of his not being elected "the white people were to have their "heads cut off."

And up to the present time there is still such a disposition, from remarks made to me by a respectable coloured female who heard a conversation between some labourers returning home late at night from a neighbouring estate. Part of it was, "Christmas will soon come, we shall have our cutlasses "ready." And I am further of opinion but for the presence of the military another attempt would have been made to annihilate the white and coloured inhabitants.

The night the Rebels came to my house (13th October), the principal ringleader (since deceased) said he was determined to take my head off, as he would then have possession of the Beach, which he rented from me. Another one said in my kitchen, when he heard of the murders at Morant Bay, "Yes, kill them all."

I may also add, had the soldiers not appeared when they did, which caused the Rebels to take to the woods, in all probability my hiding place would have been discovered, and myself and family butchered.

I have, &c.

Hon. P. A. Espeut, Kingston, P.O. (Signed) W. C. Groves, J.P.

Mr. Gray to the Hon. P. Espeut.

Sir, Golden Valley, Morant Bay, January 5, 1866.

In compliance with the request contained in your circular of 28th December ultimo, I beg to state, as my opinion, that the late rebellion was created, fostered, and brought to its premature end by the devices and plotting of George William Gordon and his emissaries.

Believe that from the effect caused by the inflammatory speeches of that man in this parish, as well as in St. Ann's, Vere, Clarendon, and elsewhere, his intention and ambition was to raise the population of the whole Island in his favour, by which means he would have swept off his heavy pecuniary responsibilities and assumed supreme power. I am confirmed in this belief by the common talk of the people hereabout, and therefore think, but for the energetic and noble conduct of our Governor, who "knows "no fear," as has been expressed in the "Spectator" newspaper, Gordon's call of "Come forth" would have been responded but too readily over the length and breadth of the land.

Some years ago I sold to the late G. W. Gordon a small place in the neighbourhood called Dunrobin, for which, as was his custom, he never paid me, and has got no title. The people in that place, when I sold it to Gordon, were as well-behaved and respectful a peasantry as I ever saw in Jamaica until they got into his toils, when they became very different men. Out of this small hamlet no less than six of these poor deluded creatures were justly executed for their crimes; the natural results of Gordon's baneful advice has been too plainly seen in the late outbreak; and, although a Baptist by principle myself, it is my most sincere opinion that the letter of Dr. Underhill tended to fan that flame of discontent which so soon burst out into the raging fire which destroyed so many good and noble men.

Proof is abundant that Gordon lived in *close fellowship* with Paul Bogle when in this quarter; as was commonly called by them their "Christ," "Saviour," and by such like blasphemous terms.

I send the Bible which I spoke to you about, but as it is a rather interesting relic of this epoch in the history of my adopted country, I should wish to keep it as such.

I have, &c.

(Signed) John M. Gray.

P.S.—Pray excuse any inconvénience, as I am pushed for time.

(Signed) J. M. G.

The Hon. P. A. Espeut.

Mr. Justice Kirkland to the Hon. P. Espeut.

Sir, Bath, January 2, 1866.

Your circular reached me last night. In answer, beg to give my opinion. This unhappy rebellion, which broke out on the 11th October last, was caused solely by the seditious meetings held frequently the last two years by the late G. W. Gordon and his native preachers, and solely from that cause. The peasantry in this district are exceedingly well off and do not depend for work on the sugar estates, but cultivate provisions for market, and using their monies as they please. I have lived in this place for upwards of two years, and can safely say I have never seen any one in rags or apparently in want. The late G. W. Gordon was in the practice of holding meetings at his property, the *Rhine*, and preaching in the *main street* of Bath, whenever he visited this district. When applied to by persons to whom he owed money, he would put them off by saying, "We are met, my friends, to pray, "and not to pay money." Owing to the minds of the people being poisoned from causes given, I greatly fear this spirit of revolt was general; and but for the energetic measures taken by the Executive, would have spread and become general. Our thanks are due to their energy, blessed by a merciful God.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) Wm. P. Kirkland, J.P.

Work is resumed in this district; all things satisfactory.

Hon. P. A. Espeut.

IAICA.

Mr. Gray to the Hon. Peter Espeut.

Sir, Somerset Cottage, St. Thomas-in-the-East, January 2, 1866.

Your circular of the 28th December 1865 I duly received, and beg to state that my opinion on the subject asked is, that the black population had a general spirit of bad feeling among them for the white and coloured population.

Sic.) Had the Governor and his counsel not used the means in putting down the past outbreak, none of us would have been saved. I was a victim of theirs on that occasion.

With regard of the inflammatory speeches, writings, and acts, I cannot say anything about, as it was between himself, and kept as secret of their own.

I have, &c.

Hon. P. A. Espeut, Custos. (Signed) R. H. Gray.

Sub-Enclosure 6, Part III.

Mr. Bowen to the Hon. Peter Espeut.

Sir, Coley, January 3, 1866.

I have received your circular of the 28th ultimo, and in reply, beg to state that previous to the late outbreak I have no hesitation in stating that the conduct of the people was most unsatisfactory, inasmuch as they worked very unwilling, sulky, and insolent. Since the rebellion has been crushed they work better and more willingly and much more respectful in their demeanour. I consider the rebellion was general, and if it had not been for the prompt measures used by the Governor and naval and military authorities, no doubt it would have extended throughout the Island.

I have, &c.

(Signed) Fras. Bowen.

Stephen Cooke, on his oath, saith as follows:

I am clerk of the peace and 1st lieutenant of the No. 2 Rifle Volunteers for the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East; that I was present with my company on 11th October last at the court house. Saw when the Rebels entered the market square in front of the court house. The volunteers of the No. 1 and 2 companies were drawn up in front of the court house; the volunteers were drawn up fully 25 feet from the wall of the court house. As the Rebels advanced the order was given by Captain Hitchins for the volunteers to retire; they did so. The Rebels still advancing, the order was again given to retire; they did so. They retired until they came up against the wall of the court house. By this time the Rebels had come up to within 10 feet, when they fired a volley of stones at the volunteers. Captain Hitchins then gave orders to fire. As soon as the volunteers fired the mob rushed on the volunteers. The Rebels were armed with sticks, cutlasses, spikes, stones, and guns. The volunteers were unable to re-load; they were so pressed upon by the mob they had to retire. I heard the custos, Baron Ketelholdt, ask the people (before the volunteers fired) if they had any complaint to make, or if they had any grievances to complain of, if so to tell him, and he would see and have them redressed. He asked several times for peace. The Rebels said they did not come there for peace, they came there for war. We all had to retire into the court house. The mob then commenced and fired into the court house. The windows were smashed with stones; the doors of the court house had to be barricaded. There must have been at the time about 1,200 Rebels in the square opposite the court house, all armed with deadly weapons. The custos finding no way of escape, had a white handkerchief tied on an umbrella and put out of the window, which was held by an old black man. The Rebels asked what it meant. They were told it meant peace. They exclaimed that they did not want peace, they did not come there for peace, they came for war. The offer of peace was again made, and the same reply received. The custos then went to one of the windows and told the people if he was the object of their fury and revenge, if they would spare the gentlemen of the parish he would open the door and deliver himself up to them. They replied "No, we want you and them, and we kill the whole "of you." The offer was made a second time by the custos of delivering himself up, and the same reply. The court house was then set on fire. Two or three of the gentlemen then in the court house escaped through the windows looking into the fort yard, and ran into Mr. Price's house. I also escaped through the same window. I heard the Rebels during the night from my hiding place say they were determined to kill all the mulattos, for then they would easily manage the whites. I was present at the execution of the Rebels, and heard several of them say, whilst on the gallows, that "Mr. Gordon bring "them to this; must take warning." These words were used addressing the bystanders. I also heard parties whilst being flogged call on the name of Gordon, Paul and Moses Bogle. That I have known G. W. Gordon intimately for several years, also Paul Bogle. I have repeatedly seen G. W. Gordon and Paul Bogle in private conversation on vestry and election days. Paul Bogle attended meetings held by G. W. Gordon; he also attended the poll at elections and supported G. W. Gordon. That I was present at a conversation between our late lamented custos, G. W. Gordon, and Paul Bogle, about six months before the rebellion. The custos advised Bogle not to have anything to do with Mr. Gordon; that he professed to be the friend of the black man, but he was not, and that if he, Paul Bogle, followed Gordon he would get himself into trouble. Gordon laughed, and said to Bogle, don't you listen to the Baron; what he is telling you is only to leave me. This conversation took place in the market square at Morant Bay on a vestry day. I have seen Gordon give a list of voters to Paul Bogle; they were very intimate.

(Signed) Stephen Cooke.

Taken and sworn to before me this 5th day of January 1866.

(Signed) P. A. Espeut,
Custos.

The STATEMENT of JAMES MOORE ROSS, taken on oath.

I RESIDE at Morant Bay, and am a volunteer in No. 2 St. Thomas-in-the-East Company. On Wednesday the 11th October the company was commanded by Captain Hitchins. I was on duty at the court house when the Rebels came down. The company was drawn up in the parade in front of the court house, and about 10 yards distant from it. They came into the town in different directions. One gang passed the police station on their way and took possession of the arms. They came on the parade armed with guns and bayonets. The custos came out of the court house and stood on the steps. He took his handkerchief out of his pocket and waved it, crying out "Peace my friends, peace." The mob came on approaching the court house nearer and nearer, waving their sticks and swearing vengeance against the volunteers and gentlemen in the court house. The custos then read the proclamation under the Riot Act. The mob was then about 15 yards from the volunteers. They then showered stones upon the volunteers. I was struck by a stone, which sent me reeling out of the ranks. The word was then given by Captain Hitchins to fire, and the volunteers fired. The mob came upon us with sticks, cutlasses, guns, and spears. I received 11 wounds on my head from cutlasses, sticks, and bayonets. I was laid senseless on the ground. I was shot on both hands with sand, with which they loaded their guns instead of ball or shot. I was dragged from the place where I fell to a ditch under a penguin fence near the court house. I swear that the volunteers were attacked before they fired, and that the police station was rifled of the arms by the mob before they came in the square.

(Signed) J. MOORE ROSS.

Sworn before me this 2nd day of January 1866, at
Morant Bay, in St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. EWART, S.M.

JOSEPH HARDIE WILLIAMS on his oath saith as follows:—

AM first corporal of the No. 2 Volunteers, St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was on duty on the 11th October 1865. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Rebels came down. They divided themselves into two bodies and entered the parade from the north and east. They were armed with muskets and fixed bayonets, which they held up to be seen; others were armed with swords, cutlasses, and sticks. They came on the parade and advanced on us. The custos read the Riot Act and called "Peace," as they continued to advance. As they advanced the volunteers retired. We retired until our backs came against the court house wall. By this time the custos had finished reading the Riot Act. They showered down stones upon us, and then the word was given by Captain Hitchins to fire, and we fired. The mob was then about 10 feet from us, and our backs were against the court house. I escaped from the court-house unwounded, but was overtaken by a gang of them at the bridge, who beat me with sticks, and I was beat from there to the church, a distance of about a mile. I was beat by four different gangs of them. They then consulted whether they would take me to their captain, Paul Bogle, or let me go. Eventually they let me go, and I made my way home through the woods. I was laid up with the wounds for about five weeks. Two or three months previous to the outbreak I attended a meeting held at G. W. Gordon's house in Morant Bay. The meeting was attended entirely by black men armed with sticks—a large body of them. I was accompanied by several of my friends, coloured men. We went there from curiosity to see what was going on, but they would not allow us to remain. They threatened us, and we had to return. It was held all night. I do not know what was done at the meeting; they would not proceed to business as long as we were present. Other meetings were held at the same place, but I did not attempt to attend any of them, and I do not know what was done at them. I saw several men at the meeting who were afterwards among the rioters. Some of them have been executed.

(Signed) JOSEPH H. WILLIAMS.

Sworn before me this 3rd day of January 1866,
at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) P. A. ESPEUT,
Custos.

MOSES NATHANIEL WOLFE on his oath saith:—

AM a tailor. I reside at Morant Bay. I am a volunteer in No. 2 Company, St. Thomas-in-the-East Volunteers. I was on duty on the 11th October. I was severely wounded with cutlasses. No. 2 Company was commanded by Captain Hitchins. The mob came in three bodies, in three different directions, armed with guns, cutlasses, sticks, and stones. As the mob approached the custos waved his handkerchief and begged for peace; one of the mob said "Peace, the devil." They still continued to (*sic*) on firing stones at the volunteers; one of the stones struck me in the face. After they began to throw stones the custos read the Riot Act. Captain Hitchins gave the command to fire, and we fired. The mob were about 10 or 12 yards from us when we fired. Our backs were against the court house. We retired before the mob until we came against the court house. As we fired they rushed in on us with their sticks and cutlasses. We came on the charge and run a few of them through. Captain Hitchins gave the word to retire, and we went into Mr. Cooke's office downstairs. We loaded there and shot a few of them. We remained in the court house till it was set on fire. Previous to this I had heard of meetings being held at Church Corner, but don't know what was done at them.

(Signed) M. N. WOLFE.

Sworn before me this 4th day of January 1866, at the
parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. EWART, S.M.

JAMAICA.

MR. THORBURN to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Chapelton, P. O., January 5, 1866.

IN reply to his Excellency the Governor, in Executive Committee, circular No. 2294, I have to inform his Excellency that since the Christmas holidays the black population has not turned out regularly to plantation work; therefore I cannot form an opinion of their present disposition in reference to the late rebellion. *Their* feeling was very much against the conduct of the people in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I consider the spirit of that disturbance, had it not been put down so soon, would have been general.

No inflammatory speeches or writings is, to my knowledge, in this parish.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ADAM W. THORBURN,
Senior Magistrate for St. John's.

SIR, Kingston, January 5, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to state, in reply to your circular, dated 28th ultimo, No. 2294, that my opinion of the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East is that it was local; I formed that opinion when I first heard of it, I was then in St. Mary; I left for Kingston the morning after the report reached me, being the Monday after the outbreak; travelling from St. Mary through a part of Metcalf and St. Andrew's, on to here, I met many labourers turning out to work in their usual way; some of the estates I passed through were about; although the people knew what had occurred in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I had not observed anything in either their demeanour or language to cause any suspicion either before or after the outbreak.

On speaking to the people about what had occurred, I did not find any sympathizers with the Rebels, the answer invariably was, that "the negroes well deserved hanging and shooting, for what right had "they to murder buckra?"

The better class did not hesitate to express their indignation at the conduct of the Rebels.

I am of opinion that had there been a wide spread plot, advantage would have been taken in the more distant parishes to rise in rebellion, knowing, as I think they did, that all the available force was employed in suppressing the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

This is, of course, my opinion given from observations of my own, and I believe shared in by a good many living in the midst of the people: but I do not hesitate to say, that had not his Excellency the Governor used prompt and decisive measures, a wide spread rebellion might have broken out, for the people have given unmistakeable proof that when their passions have been aroused by unprincipled demagogues, they are capable of the most savage excesses, and that therefore the Colony should at once be placed in a sufficient defensive state to at once repel any sudden outbreak.

I am of opinion that too much cannot be said in favour of the prompt action taken by his Excellency the Governor, and I do not hesitate to say we owe him a debt of gratitude for saving us from a more extended massacre than has unfortunately taken place.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. J. LINDO,
Custos, St. Mary.

Wm. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee, Spanish Town.

SIR, Black River, January 8, 1866.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 2,311, stating that his Excellency the Governor, in Executive Committee, requested that I shall state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general.

1st. I am of opinion that the outbreak in Morant Bay was not local, but that a general outbreak was contemplated.

2nd. Unfortunately I am unable to give documentary evidence in support of my opinion, but it appears to be the general belief of the whites, browns, and some of the black inhabitants of this parish. In July and August last year, the population of this parish were in a very excited state, as it was currently reported that in August there was to be a general rebellion of the blacks, and all the whites, browns, and those blacks that assisted them, were to be destroyed. A large proportion of the black population were quite as alarmed as the whites, particularly the old black people.

3rd. There has been great disaffection in this parish for the last two years.

4th. It has been remarked by a great many persons that very few men attend church or other public places. It has been reported amongst the negroes that the Queen has sent out a large sum of money to be distributed amongst them, and that when they were freed, land was to have been given them; they believe that the white people have stolen the money; they also believe that they are to be made slaves again, that Her Majesty has been informed that they cannot take care of themselves; this has caused disaffection, seditious feelings, and evil intentions.

5th. I am unable to say whether the outbreak at Morant Bay was premature or not.

6th. I am of opinion that if the Government had not sent ships of war to the county of Cornwall in August last, that the rebellion would have commenced in this county in that month, and that the rebellion was then postponed for a later period, when the Island would not be so well defended.

7th. The spirit of disaffection and sedition which existed and still exists has been caused by the teachings of G. W. Gordon and others, and from the writings of several of the newspapers.

8th. There were two public meetings called in this parish by a black man named Gillins, and some other black men, to inquire into Dr. Underhill's letter. To procure a large attendance they caused to be circulated amongst the negroes that there was to be a large sum of money distributed at the meeting amongst them. The custos did not attend the first meeting. They then circulated a report that it was in consequence of the non-attendance of the custos that they did not receive the money. After the second meeting the people returned home with the belief that the white men had stolen the

money, and that they were all to be made slaves; this caused great disaffection. I have been informed by Arthur Levy, attorney-at-law, that Gillins addressed the people at the meeting in very seditious language.

9th. The report of the outbreak at Morant Bay, and the steps taken by the Executive to suppress it, reached this parish together. I remarked a great change in the negro population, they became civil, and they have been more orderly since.

10th. In 1860 and 1861 the revivals commenced in this parish, and unfortunately it was encouraged by several of the clergymen. Several of the clergymen, prior to the revival movement, had great influence over their congregations, but they have now lost nearly all control over them. The revivalists left off working, and were guilty of every description of profligacy, which, of course, had a very serious effect on the parish in 1862. The revivalists, at the end of 1862, had no means whatever to support them, and all the young girls had children; the consequence—they became thieves, stealing from those that had provision grounds. The negroes that cultivated their land, as they could not reap what they planted, ceased in a great measure to cultivate provisions, hence the scarcity that took place last year. The public agitators took advantage of this to create seditious feelings in the minds of the people, by informing them they were robbed by the white people and all the public men. Previous to this the people, generally, were quiet and orderly. I am sorry to say that, although they appear to be perfectly quiet, I believe they are still in a very disaffected state, particularly as the false reports in the English newspapers are widely circulated amongst them. The negroes are generally disposed to be peaceable, and, if left to themselves, would be quiet and orderly. They are very easily led, and, if excited, are capable of believing anything, no matter how ridiculous, and guilty of any barbarity.

I have to request you to inform his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, that it is very difficult to get information where the negroes are concerned, as they will never tell one on another, as nearly all of them believe in "Obiaism."

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee.

(Signed) Thos. M. Heath,
Inspector of St. Elizabeth Police.

Mr. R. W. Kirkland to his Excellency Governor Eyre.

Your Excellency, Kingston, January 3, 1866.

Considering it the duty of every loyal subject in the present emergency to come forward and assist your Excellency with any statement they may possess to rebut the slanderous attacks made against your Excellency by a certain section of the press, I have much pleasure in forwarding to your Excellency a statement made by me in Bath of some facts connected with the late rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was an eye-witness of everything that took place in Bath, not having left it. I was employed by my uncle, Mr. W. P. Kirkland, to do the duty of collector of dues, and had been so employed until recently, having had to give up my situation to Mr. Kirkland's son, who suffered much by the Rebels breaking open his stores and plundering them, and was consequently compelled to seek employment with his father.

I should have called on your Excellency, but have been laid up with sickness brought on by exposure to the weather at the time.

By the rebellion I have been thrown out of bread, and have therefore lost the means of supporting a blind mother, wife, and sisters. I shall do myself the honour of calling on your Excellency as soon as I am able.

I have, &c.

To his Excellency the Governor,
E. J. Eyre, Esq.

(Signed) R. W. Kirkland.

Statement.

The day after the massacre at Morant Bay, a portion of the Rebels came into Bath declaring that they would cut the throat of every white and coloured man they found; they went into the yard of the house in which Mr. Hitchins had resided, searching for guns and powder (the latter of which there were several kegs), it had been securely hidden by the Bandmaster Bruce under the floor of his room; after an unsuccessful search they proceeded to Mr. W. P. Kirkland's, the collector of dues, declaring their intention to cut off his head; he together with myself and wife had however made good our escape into the bush; after a diligent search, and not finding him or any guns or ammunition, they declared they would burn down the house, "They did not care if it even belonged to the Queen;" they then asked the servants for the public money, where it was kept (this had been lodged in Colonial Bank two months previously); after searching the house thoroughly and not finding anything they required, they left and went to the petty debt collector's office (Lieut. Hall's), the doors of which they forced open and destroyed the petty debt processes, then to the lock-up, in which were two prisoners, these they liberated (from my place of concealment I had a full view of all their proceedings); after this they began breaking open the stores and carrying away the goods. Such was the fury of the Rebels that the inhabitants became regardless of property and only sought their personal safety. While engaged in pillaging the stores one of the Rebels called out to burn down the court house, as they had done at Morant Bay, and then there would be no more law. Others said, "No, don't burn it, it's too close the church, and if we burn "that down, God won't bless us, but let us pull it down." I heard them distinctly say that every white man's throat must be cut, but the estates and women saved (they were then robbing Andrew Mark's shop); they did not however molest the court house, saying that on Friday they would come back with a larger force and pull it down, and had it not been for your Excellency's promptness in sending the troops to the assistance of the inhabitants, Bath would now have been in ruins. In the afternoon of the same day another gang of Rebels passed through Bath on their way to the River estates, these were the people who were engaged at Morant Bay on Wednesday the 11th October, and who murdered Mr. Hire.

I have omitted to state that on the 30th September previously, Mr. G. W. Gordon's overseer at the Rhine, Mr. Henry Lawrence, came to get tax receipts from me for 14 persons for taxes over 30*s.* to

JAMAICA.

bring them within the terms of the election law; he divided Mr. Gordon's cattle, &c. among them *I cautioned him at the time* to be careful of what he was doing, and brought to his recollection the fate of Mr. McLean, C.V., at an election in St. David's (at the time I did not contemplate anything serious). The books in the collector of dues office will show this, they were kept by me; Paul and Moses Bogle were among the number then licensed; these taxes were paid by a cheque on Colonial Bank drawn by Mr. Gordon. Mr. Lawrence took the affidavits attached to the receipts and got licences from the C. P.

(Signed) R. W. KIRKLAND.

SIR, Morant Bay, January 12, 1866.

THIS is to inform your Excellency that for the last eight years I served as beadle at the parish church, Morant Bay, under the management of the Rev. S. H. Cooke.

During that period, residing in the said parish I could never have found a more quiet and peaceable town during your Excellency's government in this Island until the time that George W. Gordon came among them.

Things then commenced to go wrong with the blacks of the parish, the labouring population; their non-attendance to the church and chapels first proved what their intentions were. Oft times I listened to the advice of the Rector to them; notwithstanding the warnings and rebukes of that reverend gentleman, yet their heart was to do evil, and that wholly, set upon it by the advice of their ringleader Gordon, who gained all his attempts in stirring up the labouring classes of this parish to murder all the whites found therein. Your Excellency will know that I am a black man myself, descended from the negro race; but I have never seen more atrocious acts committed until I had witnessed this scene. I have every reason to believe that your Excellency did nothing more than right in administering punishment to wickedness and vice and to the maintenance of true religion and virtue.

Had your Excellency not come to our assistance so quick I have every reason to believe that not one of us would have been alive this day. Although a black man, I had to run for refuge without the least delay, for it was the intention of the wicked Rebels to destroy all who served the white as well as the white themselves. Sorry am I now to be informed that after all your Excellency's endeavours to suppress the murderers and barbarous insurrection, that your Excellency now suffer blame instead of being praised for the able manner in which your Excellency acted to rescue our lives from the hand of wicked and bloodthirsty men.

I am now 67 years of age and have never witnessed the horrible condition in which respectable persons were treated and made a havock of until now.

Truly sorry am I to hear the manner in which your Excellency has been treated and blamed by some of the noblemen in England, and the way in which they write so disgracefully against your Excellency in some of the English papers, the extracts of which I have seen.

The question may be fairly asked, If these Rebels did not come with wicked intentions, why did they arm themselves with guns, lances, and spears? Why did they break the police station and took all the arms away. No one even troubled them, even when they were doing so, but call for peace. Why did they set the court house on fire and many other wicked deeds? Surely those gentlemen should first inquire into the matter properly before throwing blame upon your Excellency as heavily, after subduing the rebellion so nobly.

I trust that your Excellency will overcome your enemies and gain the rights you so nobly deserve.

Should I be called upon to state the dreadful grievances lately occurred I shall be most happy to do so.

I have, &c.

his
(Signed) JOHN × LEWIS.
mark.

Witness,
(Signed) H. H. WILLIAMS.

His Excellency, E. J. Eyre, Esq.,
Spanish Town.

P.S.—All blames must be thrown upon Gordon, for I have heard many calling upon him and Bogle, thanking them for bringing them to such a horrible end.

(Signed) J. L.

By my sincere wishes I send this address to his Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq.

his
(Signed) JOHN × LEWIS.
mark.

LETTER from the REV. STEPHEN COOKE, Rector of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

MY DEAR MR. WILLIAMS, Kingston Parsonage, Wednesday, December 27, 1865.

THE Bishop informed me a day or two back that his secretary, Mr. Brooks, had several letters from Gordon to Paul Bogle, which were given to him by Brig.-General Nelson relative to the rebellion. It may perhaps not be out of the way to say that I was informed by Mr. Harty, of the London Missionary Society, that, in a conversation with a man of the name of Bowie, then under sentence of death, as I understood Mr. Harty to say, a native Baptist preacher, that Mr. Gordon had put them all wrong. On asking him what he meant by that, he said, Mr. Gordon had sent up to tell Paul Bogle Wednesday was vestry day; that the Baron would be there and the other gentlemen, and they must all get up on that day and come down; that the country was theirs, and they must make it another (here he paused, not recollecting the name). Mr. Harty asked him if it was St. Domingo; he said, "No." He said, "Is it Hayti?" He said, "Yes, Sir, that's the word;" thus showing Gordon's knowledge of what was intended to take place. For myself, I may state I was present when the policeman was brought to the custos on the 10th of October by the inspector, as having been sent to

arrest Paul Bogle under a warrant placed in his hands for that purpose on a charge for having on the previous Saturday rescued a prisoner, when the said Paul Bogle blew a whistle, which was then responded to by the blowing of a horn, and this answered by another, when the policeman, with two others, were immediately surrounded by about 300 negro men armed with sticks, who took them into custody, put them in irons, and confined them in Paul Bogle's chapel, where they were kept for upwards of two hours, and not released until they had taken an oath administered to them by Paul Bogle himself that they would join the blacks against the whites, which being taken, they were released. All this took place at Stony Gut and close to Bogle's house. On the 11th of October the vestry met at the usual hour, about 11 o'clock a.m. Everything went on quiet enough till about 4 o'clock, when information was received that there were fully 300 of these people concealed in the Baptist chapel on the road leading to the Blue mountain valley. Soon after we heard they had, on learning the volunteers had come down from Bath, left, it was supposed, for reinforcements, which proved to be the fact. In about half an hour afterwards, having already told what I had heard to the custos, I urged him to close the proceedings, but he made light of it. In about 10 minutes after this I heard the sound of a drum and fife, when I said, Baron, they are coming; and on rising from my seat and looking out on the square, I saw the head of the column, consisting of at least 500 or 600 persons, men and women, armed with guns, sticks, cutlasses, and stones,—the latter brought from Stony Gut, known to be so, as there are not any stones of the kind to be found either in the town or neighbourhood of Morant Bay, and it being a fact that the majority of these persons came from Stony Gut. When the custos called upon the inspector to get the police armed, he stated the Rebels had got into the station and possessed themselves of the arms. I believe a man named Good can give fuller details of the disarming of the station previously to their coming to the court-house. It must be borne in mind that this army of Rebels was not composed only of persons residing at Stony Gut; numbers came from John's Town, Dumfries, Bon Hill, Nutts River Station, Wood Hall, Thornton, Spring Garden, and other places—York settlements. This proves combination: parties of from 100 to 200 from John's Town and Dumfries marched in a body nightly months before to Stony Gut. I was standing on the steps of the court-house close to the custos, who called upon the people to know what they wanted. This was answered by a volley of stones and broken bottles, and it was only then that the custos, having commanded them to keep the peace, commenced reading the Riot Act. At this moment one of my sons, Alexander, drew me by force into the court-house lest I should be killed. Some of the volunteers being wounded, the order to fire was given; but before this there was a man of the name of McIntosh in the court-house, standing near the custos, who called upon him to go to the people and ask them what they wanted, and it was not till the custos ordered him to go that he left, but he did not go to the people as a peacemaker; he in fact joined them, and was subsequently proved to be one of the head ringleaders with whom Gordon had kept up a constant correspondence for months past; he was afterwards tried as a Rebel and executed. The volunteers having fired a volley, the mob made a rush at them, and they having no time to reload, took shelter in some of the rooms under the court-house. Then the building was regularly besieged; volley after volley of stones soon destroyed all the windows. This continued some time, when the Rebels left the square to obtain more stones and ammunition; the former, I believe, they obtained from the district prison, from which they liberated about 51 prisoners; the latter from the store of Mr. Lundy under fear of death. It was during this lull the volunteers that had taken shelter under the court-house came up stairs that I left it to go to the rectory. When I had gone about half way down the hill on the Wharf road I was attacked by six or eight men and some women. It was here my younger son Arthur, who had followed me, was brutally murdered within a few yards of where I was standing. I defended myself with a stout stick I had in my hand for some time; but I must have been murdered had not a man rushed up at the moment, and throwing his arms over my head, my hat having been knocked off, declaring they should not strike me. He then carried me forward with his body covering mine, and fairly lifted me into my carriage, which my faithful groom had brought down in waiting for me, should I try to escape by that road. I may observe this same servant had a short time before been the means of saving the young Baron Alfred von Ketelhodt, by calling him just as he was about throwing himself over a precipice into the sea, to jump into my carriage and driving him to the rectory, and then returning in the hope of saving myself. The court-house was not fired for I should think for more than two hours after; but of this I cannot speak with accuracy, or be expected to do so, in the state of mind I was then in.

I may observe that the day before we had a meeting of the building committee, and it is a remarkable fact that from these meetings and those of the vestry Mr. Gordon never before was known to absent himself until on this occasion, nor can I remember any vestry meeting ever since Bogle's son-in-law, George Clark, was ever absent until that day. (*sic.*)

Mr. Vickers to Mr. Myers.

Sir, Bellisle, Grange Hill, P.O., January 5, 1866.

I have the honour to state in writing, for his Excellency's information, the substance of the conversation I had with him on 20th November last with reference to Mr. G. W. Gordon's visit to the Lamb's River district in this parish, in the early part of last year. This district is in the vicinity of Seaford Town, on the confines of Westmoreland and Saint James. The inhabitants are for the most part settlers and small freeholders, and produce the largest crops of ginger grown in any district of the Colony.

Shortly after the execution of Mr. G. W. Gordon a deputation of the inhabitants of that district waited on Mr. W. H. Cooke, the only magistrate residing in the neighbourhood, and stated that when the ginger crop was ripe, in the early part of last year, Mr. G. W. Gordon visited them, and informed them that they had been robbed by the merchants in Montego Bay, Savanna-la-Mar, and elsewhere, who had hitherto purchased their ginger; and that if they would trust their crops to his disposal they would then realize their full value. Many of the people delivered their ginger to Mr. Gordon, and that he was considerably indebted to them on account of it. I subsequently learnt from Mr. Cooke that a man

JAMAICA. named Ramsay represented his claim on Gordon to be upwards of 50*l*. I enclose an extract of a letter from Mr. Cooke on this subject.

In this parish considerable excitement and disaffection was openly manifested in the Bluefields district, which I have already reported in writing, and would refer you to my letters to the Governor's Secretary on the subject, copies of which I enclose; also an extract of a letter from Mr. Daniel Sinclair, the senior magistrate residing in the Bluefields district, and a copy of a letter from Mr. Wellesly Bourke, who, with Mr. James S. Trench, were detained for the defence of the prisoners in the case of the Queen against Tate and others.

Considerable alarm existed in the town of Savanna-la-Mar in consequence of threats that in the event of the acquittal of the prisoners the court-house and town would be destroyed by fire. Mr. Trench received a letter threatening his life if he defended the prisoners. The lawyers and many others attended the Court armed with revolvers.

I feel confident that the precautions taken by swearing in a large number of special constables, and the presence of a naval, military, and volunteer force in reserve, prevented a repetition of the scene enacted at Morant Bay court-house.

Considerable disaffection was also openly manifested in the neighbourhood of Lamb's River. I enclose a copy of a letter from Mr. W. H. Cooke concerning this district. I enclose a copy of my letter to the Governor's Secretary reporting this matter.

A Mr. Fisher, a gentleman residing in the Darliston district of this parish, informed me some short time since that considerable disaffection prevailed in that district, extending to the lines of St. Elizabeth's, and that a large number of old muskets and other fire-arms had been recently repaired by them.

The labourers on the sugar estates have remained steady at their work, and are cheerful and loyal, as a general rule. Disaffection has only been reported in the districts where the greatest loyalty might be expected, where the inhabitants are small settlers who have acquired their own freeholds.

I am happy to say that the holidays have passed off without any disturbance, which circumstance may be ascribed to the precautions taken for preserving the tranquillity and security of the parish.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Benjamin Vickers,
Custos of Westmoreland.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. W. H. Cooke, a Justice of the Peace for the Parish of Westmoreland, dated Hermitage Ramble, P.O., November 14, 1865.

There are several people in the Lamb's River district that have had dealings with G. W. Gordon, he undertaking to dispose of their ginger. One man, Ramsay, says Gordon owes him upwards of 50*l*.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Wellesly Bourke, Attorney-at-Law, Member of Assembly for the Parish of St. James, to Mr. Vickers, Custos of Westmorland.

My dear Sir, Montego Bay, October 23, 1865.

In these troublous times it is only by unity of action that we can hope to stem the tide that has set in. Say if you approve of the views propounded in the enclosed copy of my letter to the Government per express post, and if so act upon them. Don't shirk the trial.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) W. Bourke.

Memorandum.—The letter herein referred to is one from Mr. Bourke to Mr. W. R. Myers, Secretary, Executive Committee, dated Falmouth, October 23, 1865.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. W. H. Cooke, as Justice of the Peace for the Parish of Westmorland, dated Savanna-la-Mar, October 30, 1865.

Sir,

I have just received an express messenger from the interior, corroborating the statement I made to you this morning, that meetings have been held in the Kew Park district at night or before day in the morning. The Rev. Mr. Anderson came to my house this morning, stating that there was evidently something going on, for that there has been a great deal of shell and horn blowing at night all around him, and if I had been at home he would have told me of a great many significant speeches made in reference to the affair that now agitates the country. I have sworn in upwards of 60 special constables, most of them Germans from Seaford Town, and it is in this immediate neighbourhood that Mr. Anderson resides. I am the colonel of the Western Interior district; a number of the men sworn in as special constables have served under me, and I can depend on them. I want at least 40 stand of arms if I am to take any action in the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. Cooke, J.P.,
and Colonel of Western Interior Regiment Foot Militia.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Daniel Sinclair, a Justice of the Peace for the Parish of Westmoreland, resident in the Bluefields District, to Mr. Vickers, Custos of Westmoreland, dated New Shafston, October 30, 1865.

"I beg to state for your information and consideration whether it would not be prudent in the case of Mr. Tate's acquittal to send protection over to Bluefields for Mr. Tate's and Mr. Bourk's houses, as

I am told the people in the district are determined to burn down these houses if he is acquitted. A boat might be ready to take over a few troops immediately after the trial. If condemned, there would be no occasion to send them.

"To show the feeling that still exists, I have only to mention the fact that, at the Petty Sessions held at Bluefields on Friday last there was only one man from Belmont, and that one Mr. Tate's headman, came to be sworn as a special constable, and from Mount Airey and Mount Alpine one only; there were others present but refused to be sworn. The Mount Alpine people acknowledged that they were in the habit of mustering at Mount Edgecumbe common, in the evenings since the month of June last, with bamboo and wooden guns, and swords, but that they were only doing so for their own amusement. Mr. Tate tells me that he can produce proof that the Belmont people were mustering also."

MR. VICKERS to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Belleisle, Grange Hill, P.O., October 17, 1865.

IN consequence of the rebellion which has broken out in the east end of the Island, I deem it my duty to bring to the notice of the Governor the almost helpless condition in which this parish is placed; the police may be said to be without arms, as those in their possession have been condemned for several years back as utterly worthless. I have an offer of the services of some 50 or 60 extra volunteers, but there is not a single stand of arms at the disposal of myself or the officer commanding the volunteers; in fact, several of the volunteers now enrolled are without arms, there being only 37 stand of arms in the possession of the corps. I would suggest the propriety and expediency of sending down immediately 100 stand of the best description of arms available, with a moderate supply of ammunition, as a precautionary measure. I am informed that there are a considerable number of old pattern sea-service rifles in the Naval Arsenal at Port Royal.

Although general tranquillity apparently prevails in this parish, considerable excitement exists in the Bluefields district, owing to there being a case of felonious shooting against several persons in that district for trial at the coming assizes. Messrs. Joseph Adolphus and William H. Farquharson, justices of the peace, and Mr. William John Ewen, clerk of the vestry and collector of dues, waited upon me here to-day and informed me that it was probable that large numbers of people would be brought into Savanna-la-Mar, and that great excitement would exist at the opening of the Circuit Court on Monday the 30th instant. I am of a similar opinion. Should this extreme excitement result in a riot, which is not improbable in the present helpless state of the authorities, I would respectfully suggest to his Excellency the advisability of directing a gunboat to proceed to Savanna-la-Mar, to arrive in that port on the morning of the 30th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BENJ. VICKERS,
Custos of Westmoreland.

The Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

MR. VICKERS to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Belleisle, Grange Hill, P.O., October 19, 1865.

I CONSIDERED it of sufficient importance to send my communication of the 17th instant express by the police, in order that his Excellency might be as early as possible apprized of the utter helpless condition in which I find this parish, with only 37 stand of arms available for its defence. I enclose duplicate of that letter, in case of the original not having reached you. With reference to the excitement prevailing in the Bluefields district of this parish, alluded to in my last letter, I have now to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that certain vague rumours have been long in circulation as to nightly meetings being held in that district, and of the intention of the parties to burn the court-house at the sitting of the Circuit Court, should justice not be administered according to their preconceived notions.

Mr. Tate, one of the parties to be indicted for feloniously shooting, has been informed in an anonymous letter that at one of these nightly meetings it was decided he should be murdered in the court-house if acquitted. These vague rumours have had the effect of greatly alarming the inhabitants of the town. I enclose for his Excellency's information a letter I have just received from Dr. Joseph Adolphus, a justice of the peace, officially informing me of the common rumour, that one Cameron was drilling men every night in that district.

With such a spirit prevailing in the Bluefields district, I am most anxious for the arrival of the 100 stand of arms and ammunition I have applied for, to put into the hands of the police and the additional volunteers. It is most probable the judge of circuit will under the present excitement of the people see fit to remove the trial into another parish; but even so, if assembled with a predisposition for riot, would that prevent the menaced issue under the circumstances, considering the alarm of the inhabitants of the town, and the spirit of disaffection abroad? I would most respectfully urge upon his Excellency the Governor the propriety and expediency of allowing a vessel of war to drop down to Savanna-la-Mar at or before the opening of the court on Monday the 30th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BENJ. VICKERS,
Custos of Westmoreland.

Memorandum.—Dr. Adolphus' letter was forwarded in original and no copy kept.

The Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

MR. VICKERS to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Belleisle Grange Hill, P.O., October 23, 1865.

SINCE last writing you, H.M.S. "Steady" arrived in Savanna-la-Mar on 20th instant. After consulting with Captain Bullock of that vessel, and with such magistrates as could be hastily collected at Savanna-la-Mar on that day, it was determined, in consequence of the serious rumours from the Bluefields district, and the state of alarm in which the town of Savanna-la-Mar was placed, to detain the "Steady," and assemble the volunteers. I deemed it the wisest course to bring the matter to a crisis before the alleged rioters obtained strength.

I ordered the volunteers by requisition to assemble at Sayanna-la-Mar on 21st instant; this was promptly done, the men were under arms at 10 o'clock a.m. on that day.

I held a magisterial investigation, at which all persons supposed capable of giving evidence were summoned to attend. The utmost statement that could be obtained, even from the most excited of the witnesses, was that 10 or 12 persons had been drilled with wooden guns. It was decided to issue a notice cautioning all parties to abstain from drilling, and offering a reward of 100 dollars for such information as should lead to the conviction of any party or parties illegally engaged in drilling from and after that date. I think the demonstration made by the volunteers, backed by the presence of a vessel of war, has done much good. I dismissed the corps on the evening of Saturday, and the "Steady" proceeded on Sunday morning to Lucea. As regards the necessity for precautionary measures being adopted to guard against any serious riot at the Circuit Court, I am still of the opinion conveyed in my letter to you of 19th instant.

I have, &c.

The Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

(Signed) BENJ. VICKERS,
Custos of Westmoreland.

MR. VICKERS to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Savanna-la-Mar, October 30, 1865.

I HAVE to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that all is perfectly tranquil in the town, and that there are not so many persons in the court-house as is usual during the sitting of the Circuit Court. I had, however, been previously apprized that the people of the Bluefields district would not be in the town until to-morrow, as they knew the trial "Regina *v.* "Tate, et al." could not come on to-day.

I have the volunteers assembled at the Lee Wharf on the beach, and the troops that arrived by the "Fawn" are placed at the head of the town, *but no force is displayed*, a part of the police and a few rural constables being alone in attendance at or near the court-house; the remainder of the police are in charge of the arms at the station.

I had previously arranged with Captain Talbot that it would be useless to land any of his men unless a necessity should arise, which would instantly be done, as well as from the "Lily," Captain Heneage, still in our port. I have just left the court-house in order to send forward this communication.

I have, &c.

The Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

(Signed) BENJ. VICKERS,
Custos of Westmoreland.

MR. VICKERS to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Savanna-la-Mar, November 2, 1865.

IN addition to the disaffection already reported to prevail in the Bluefields district of this parish, I have now to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that a similar feeling of disloyalty seems prevalent in the remote interior, that is, in the district of Seaford Town, distant some 25 miles from this town. I enclose copy of a letter received from W. H. Cooke, Esq., on the subject, also a list of special constables who came forward to be sworn in at their own request on the 26th ult., in consequence of the significant nightly meetings of the negroes of that district.

His Excellency will learn from the Executive Committee the particulars of Seaford Town, a settlement of Germans on the lands given by the late Lord Seaford after the rebellion of 1832.

I had no hesitation in complying with the request made by Colonel Cooke for arms to place in the hands of the Germans and others named in the accompanying list, and yesterday morning I requested Captain Farquharson to send forward 40 stand of arms with ammunition, &c., under a proper escort of volunteers; they were delivered at Macfield to Colonel Cooke, who with the gentlemen of the interior and a body of the Germans were there to receive them. I also sent by the escort several of the amnesty proclamations to be placarded in that remote district. I may also here remark that almost every negro in the Seaford Town district have their own small freeholds. In the plain of the parish the utmost tranquillity seems to prevail, and all work being performed on the estates as usual. I have left the court in order to write this letter. The case for the prosecution in Regina *v.* Tate et al. was closed yesterday, and the defence opened this morning, and from the great array of lawyers engaged I doubt if the trial will be closed to-day. I enclose copy of a letter received from D. Sinclair, one of the senior magistrates residing in the district of Bluefields, relative to the excitement of the people.

I have, &c.

The Hon. Edward Jordon, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary, Spanish Town.

(Signed) BENJ. VICKERS,
Custos of Westmoreland.

The Rev. T. T. Orgill, B.A., to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir, Port Antonio, January 5, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., requesting me to state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of the disturbance was local or general.

My observation has led to the conviction that for some time before the rebellion there was bad leaven at work, which manifested itself in the unusually bold and defiant conduct of a large part of the population.

This has been strikingly the case in my own district as regards the Baptist sect (which has recently erected a thatched hovel where frequent nightly meetings assembled) and other persons, whom neither warnings or persuasions can induce to give up their immoral course of life, and to adopt a better.

As a general symptom, at a distance from my district, I cannot omit to mention a letter to Mr. Herschell a year ago, in which he was advised with many threats "to pack up his traps and be gone, "for there was something looming in the distance which he could not escape, and if he were to hear "what it was it would make his blood run cold."

Taking this threatening letter in connexion with the untiring hostility of Mr. Gordon to Mr. Herschell, and the incendiary address of Mr. Gordon to the people of St. Ann's and St. Thomas-in-the-East, which was soon followed by a violent placard at Bath, pointing out the Baron, the Rector, and Mr. Herschell as particularly the enemies of the people's rights in that parish, impressed me with some painful forebodings for the result. My fears have been too signally realized. I have been informed that the above-mentioned meeting house had been used for a seditious purpose.

Upon having the proclamation of his Excellency the Governor with the Queen's advice posted up, the Baptist local teacher that presided at the meeting stated to the people that the Governor was only deceiving them, that the Queen had given no such advice, and that the people should pull down proclamation.

This was accordingly done. This man had been long an active demagogue and disturber of the district, and, from evidence showing clearly his sympathy and approval of the horrible massacre of the 11th October, has met his desert in penal servitude. There is no doubt of his complicity in the intended outbreak.

The next point to which I refer is the rapidity with which the insurrection travelled (about 40 miles in two days), and the readiness with which the insurgents were joined in their progress, and the easy conversion of multitudes, hitherto peaceable, into insatiable robbers, and even murderers, where their victims could be overtaken.

The Rebel watchword, "Colour for colour," was readily recognized and adopted. Also, while families were escaping for their lives, they were taunted with running away from the blacks, but they would not escape the end that awaited them.

Further, not only were those whom they considered their enemies doomed to suffer, but even those who had shown them kindness were not to be spared. Clergymen and Wesleyan ministers were to fall in the general massacre.

All these considerations led me to the conclusion the foul plot had been long preconcerted, and that its ramifications were extensive, and that the spirit of disturbance was general. I regret to say that since the arrival of the packet this spirit has not abated. Newspapers condemnatory of the Governor and authorities have been read with avidity, and wicked agitators have not been backward in putting their own construction on what has been written, filling the heads of the negroes with stories incredible in themselves, but calculated to bring authority into contempt, and to incite a credulous and excitable people to acts of rebellion.

From what has been stated I do not mean to assert that there were not many who were kept in the dark in order to secure secrecy in carrying out the plot, and therefore knew nothing of it; but that a widely spread agency existed of persons selected for the purpose in each parish and entrusted with the bloody designs and purposes of leaders in the conspiracy cannot be doubted.

The negroes of my district in general attend the services of the church remarkably well, but not so the communion. As the older people die, the younger, although confirmed, do not, as they ought, seek admittance to the communion. This does not arise from want of instruction or persuasion to do so.

Marriages do not now frequently take place, as the population is not very numerous, but it is right to state that most of the people are already married and live in a correct and orderly manner.

It is, however, unfortunately the fact that when marriages do take place, the woman is generally in a state to give birth to a child not very long after the ceremony.

Baptism is regularly sought by those connected with the Established Church.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. T. Orgill, B.A.,
Incumbent of St. Mark's, Portland.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Executive Committee Office,
Spanish Town.

MAICA.

The Hon. L. F. Mackinnon, Custos of Vere, to the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

Sir, Old Harbour, January 6, 1866.

I have to acknowledge your despatch of the 28th December, requesting me to state my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black people generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance to have been local or general.

I can speak only of my own district, Vere. As regards sedition, I look upon it as the powder magazine of the south side, ready to explode at any time, and I believe that nothing but the news of the example which was made in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and which I was thankful to be able to send down to Vere from day to day, kept it quiet till I succeeded in getting a body of soldiers down. This was not my opinion alone; the whole of the white people there united in a requisition to me to get down troops, and sent it to me by the rector and curate of the parish, who at that time did not consider their lives safe for a day, and an old black friend to whom I wrote frequently in order that he might warn his friends and neighbours of the dreadful consequences that might follow any disturbance, wrote me back to advise me to take precautions, that he by no means felt confident of the good conduct of the people.

From the time that the news of the rebellion came down till the soldiers arrived, the civil law may be said to have been in complete abeyance in Vere.

I consulted with other magistrates and the clerk of the peace by letter, and we decided to hold no petty courts, to issue no summonses, to have no meeting of magistrates, to take no step whatever that could bring a crowd together, as if that had happened, and the seditious got a chance of making a disturbance, we felt that the scene at Morant Bay might very likely be acted over again.

That this was also the opinion of Dr. Bruce, our mob leader, may be gathered by his having said that if I came down to Vere my life would not be worth a pin, no one so likely to be made a mark of as a chief magistrate who feels it his duty to stand up for law and order, and no one so likely as he to know.

Your despatch further asks me to communicate such facts as I may be able to furnish in support of my opinion, including among such facts cases of inflammatory speeches and writings.

We have no press in Vere, and it cannot be expected that their views should be known from the confessions of a people who are remarkably cunning and reticent, and who have been under no pressure; but if a number of circumstances can be shown all pointing the same way, the inference is as irresistible as if it were arrived at on the open confession of the disaffected themselves.

Vere has been long a field of sedition; it first began 20 years ago, when the speaker of the late House of Assembly, Mr. Charles Hamilton Jackson, carried his election there with the aid of Dr. Bruce by appeals to colour, and by bringing a crowd of non-electors to the polling place with bludgeons, which were freely used, the inspector of police being all but murdered.

Several of the leaders were convicted, and sent to the penitentiary, but from that day to this Dr. Bruce has been a leader of the mob, and preached sedition on every opportunity; and so has worked himself into the confidence of the blacks in Vere; and a more thoroughly unprincipled bad adviser they could not possibly have.

In the beginning of September last he got up an Underhill meeting, over which he invited Mr. Gordon to preside; it was attended by all the lowest of the blacks, and there Gordon dwelt upon the grievances of the people, and advised them to do as had been done in Hayti. His remarks were well received by the people, and I have no doubt from what fell from Dr. Bruce afterwards that on that occasion Gordon let him into his views as to the extermination of the whites at no distant time, if he was not privy to them before.

It is well known that Dr. Bruce had a considerable number of the negroes regimented, and that private drilling went on, for what purpose but for the future slaughter of the whites? And after Gordon went away from Vere, Bruce let fall expressions as to the early destruction of the white and coloured people that I have no doubt will convict him on his approaching trial of complicity in Gordon's crimes.

For some time past the churches and chapels have been greatly deserted by the people. Why? if it be not that they contemplated things which they know are opposed to the word of God. And the clergy of all sects say that they have no longer any influence over them.

In riding or driving through the parish the people no longer meet you with bows or smiles, but either with savage looks or averted faces, from no personal cause, for every one remarks it.

His Excellency sent down 20 volunteers to arrest a black man named Phillips. He was one of Bruce's chiefs and a principal speaker at the public meeting.

It is only lately that we have known that a large body of men armed themselves with bludgeons, &c., and went towards the Alley to rescue him; these men well knew that the volunteers came from the seat of Government, since there were none anywhere else at that time on this side of the country. They were dissuaded by a schoolmaster whose cottage they passed, and who told them that the volunteers were all well armed and that soldiers had come to the Alley, and that if they went, few of them were likely to come back alive.

The headman at Pusey Hall openly avowed his desire to seize the arms of the police, and begin the row in Vere. He said so to men who were loyal; they informed on him, and he was arrested and sent to Morant Bay.

From all these facts it is impossible to deny that Vere has been and is in the most dangerous state, and if it were not for the dread of the consequences, none of our lives would be worth a day's

purchase, and I consider it now very doubtful if the remarks of the anti-slavery and radical press, and the going away of the Governor, may not yet lead to further disturbance.

I think it proper to annex some remarks on this subject, written to me by the Clerk of the Peace, Mr. Shaw, a man of much good sense and of long experience.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq. LOUIS MACKINNON,
Custos of Vere.

EXTRACT from MR. SHAW'S LETTER.

"The people are too cunning to commit any overt acts, but there is no doubt that for some time back many of the better sort of them were brooding over something or other. The church and chapels of all denominations have been almost deserted by the lower classes, and are still so. The people who attended the Gordon meeting at the Alley, when Gordon made the allusion to Hayti, received Gordon and all the speeches with evident satisfaction, and I am told they came away impressed with the idea that they were a suffering and oppressed people, and that Gordon was right in all he said. When the news of the rebellion first came down here, Benjamin Morris (the man who was flogged) was the only one who I knew expressed himself openly in favour of the rebellion, but I believe he expressed the opinions of many better than himself. With the exception of Sheldon, and one or two like him, none of the people came forward to express their detestation of the crimes which had been committed, or to offer assistance should it be required; they kept aloof from us, and those whom I met on the road, and I was as much about as any man at that time, invariably looked gloomy and sulky, and turned their faces away. As soon, however, as it was certain the troops had the upper hand, that we had troops at the Alley, and gunboats running round the Island, and ammunition in the parish, then we had plenty of applications to be sworn in as constables or volunteers; every one was most polite and civil, making eager profession of faith in the buckra and devotion to the Queen.

"I believe, as firmly as I believe in anything, that had the Rebels been in any degree successful in making a progress to the westward, as they did manage to do to the northward, the people here would have risen and carried murder and rapine into every district in Vere.

"I say this from my knowledge of the people, and their peculiar behaviour at the first outbreak of the rebellion, and afterwards.

"I believe that at this moment the negroes are again becoming excited, owing to the views expressed by so large a portion of the English press; they believe the Governor is sent home for punishment, and will probably be hanged for what he did in suppressing the rebellion. They will hardly attempt an outbreak, prepared as we are in most districts for them, but if the feeling in their favour continues to be strongly expressed, the utmost vigilance must be exerted to keep them quiet, and more troops will be necessary."

P.S.—There is no date to Mr. Shaw's letter, but it must have been written on the 4th or 5th of January.

The REV. C. R. CHANDLER to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, Gayle P. Office, January 8, 1866.

IN reply to your communication of the 28th December 1865, which reached me on 6th instant, I have to express my firm conviction that the spirit of sedition which broke out into open rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East in October last was not confined to that parish alone, but was more or less general throughout the whole Island. I believe that there are many in my own neighbourhood who would join a rebel mob to morrow, should such come into it; and persons from other quarters with whom I have conversed say the same; and it is this belief that causes every right-thinking man in the community to thank his Excellency the Governor for having so promptly and vigorously crushed out and prevented the late rebellion from spreading over the entire country.

It is a remarkable fact that, except from one or two *old* men, I have not heard a word spoken by the lower classes in condemnation of the Morant Bay atrocities, nor a word of sympathy expressed for the sufferers.

I myself have not heard from the mouths of any of the people in my neighbourhood any words of a rebellious or disloyal character, but I have heard that such language has been used, and sympathy expressed for the St. Thomas-in-the-East Rebels. I have also heard that a certain black native Baptist preacher, a little before the rebellion broke out, told the people in the "Bonnett" district, three miles from this, that they were to bring him 8*s.* each, and then he would set down their names, and that all those so set down would be entitled in a little time to go upon any man's property and take whatever portion of it they liked. And I have also had it from a most reliable source that a notion of this kind was afloat in one district at least of the parish of St. Ann.

The attendance by the negroes at my church, and at Holy Communion, has of late much fallen off.

In truth, there has been a gradual falling away ever since the time of that horrid revival, which I have ever regarded as downright rebellion against God, and incipient rebellion against all human law, order, and decency.

The rite of baptism is, I think, pretty generally sought by the people for their children, but that of marriage shamefully neglected. I can safely say (and I say it with deep sorrow of heart, for I

have ever taken a lively interest in the welfare of the black people) that for the last 12 years I have not married a single black couple of whom I could say "those are two well-behaved decent persons."

In spite of all advice, preaching, knowledge of the Bible, &c., they *will* live in fornication, some for a longer some for a shorter period, before they get married.

Well, they get married, they join the church, *i.e.*, become communicants, and continue so for years, but should it please God to take away the husband from the wife, or the wife from the husband, the survivor in a month or two tosses church-membership to the winds, and falls back into the former degrading life of fornication. These are facts not to be denied, and this state of things obtains in every congregation in the Island, whether Wesleyan, Baptist, or any other.

It is but fair to add that I believe our peasantry would be most loyal to the Queen and obedient to the laws of the country if they were let alone, and not tampered with by cunning and designing men.

I am, &c.
C. R. Chandler.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
&c. &c.
Spanish Town.

Rev. M. W. Hime to Mr. Myers.

Sir, Hope Bay, January 12, 1866.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of a circular letter dated January 4th inst., proceeding from his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, requesting me to give my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black people generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general, and also asking me to report particularly on the attendance, by the negroes, at church and at communion, and on their observance of the rites of marriage and baptism.

In reply to the first question I beg to state, that at least to all outward appearance the more respectable of the black people in the immediate vicinity of Hope Bay and St. Margaret's Bay, including the many settlers up the Swift River, have not been in favour of the insurgents. At St. Margaret's Bay and Buff River many showed a loyal spirit in turning out to resist them at a time previous to the enrolment of special constables. I have heard of but two persons in this district, and they of bad reputation, openly declaring their intention of joining the Rebels. Upon the estates of Lowlirton and Spring Garden, near Buff Bay, I believe, the worst people expressed their dissatisfaction with respect to their employers, and that a pretty general feeling was evidenced in favour of the Rebels in St. Thomas-in-the-East. The only instance of this which came within my own personal observation was in riding to and from Buff Bay a few days after the news of the insurrection was received, when some looked after me and laughed, and a gang of men and women in a field shouted and screamed in a wild manner as I passed. I have very little doubt that had the opportunity offered all the abandoned characters, who, I fear, form the greater portion of the community, especially in the neighbourhood of the sugar estates, would have been ready to join in the insurrection if for nothing else but plunder. At present the people everywhere seem to be quietly disposed, and I think it is not likely that any disturbance of the kind would be attempted again, at least in this county during the present and succeeding generations. It would, however, be almost impossible for me to ascertain the real animus of the people on the subject.

In giving a report upon the religious and moral condition of the negroes, as evidenced by their attendance at church and communion, and their observance of the rite of marriage and the sacrament of baptism, I have to say, first, that, viewed in relation to the whole population, the attendance at church should be much larger. There is a marked deficiency, especially in the number of young men. The people also do not bring their children to church with them as much as they ought. The erection of Baptist chapels at Rodney Hall and Mount Pleasant, above St. Margaret's Bay, at which places revivalism is carried on, has induced many of the people in those quarters to join that community. On the whole, however, the attendance at church during fine weather cannot be considered bad. As to the attendance of the negroes at communion I may say that, if allowed, all would willingly present themselves, as in general it is superstitiously regarded. The number, therefore, in attendance at communion affords little, if any, criterion of the prevailing morality, which, throughout the whole Island, is lax in the extreme. Marriages occur but seldom. During the past year I have had but nine marriages out of a population of, say, 1,000 adults at least, making only one per cent., and even at this rate it is but very rarely indeed that marriages take place without previous concubinage with two or three different persons consecutively. This evil habit having been formed from an early age, it is not surprising to find that marriage is so much avoided, and that subsequent quarrels and separations so frequently occur. There can be no doubt, however, that this state of things has been brought about, in great measure, from the customary licentiousness practised before emancipation, and is not to be altogether attributed to a natural and irremediable moral degradation of the negro. And I may be allowed to say that even at the present time the moral example shown the people by very many holding positions of authority and honour is most reprehensible and most pernicious in the effect, although it is readily granted that there are not a few good exceptions to this rule. But I think that some annual test of the moral fitness of those holding the position of magistrates so as at *least* to prevent the scandal of any one of them living in open adultery with another man's wife is much wanted. I fear it will be found that we must reform ourselves in this respect before we can expect to see much improvement in the people. I would be permitted to add also, that the indecent exposure of the person which is allowed on many estates throughout the Island, with a few exceptions, must be subversive of all modesty and productive of

much evil. I allude to the manner in which coolies and Africans may be often seen walking about, or almost entirely without clothing, and sometimes the creole negro in almost a similar condition. An enforcement of the law against this, and also against women exposing themselves at public fords and streams, would doubtless have a beneficial effect, as by properly punishing them, and stigmatizing all such public offences, the people would be led to have a regard for virtue and propriety, and to the practice of them in their homes. I submit, also, that some reward, however slight, from the Government, in cases of marriage where the woman has previously lived a virtuous life, would be calculated to have a good effect.

As to the negroes' observance of the sacrament of baptism, all are desirous of having their children baptised, and even many among them who call themselves Baptists; but experience shows that it is not generally advisable to baptise their illegitimate children, even upon a promise of their being taken and brought up solely by the sponsors, as they are shortly afterwards either given back or stolen away by the parents, under whom their condition is a wretched slavery, and their education only in vice of every sort. If the negroes were compelled by law to send their children of a certain age to school, then all might be baptised, as there would then be some certain surety of their being instructed in the Christian faith, but as it is, there would be none that could be at all relied upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. W. HIME,
I. Curate, Hope Bay.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to Executive Committee.

REV. HENRY BROWNE to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Beverley, Anotto Bay, P.O., January 9, 1866.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your circular No. 2,295, dated the 28th ult., which should have received an earlier reply had I not been suffering from indisposition for the last week.

I now beg leave to state, for the information of the Government, that from what I knew of the black population of my parish I had no reason to anticipate the fearful acts that were perpetrated by the Rebel negroes in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

At the time of the dreadful outbreak I was on a visit with my family to some friends in Port Antonio, and we were among the number who took refuge on board the American barque the "Reunion."

Had it not been for the prompt and energetic conduct of his Excellency the Governor, and his timely arrival in the "Wolverine" with troops on the morning of Sunday the 15th October, at that critical juncture when the Rebels, having pillaged and destroyed property and life through the village of Bath, the Plantain Garden River district, and the villages of Port Morant and Manchioneal, had reached the confines of Portland, I verily believe that that Sunday night would have found none of us alive, for the Rebels were on their way to Port Antonio, and intended entering it that night, had they not been so promptly met by the soldiers who were marched up to check their progress.

Had they once entered Port Antonio they would have destroyed the whole town, the inhabitants being perfectly unprepared to contend with them, having neither arms nor ammunition. Having effected this, they would have gathered strength on their way, as there are many idle and vagabond persons in every parish who have nothing to lose who would willingly have joined them on their onward march, and others by threats would have been compelled to do the same; and thus the rebellion, had it not been crushed when it was, would, in my opinion, have become general.

With regard to my knowledge of any inflammatory speeches and writings, I know nothing personally, but I understand such did occur just prior to the outbreak in the two adjoining parishes to my own, viz., Saint Mary and Saint George.

With respect to the attendance of the negroes at my church and at communion, I have to report that for the last three months it has been far from good; but this I attribute to the inclemency of the weather and the very bad state of the roads.

In reference to the observance of the rite of marriage among the negroes, I am constrained to state that there has been a great falling off within the last four years, the period I have held this living. The marriages that have been solemnized in this parish by the clergy of the Established Church are as under:—

For the year	1862	-	26 marriages.
,,	1863	-	14 ,,
,,	1864	-	10 ,,
,,	1865	-	10 ,,

The baptisms, however, have been on the increase, and are as follows:—

For the year	1862	-	74 baptisms.
,,	1863	-	87 ,,
,,	1864	-	59 ,,
,,	1865	-	92 ,,

Why the negroes should have rebelled is a mystery to me, unless they have been the dupes of wicked and designing men, for they had nothing to complain of. Living under just and equitable laws, they enjoyed all the blessings derivable from the liberties and immunities of British subjects, and might be the happiest, as they are by far the best-off peasantry in the world, if only they would work for their honest livelihood.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BROWNE,
Rector of Metcalfe.

William R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee.

INSPECTOR CASEY to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Police Office, Savanna-la-Mar, January 11, 1866.

IN answer to your letter dated the 1st instant, in which I am requested to state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the cause of the late rebellion. I beg to state that from the very short time I have been in the parish I am quite unable to give any reliable opinion as to what might be the disposition of the inhabitants of this parish prior to the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

The only information that I can give with any certainty is that disaffection and seditious feeling extended to other parishes besides St. Thomas-in-the-East, from the fact that several threatening and seditious letters having been picked up in several places throughout the parish, which caused the custos to apply for naval and military force.

As far as can be gathered from the appearance of the people at present, I should say they are quite peaceably disposed, partly, if not entirely, owing to the location of troops in the parish.

I have refrained from replying earlier to your letter hoping to collect more information, but, as I have stated as above, everything is at present quiet.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

(Signed) JNO. G. CASEY,
Inspector.

MR. PRENDERGAST to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Metcalfe, Iterboriale, January 12, 1866.

IN reply to your letter No. 2,311, 1st January, I beg leave to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor and Executive Committee, my opinion of the disposition of the black population in this parish under my own supervision and otherwise.

I always considered them peaceable and respectful to their superiors, but very indolent, until last August. I found great difficulty in getting them out to work after the holidays, and when I met any and asked them why they would not turn out, their reply was that they were waiting to hear the "New Law," but would not say anything more; they also looked sulky, as if something disturbed their minds, evidently showing that some one had been tampering with them; in fact, I was told by my headman that two or three strangers had been among them in their settlement during the August, giving some advice, but he did not know what it was, as they did not come to him, and I believe that the seditious and evil feeling was general. Persons were heard to say in this parish that they wished the Rebels would come down, and they would join them to kill white persons in it.

I am not aware that Mr. G. W. Gordon had any influence in this parish, but it is quite possible, as he was in the habit of travelling late at night, and I fully believe that the black population were quite ready to join the Rebels and commit murder had they come to this parish or any other.

I am, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
&c. &c.

(Signed) H. PRENDERGAST.

SIR, Buff Bay, Saint George, January 3, 1866.

IN replying to your request that I would state my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of the disturbance was local or general, I beg to state, that, in common with most persons of respectability and intelligence, coloured and otherwise, with whom I have conversed on the subject, I consider that the disturbance in Saint Thomas-in-the-East was intended to have been general, and that its object was the extermination of the white and coloured inhabitants of this Island.

Those who understand the negro character are aware that he takes but little interest in politics, save in so far as they may minister to his vanity.

The real clue to the intended rebellion I consider may be found in the antagonism of races which is so strongly developed in Jamaica.

It is unnecessary that I should remind you of the Rebel pass words, "Colour for colour," nor of their frequently expressed sentiment "We want a black queen, not a white one."

That a spirit of disaffection existed and still exists in other parishes than Saint Thomas-in-the-East no one here doubts, and no one in Saint George questions the fact that the black population of this parish were ripe for rebellion, for they did not attempt to conceal this, but openly expressed themselves in the market place and elsewhere as being ready to join the Rebels if they came to destroy the whites.

A seditious spirit has for some time past prevailed amongst the black population generally, and we all fear that unless dealt with by a strong Government, and in a firm manner, the most disastrous results are yet likely to ensue.

The late disturbance, through Divine Providence, was crushed in the bud by the prompt and *unavoidably* severe measures taken by the Government before it had time to spread, and we were therefore spared in Saint George the massacre which would otherwise have ensued, and the stern necessity for its chastisement.

I may also mention that it is the general opinion in Saint George that the presence of a detachment of white troops, which were so rapidly thrown into Buff Bay, tended more than anything else to ensure the safety of the parish.

Two prisoners only have been sentenced during martial law in St. George for sedition, and one for threatening language, each receiving slight corporal punishment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) BECKFORD DAVIS,
Clerk of the Peace of Saint George
and Deputy Judge Advocate.

The Hon. William Hosack,
Spanish Town.

To the HON. P. A. ESPEUT.

DEAR SIR, St. Thomas-in-the-East, January 4, 1866.

YOUR circular dated the 28th ultimo, requesting that I would state, for the information of the Government, my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion.

I can state confidently that for several months the black people have absented themselves from Divine Worship, not only in the Established Church, but from other places of worship, except from their own native Baptist meetings.

Their general conduct has been for many months past particularly observed to have been rude, an indication to the respectability of the parish that something was evidently wrong.

I have had frequent conversations with the black people previous to the late rebellion, and they have on all those occasions spoken of George W. Gordon as the only true friend they had.

I have never at any time attended any of the meetings where inflammatory speeches were made, but some of the respectable coloured people of Morant Bay had attempted to attend their meetings held in their conventicle, but were always prevented.

The black people of this parish had always borne a good character until Mr. G. W. Gordon's advent into the parish.

As to the seditious spirit of the late wicked disturbance, I believe it was general and not local.

I cannot speak personally of what took place at Morant Bay on the 11th October 1865, for on that day I had to leave the parish on very important law business.

But I can state what I saw and heard on my return to the parish on the 14th of that month.

I heard several of the condemned while on the gallows say that it was Mr. G. W. Gordon who had brought them to that end.

I heard McLaren, one of the principal ringleaders, say so: he also said that he had been selected as secretary because he could read and write.

Those who were catted, while undergoing their punishment, would cry out, George Gordon, oh! Paul Bogle, oh! Moses Bogle, oh! McLaren, oh!

(Signed) RICHARD D. COOKE.

To the HON. P. A. ESPEUT, Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

SIR, Morant Bay, January 12, 1866.

YOUR circular of the 28th December 1865, I have duly received, and in reply beg to state that in my opinion the rebellion of the 11th October 1865 was general in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I saw when the Rebels came in. There were upwards of 300 men and women. They were all armed with "cutlasses," "sticks," "bayonets fixed on long sticks," and a few "guns." They kneeled on the ground and tasted the dirt from the ground, and said that they would "Kill every white and "mulatto man, and when we have finished in the Bay we will go to the estates." I was then threatened by them, when I made my escape to the bushes, where I remained until morning, and consequently saw nothing more of their proceedings.

My reason for considering the rebellion a general one is, by their wishing to kill me, who is not a magistrate, who have nothing to do with the estates, and who have never in the slightest done them any harm.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. ALVERANGA,
Druggist and Vestryman.

On the REBELLION in ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST on the 11th October 1865.

MY opinion is, that the outbreak which took place on that day was intended to have been a general rebellion, but was made local by the premature outbreak of the Stoney Gut people in consequence of the occurrence which took place on the previous Saturday at the petty court, Morant Bay. That it did not extend beyond that parish is entirely owing to the prompt measures taken by his Excellency the Governor and those in authority. The people in this district (White Horses) were only waiting the arrival of the insurgents to join them in their bloody work. I was warned on Friday, the 13th October, by a respectable black man, "John Richards," that I was not safe where I then was (Green Wall, on the borders of St. Thomas-in-the-East and St. David's), and had better remove my family, as he had heard that on that night Paul Bogle was expected to lead the attack on Belvidere, Rozelle, and Green Wall, and that the White Horses people were quite ready to join him; I therefore left at once for a safer asylum. The providential arrival of the troops frustrated their plans. For the last three years there has been a great change in the manners of the peasantry towards their employers; although paid regularly they were sulky and discontented, and I have on several occasions inquired of the more respectable people the cause, but could never get a straightforward answer. I am

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fully convinced that the minds of the people have been worked upon by political demagogues like G. W. Gordon and others to suit their own purposes. It is as well to observe that the principal actors in this fearful massacre were persons in the independent position that Dr. Underhill describes in his book as freeholders and settlers, not needy labourers on sugar estates, a fact proved by all the sugar estates in the parish being at work with their usual complement of labourers, and very few familiar faces missing, with the exception of cane-hole diggers, which were principally from Manchioneal and the insurgent villages.

I have been told by a respectable coloured woman that G. W. Gordon had on several occasions called at her tavern on his return from the St. Thomas-in-the-East vestries, and among his observations on the different gentlemen connected with that board said repeatedly, "That fellow Herschell talks "a great deal too much, and ought to have his tongue cut out," which was actually done.

Had not prompt measures been taken I feel assured there would have been few white or coloured people now alive, and even now I do not think we are safe.

G. B. SNAITH, J.P.

Green Wall, January 9, 1866.

SIR, Chapelton, January 9, 1866.

I BEG to enclose a letter received by me a few days ago from the Rev. James Anderson, a native Baptist clergyman, and I may add a most respectable and intelligent black man.

Mr. Anderson knows the people well, and being a native Baptist preacher, his opinions in reference to the late rebellion may be considered to have some weight.

You will be good enough to place Mr. Anderson's letter at the disposal of his Excellency Governor Eyre, to be used by him in any way his Excellency may desire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMAN SUTHERLAND,
One of the Churchwardens for the Parish of Clarendon.

The Hon. Edward Jordan, C.B.,
Governor's Secretary.

To N. SUTHERLAND, ESQ., Churchwarden, Clarendon.

DEAR SIR, Chapelton, January 6, 1866.

I THANK you very kindly for the loan of the newspapers. I have found things stated in them of which I have been totally ignorant. I am sorry, very sorry indeed, that the rebellion of St. Thomas-in-the-East ever took place at all, and am I more sorry still to find that those who had taken, as it were, their lives into their hands to suppress it should now in any way be looked upon, in the eyes of the public, as evil doers. I had said, and still say it again, that if the Governor, and those whom he called to his assistance, did not exert themselves in the way they have done, there is no mistake but that by this time we should have witnessed a very different state of things in this country. If the Governor had taken upon himself alone to carry his plans for crushing the rebellion into execution without first consulting his advisers in council, then it might, in some way or other, be surmised that he had some previous bad and wicked intentions towards the black people of this Island.

But as far as I can see he did no such thing. He took advice, and having that advice, he called upon the naval and military authorities for their assistance, and having secured these he went forth; but if, after he had entered the seat of the rebellion, and thereupon found that it was no trifle, I ask, in the name of common sense, what else could he, the Governor, have done to suppress such a sudden and brutal outbreak, save to take hold of the iron handle of the law, and let those who would be traitors to their Queen and country know that they could not expect to "fight against it and "prosper."

And I do not suppose that the Governor meant anything more than this. Again, and on the other hand, if it is said that the Governor "had lost his head" (or senses) when he was thus surrounded by troubles of such a nature, and that he went entirely by "impulse," why, it only shows that what he took as a trifle was really no trifle, and that he was consequently under the greatest necessity to make use, *at once* of all the political waters in his power to extinguish a flame which, if it was allowed to keep its start and spread. would have caused an overwhelming bloodshed and destruction *throughout the whole country.* And therefore I give it as my humble opinion that I do not suppose there could be found another man out of a thousand, situated as the Governor was at the time of the outbreak, that could have done better in the whole affair than what he has done. I see it is expected that the Governor and his "accomplices" will yet have to stand at an English "bar of justice;" if it will be so, I can only sincerely hope that in the midst of judgment *fair play* will be shown. For it is all very well, now that all seems to be over, for one to say this and the other say the other thing, at a few miles off, the real and truthful state of affairs; but, ah! but!

Respecting the bill for the regulation of the places of worship, I do not see anything in it to speak against; *it ought to have been in force long ere this time.*

You will be under no restraint in showing this to your friends, only I do not feel that I am good enough here for the public press. You can make use of it if you like as a communication or an opinion.

Most respectfully yours,
(Signed) JAMES ANDERSON,
Independent Native Baptist Minister,
near Chapelton.

STATEMENT of ALEXANDER BOTHWELL taken on OATH.

I RESIDE at Spring Garden, near Stoney Gut, in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I knew Paul Bogle. I know that persons used to attend his chapel in the month of September last and since, at which speeches were made; one Craddock used to make speeches there. On the night of a Tuesday in the month of September last I tried to get admission to a meeting at Paul Bogle's chapel; Joseph Kelly (since hung) invited me there. On going there I was told by Kelly and others that I would not be admitted unless I took an oath. I asked the nature of the oath; they refused to tell me. I refused to take the oath and was driven away. I saw Daniel Johnson and Stephen Smith next day. They have both been hung. I asked them the nature of the oath; they refused to tell me; they did not tell me the nature of the proceedings at the meeting. I did not ask them. They said they would not tell the coloured people anything, as they were rascals, because the white men were their fathers, and the coloured men would take advantage of them the same as the whites had done; and they would take off the heads of the coloured men as well as the heads of the whites. They also said they would not admit any women to their meeting as the women were liars.

ALEX. BOTHWELL.

Sworn before me this 3rd day of January 1866,
at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
D. C. McKENZIE, J.P.

JOHN SPENCE on his oath saith as follows:—

I LIVE at the Cottage Penn in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was employed by the late Mr. Macpherson, who was killed at Morant Bay. About two weeks before the rebellion Joseph Robinson, Alexander Taylor, Edward Gordon, and McLaren asked me to attend a meeting that they were going to hold I went. The meeting was held at Church Corner, at McLaren's house, at night. Plenty of people attended it from Dumfries and Nutt's River and other places—all black men. Those who would not join were pushed outside. They were all sworn by MacLaren upon a Bible. I don't know the nature of the oath. Joseph Robinson asked me to come in and join the meeting. I refused to do so unless I knew the meaning of it. He told me if I would not join to come outside, and I did so. I asked Alexander Taylor the meaning of the oath. He said, "They wanted backlands to work without "paying rent; they wanted to know what they were paying rent for, and they were to kill buckra." He asked me if my master with whom I was working never stopped my money. I said yes, but he never stopped it unless I did something. I never attended any other meeting. After the meeting at Church Corner Alexander Taylor told me they were going to have a meeting at Staunton. On the night of the rebellion Mrs. Macpherson sent me on the Bay to look after her husband. I saw John Taylor seated on the fort wall. I asked for Mr. Macpherson, he told me Mr. Macpherson was dead, and where I would find his body. I did not go to look, because I was afraid. I saw Alexander Taylor with a torch walking among the dead people. I also saw Tommy Graham trying to break into the magizine. When I was returning home Alexander Taylor and John Taylor overtook me. Alexander Taylor showed me a penknife and a watch chain which he said he had got from Mr. Walton who was killed. He said he would have got the watch too if he had been a little sharper.

his
JOHN × SPENCE.
mark.

Sworn before me this 3rd day of January 1866, at the
parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, having been first
read and explained to the deponent,
PLATO ELPHICK, J.P.

REV. J. S. HILDEBRAND to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Edinbro', Newport, P. O., January 8, 1866.

I HAD the honour to receive yesterday the communication from his Excellency the Governor dated January 4.

In reply I beg to state that I believe the late spirit of rebellion to have been generally diffused throughout the Island, and that but for the timely activity of his Excellency there would have been *many* massacres of inoffensive white people instead of *one* at St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I am disposed to entertain this opinion from the fact of many rumours having been to my personal knowledge for a *long time* in circulation among the negroes of intended risings in *different parts*. I have heard St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, and St. James specified as places where such risings might be expected, and these, be it observed, are at the opposite extremity of the Island to the part where the rising did occur; and I cannot bring myself to believe that those rumours had no foundation in fact. I may mention also (in support of the opinion that the negroes in more parts than *one* were *really* expecting something) that previously to the gunboat being sent round to Black River in August last a black man from St. Elizabeth brought his two daughters and left them in the mountains *here*, stating as his reason that there was going to be a great row there, and he wanted them out of the way.

My conviction is that the *young* population in most parts, who are growing up without any fear of God and not much for man, only want the opportunity to re-enact the Bath court-house scenes, and that they are greviously disappointed at their recent failure. I think that the older portions of the population (except in certain districts where some unfortunate influence has all its own way) are tolerably well intentioned and manageable, though I would myself decline to trust *even them* too far.

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But the *young* are everywhere ready for anything. I mean the great majority of them, for of course there will be a few exceptions.

At the same time if they do not meet with encouragement from inflammatory speeches and suggestions of demagogues, such as those of Gordon and others, at least as the newspapers reported them (for of course I never *heard* one), I do not think there would be any trouble with them. They would content themselves with the quiet occupation of robbing provision grounds, which is the profession they have for the present mostly adopted as a means of making a living. But unfortunately they are easily persuaded to any exciting occupation, if it is suggested to them, whether it be revival or rebellion. What is put into their heads, they act upon without stopping to think and indeed without much ability to do so, if only it promises excitement and of course better still if it also suggests plunder. But neither the late nor any other insurrection ever was or ever is likely to be suggested by themselves.

This extreme docility to a certain extent makes it very important, whether you regard their own comfort or the comfort of their neighbours, *who their teachers are to be.*

As regards the attendance at church, &c., it pained me much last year to see how the ordinances of religion were being neglected, and that too I may say as regards myself and many of my brother clergy who happen to be known to me, in spite of remonstrance and admonition.

Even now, though the attendance is *much* improved, since quiet has been restored I look round and wonder where are the young? Certainly never in church. Indeed, though my church holds or can hold about 600, if the young *would come* to church with the old, it would take two or three churches of the same dimensions to satisfy the wants of this district. But they don't come and won't come. As to baptisms, out of 16 say, 12 are sure to be illegitimate, the children of mere boys and girls who never come to church. You remonstrate when you see them but 'tis no use.

Indeed, unless Jamaica is kept in tight hands, its prospects when the old people who were once slaves and their immediate children are gone (and they are fast disappearing) are gloomy indeed.

Then more than ever will it be of consequence who is to lead them and by whom are they to be taught.

For the present there seems a disposition to settle down to less ambitious pursuits than that of acquiring estates by the murder of their lawful owners, if only their so called protectors and pseudo philanthropists will let them alone or persuade them that honest industry is in the end sure to succeed better than rapine and violence. If we do all that, I would have some hope of making them (I mean the young) decent and civilized to a certain extent even yet, and tolerably good Christians.

In conclusion, may I be allowed to express my thorough indignation at the unworthy treatment his Excellency has met with from a portion of the British public, but a portion who, if I am any judge of the signs of the times, is already fast waning to an insignificant minority. And to remark that it was well for Jamaica its Governor did not show, under trying circumstances the same timidity that seems necessary now on some occasions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. S. Hildebrand, B.A.,
Island Curate of Snowdon, Manchester.

P.S.—I may add as an additional reason for thinking that the rebellion was not intended to be confined to St. Thomas-in-the-East, that drilling was extensively carried on in a part of this parish (Manchester) until stopped by the authorities.

(Signed) J. S. H.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

Rector May to Mr. Myers.

Strathnaver, St. George, Buff Bay, P.O.,
January 4, 1866.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a "circular" sent by you to me by direction of "his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, No. 2,295," requesting information "for the information of the Government," &c.

My candid opinion with regard to "the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion," is this, that as the knowledge of the intended rebellion was possessed by them, and revealed to the authorities by none of them, it proves beyond doubt that they would, on the first opportunity offering, have joined the Rebels in the work of blood; and what can prove their guilty knowledge more than this, that no sooner was the fact of the cruel, nay hellish, butchery which had taken place in St. Thomas-in-the-East made known, than the general cry was "This is Gordon's work!" I do consider the seditious spirit of that "disturbance" decidedly "general." I further believe that there are now, at the present moment, Haitiens, who pretend that they cannot speak English, going about the Island, endeavouring to inculcate the same seditious spirit. I have grave suspicions that this is the case.

I have not been present at any political meetings, so that I have not heard any "inflammatory speeches," but I have often been surprised at the liberty which has been allowed by Government to a portion of the press which has so sadly abused its liberty. The attendance by the negroes at church has lamentably fallen off, and the attendance on the communion is now so fearfully reduced that the average attendance of last year was only 143, whereas the average attendance used to be upwards of 300. I have received at one table 475.

With regard to baptisms, I have referred back to the year 1844, and have reckoned the number

baptised down to 1856, 13 years, inclusive, and find that the yearly average of baptisms for those 13 years was 245. I next searched the register from 1857 to 1864 inclusive, eight years, and I find the average number of baptisms during that period was only 138. With regard to "marriages," I had only two in 1864 and two in 1865, instead of four or six in one day. I have married as many 19 couples in one day.

I forgot to state in its proper place, in answer to the question, "Whether" I "consider the "seditious spirit of that disturbance local or general?" and as an additional reason for the opinion I have formed, that I am credibly informed that had the Rebels succeeded in this parish, I was one of the first singled out to be butchered by them. Does not this show the fiendish spirit by which these wretches were actuated. I have lived amongst this people between 30 and 40 years, and have in every way sought their temporal and spiritual good, and this is the way they would have requited me for all my labours of love amongst them during that lengthened period!!

I have seen in the public prints that his Excellency the Governor has been recalled. God forbid that it should be true. A greater calamity than this could not happen to Jamaica, nor a greater triumph given to his and our worst enemies. What rejoicing will it cause in the enemies' camp, and what a subject will it furnish for more bitter inflammatory speeches, which will add tenfold strength to the surviving aiders and abettors of the late rebellion. 12th January.—This is the first post day I have been able to send to the post office since the date of this letter, in consequence of the rivers being totally impassable. I only got packet and Island letters and papers yesterday. I am deeply grieved to find that our excellent Governor has been recalled.

What a dastardly act on the part of Earl Russell! After the Governor had risked his own life to save ours and the Island he governed from utter ruin, he is now to be sacrificed to the outcries of a small clique of violent and unprincipled secretaries and demagogues at home, who are ignorant, and who wish to remain ignorant, of any of the facts connected with this cruel and wicked rebellion. I agree with the "Morning Herald," which says, "That in suspending Governor Eyre the Government has "condemned him. It has passed the severest censure in direct defiance of its own conviction that "he has only done his duty," &c. The "Standard" says, "No act in Earl Russell's long life "appears to us so damaging to his character. It displays in a painful light the worst faults of the "Prime Minister's political character, his weakness, his want of loyalty and good faith, his culpable "incapacity of high-minded and conscientious devotion to the public interest," &c. Whatever may be the future of Governor Eyre, the prayers and blessings of a grateful people, saved by him from utter destruction, will ever attend his steps.

In conclusion, I would say to talk of a "local rebellion" is preposterous. What had St. George's ministers, authorities, and people done to these east end fiends that they should be threatened to be cruelly butchered, and all the estates laid in ashes? The same may be asked by all the other parishes. What then becomes of the *locality* of the rebellion.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Sec. Ex. Committee.

(Signed) CHARLES T. MAY,
Rector of St. George.

RECTOR SMITH to MR. MYERS.

DEAR SIR, Port Antonio, January 8, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of circular No. 2,295, from his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, dated 28th December 1865, asking my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally, with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general; also respecting the attendance of negroes at church and communion, and their observance of the rules of marriage and baptism.

As regards my individual observation of the black population in and around the town of Port Antonio and the country districts under my pastoral charge, I cannot say that I have remarked any great difference in their general bearing and deportment previous to the outbreak of the late rebellion, but I have been told that in some parts a marked change in this respect had manifested itself for some time past.

With respect to the spirit of sedition connected with the rebellion, I believe it to have been general, and from what has recently come to my knowledge that a secret leaven of insubordination must have been at work amongst a section of the black population for some time past, especially since the meeting of the Underhill controversy and the public meetings held in connexion with it, which seems to have produced a good deal of mischievous excitement in the minds of the labouring population.

With respect to the attendance of the negroes at church and communion, I cannot report any particular alteration of late; the church is generally well attended, and we have a goodly number of communicants. I do not, however, find much anxiety evinced among the younger portion of my flock respecting admission to the Lord's table, a circumstance to be deplored, and which arises no doubt in a great measure from the great amount of immorality practised throughout the Island.

Marriages take place very seldom, and in most cases the parties have lived together in a state of concubinage some time previously. The children of the members of the Church of England are regularly brought forward for baptism.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. SMITH,
Rector, Portland.

JAMAICA.

REV. COLIN MCLAVERTY to MR. MYERS.

Clifton Parsonage, Gordon Town, P.O., St. Andrew's,
January 8, 1866.

SIR,

As requested, I take the earliest opportunity to reply to your letter of the 4th instant as far as lies in my power.

My ministrations having been for the last 21 years entirely in this ecclesiastical district, which I seldom leave even for a day. My opinions can consequently only be formed from personal knowledge of and apply to this locality, with which alone I am acquainted, and which I am led to believe is somewhat exceptionally favourable in its character. From this limited local experience I am led to consider the disposition of the black population here, of which my congregation is almost entirely composed, has been and is peaceable and contented and industrious under good counsel and management, but might probably, like any other excitable and partially informed people, be easily led astray if left unrestrained to be acted upon by bad advice and evil influences.

I am glad to be able to report that there was no seditious or bad spirit manifested in this district, but I have no personal knowledge to warrant my expression of opinion as to the state of other localities.

The attendance of the black population at my church and at the communion is not diminished. The number of marriages continue almost the same as previously, and the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate children remains about equal in my registries of baptisms.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COLIN MACLAVERTY,
Incumbent of St. Peter's Church and
Ecclesiastical District.

MR. LORD to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR,

Kingston, Jamaica, January 6, 1866.

ON the eve of your departure from this Island I take the liberty of addressing these few lines to your Excellency, being assured the observations which I herein make will be borne out by thousands of right-thinking people here.

It is with deep regret I notice your Excellency's removal from amongst us; your Excellency's noble and independent bearing, and the prompt action you took during that fearful and trying time, from the 11th to the 18th October last, by which an evidently well-organized rebellion was completely checked and crushed, will ever be most vividly impressed on our memory. Had 24 hours elapsed without action having been taken there can be no doubt as to the direful results that would have arisen from such delay.

Two gentlemen, with myself, from this town, who unfortunately were at Manchioneal then, can fully bear out the feeling and determination of the blacks on that fearful occasion.

We had to fly on the morning of the 13th with the family with whom we were spending a few days, after a night of untold anxiety and watching, as the Rebels were then within 12 miles of us.

The road on the greater part to Port Antonio from Fair Prospect which place we had left, was *lined* by negroes evidently awaiting the signal for outbreak.

The families in the district had not left their homes a few hours when *pillage*, the torch, and every scene of *violence* and unheard-of destruction to property commenced. Messages came in on the 14th, sent by the Rebels to Port Antonio by the market negroes, that they, the Rebels, would be down by 12 o'clock a.m. that day, and have Mr. Hinchellwood's and the Rev. Mr. Foote's heads, and had they not been detained at Manchioneal, Williamsfield, Elmwood, Spring Valley, Mulatta River, and numerous other properties, pillaging and burning, I am quite confident they would have attacked Port Antonio, as we had only the 4-pounders which we placed in position to defend the place.

These are facts which can never be set aside by the *Anti-Slavery Society*, or any party; and your Excellency may rest assured that the above statement will be borne out by much more thrilling accounts from other parties. From Morant Bay to Port Antonio is upwards of 54 miles, can this then be looked on by the people in England as a local outbreak? And it extended fully 20 miles in the direction of Kingston and the Port Royal Mountains.

As to the assertion that Mr. G. W. Gordon was not at *the head* of the outbreak is absurd in the extreme; it was spoken of by every one, coloured and white, long before your Excellency's arrival at Port Antonio that *he* was the leader.

I and other gentlemen often saw him with Paul Bogle, Samuel Clarke, Mr. Lawrence, and George Clarke taking active part at the elections; and Samuel Clarke warned me at the last election at Morant Bay for members *that blood* would flow in the streets like water. This observation was used because I would not allow *Gordon's* party to hold a *flag on rods of four feet length* for the magistrates to creep under; they placed it on the lower steps at the entrance to the court-house, and *I* removed it, as *I* saw it was a marked insult to Her Majesty's Commission held by these gentlemen.

In retiring from the elevated and honourable position your Excellency has held in this Island to your native land, I do assure your Excellency you have myself and family's warmest prayers and wishes for Mrs. Eyre and family, and your Excellency's health and happiness and future prosperity, resting fully assured that Her most Gracious Majesty will not pass over unrewarded your Excellency's able measures

which you adopted to restore peace and quiet to this unfortunate Island among a class of Her Majesty's misguided subjects on the 11th October last.

I have, &c.

Edward John Eyre, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.
Queen's House, Spanish Town.

(Signed) JOHN ASHLEY LORD,
Late Inspector of Police.

DEPOSITION of R. OSBORN MCPHERSON, a Member of the No. 2 St. Thomas-in-the-East Volunteer Company.

I AM a volunteer; my name is Robert Osborn McPherson; I was a volunteer at the time of the riot at St. Thomas-in-the-East on the 11th October last, and was on duty at the time of the riot under Captain Hitchins, and was opposed to the rioters, who attacked the court-house on that day; they threw brickbats at us before we were allowed to fire on them, and struck many of us before we fired. I was badly wounded, and whilst I was on the ground, and almost dead from loss of blood, I heard them say that all the white and coloured men should be killed. The parochial officers were at this time in the court-house, with many other gentlemen, and the rioters were throwing stones into the windows. I heard them cry out, If they do not come out we must fire the place, and they, after a little while, did so, and as the gentlemen tried to escape they killed them. Some of the Rebels asked me what I joined white men for, whilst others wished to kill me. A friendly-disposed person took me away and hid me behind some barrels in a store. These men were under the command of Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, and McLaren, and appeared to me organized and under command. I have seen Mr. Geo. W. Gordon and Paul Bogle talking together.

(Signed) R. O. MCPHERSON.

Sworn before me this 29th day of December 1865.
JOHN J. HART, J.P.

REVEREND C. MAGNAN to MR. W. R. MYERS.

Old Chapton, Bluefields, P.O., Westmoreland,
January 15, 1866.

DEAR SIR,

IN reply to the communication of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee of the 4th instant,

I beg to state, with regard to the late rebellion, my firm conviction that the spirit of sedition which culminated in that dire catastrophe was not local, but general, the natural consequence of the teaching of unprincipled agitators in different parts of the Island, who, instead of endeavouring to reform the moral, social, and industrial condition of the black people, have, under the semblance of religion and devotion to our beloved Sovereign, been sedulously instilling into their minds disloyal sentiments, and setting before them imaginary grievances, so making them dissatisfied with their position and circumstances.

What the general nature of this teaching has been, and I believe still is, may be best gathered from a more particular statement of events in this my own district of St. Thomas, distant about 140 miles from the scene of the late rebellion; and here I would remark that, owing to my position as minister of the district, and the proverbial fear which the people have of telling on each other, I believe that only a few out of many like facts, which I am about to mention, have come to my knowledge.

There were military drills on Mount Edycombe Common, and I believe at Belmont settlement, in the Bluefields portion of this district. These drills, as three of the parties concerned admitted to Mr. Justice Sinclair, resident here, had existed ever since June (though they said they meant no harm by them), but were only reported in October last by a man named John Tranlayson. This man spoke of them in my presence, and also named a day on which the corps was to be reviewed; he had at the time a wooden sword in his hand, a specimen, I presume, of those used at drill. A day or two after this he stated that he had been beaten by some of his companions, who suspected him of having informed against them. He was sent to Savanna-la-Mar by Mr. Sinclair to make his statement before a board of magistrates, but they could get nothing out of him on which they could act; there is no doubt in my mind that he was intimidated by the other party, and so would not criminate them. I believe also that the magistrates, with the diabolical massacre at Morant Bay immediately before them, were afraid to hazard a similar outrage in Westmoreland, which was at that time almost entirely unprotected.

It was commonly reported, and I believe with truth, that within the last few months several of the peasantry had said that "After the 1st of January they would neither buy nor rent land, but would "fight for it; that there was plenty of land in the country, and they would not buy nor rent any "more; that in the last rebellion it was a hundred to one, but now it was a thousand to one," a significant expression, and one not difficult to understand when construed in connexion with the above resolution, and the seditious breathings then extant elsewhere.

Threats to fire the town of Savanna-la-Mar and the Tate properties in this district, and to injure Mr. William Tate, unless he was convicted and punished at the Circuit Court in November last, in a matter Regina *v.* Tate et al, were so common that I deemed it absolutely unsafe to allow my family to remain in this house, which I rent from Mr. Tate, and had, at considerable inconvenience, to remove them out of the district until matters were more settled. The record of this trial (Mr. Justice Kemble presiding) will throw considerable light on the disaffected character of a section of the people

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here, who now set the law at defiance, for, regardless of the decisions of the magistrates, and the judgment of the judges of the Circuit Court, they still openly trespass on Mr. Tate's property by day, and destroy his fence at night. I should be glad for the peace of this part of the district were this state of things brought under the especial investigation of his Excellency the Governor, since, until the matters at issue are thoroughly settled, the contending parties will be in constant collision.

Two men in the King's part of the district were heard to say that they wanted Jamaica to become like Hayti, and if the Rebels only came that way they would join them.

Two young women, daughters of a respectable brown person, were told by two men whom they met whilst out walking, that their heads would be cut off at Christmas.

These may seem trifling matters, but to my mind they indicate that there was a spirit of disaffection at work, which, among an ignorant and easily excited people, might at any time, under sufficient pressure, have manifested itself in open violation of law and order.

The unusually sullen and reserved demeanour of some of the people of late was subject of remark, as also their almost entire silence respecting the rebellion and its suppression.

In justice to the congregations of both my churches I am glad to say that, so far as I am able to judge, though some few members seemed to a certain extent to be influenced by passing events, they as a body manifested no symptoms of disloyalty or disaffection; but the agitation in the neighbouring parish of Elizabeth sensibly affected for the worse their contributions for school and church purposes, and for a season too their attendance at Divine worship. Acting under my advice, they neither attended the public meetings nor mixed themselves up with the great excitement that prevailed before and during the trial Regina *v.* Tate, already referred to.

How far the present state of things may be affected by the unscrupulous and unfounded statement of a portion of the British press, and of some persons of influence in England, lamentably ignorant of Jamaica affairs, I do not presume to predict, but I fear that among so impulsive a people as our peasantry, the influence will not be for good.

During three out of four years that I have been in this district, the attendance of the negroes at Divine worship and at the Holy Communion was most satisfactory, both churches being always full; but during the past year there was at one time a marked falling off in the number present at Divine service, and more particularly at the Holy Communion; thus, the average number present at any one communion during 1864 was 191, during 1865, 144, showing a decrease in the average attendance for the past year of 47.

Respecting the observance of the rite of marriage, I would remark that my experience of the people generally warrants me in stating that they hold it unhappily in but little esteem, and that their regard for this sacred institution is decidedly growing less; hence, in this district of 4,200 souls, I had only six marriages during the past year among the peasantry; nor do I believe the *Moravian* and *Wesleyan* clergymen in this part of the parish had any more between them, so that I think I am correct in saying that there were not more than 12 (if as many) marriages in this whole community during the past year.

The obligations of the married state are, I fear, in too many instances sadly outraged, a natural consequence in my opinion of the frightful system of concubinage and immorality which still exist among so many of our people.

As regards the rite of baptism, I believe it to be scrupulously observed by the married people; the number of children baptised last year, and which may be taken as a fair average of former years, was 65, of them 21 were illegitimate, but I know that there are a great many unbaptised children, the fruits of the illicit intercourse of shameless parents, who care not that they should be brought up respectably and in the fear of God; of such of these I honestly believe it will be found, on inquiry, that the bulk of the idle, thriftless, and dissolute among the peasantry is composed.

In further explanation of the above, I annex extracts from reports, which, in my capacity as Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, it has been my duty to transmit quarterly to the Society through his Lordship the Bishop of Kingston.

The extract from report for December quarter 1864 is a fair representative of the attendance at Divine Worship during the preceding four years.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES M. MAGNAN,
Stipendiary Curate, St. Thomas, Westmoreland.

EXTRACTS from REPORTS to SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of the GOSPEL in FOREIGN PARTS, referred to in the annexed letter.

Extract from Report, quarter ending December 31, 1864.

"The attendance at public worship and at the Sabbath school continues very cheering. There "are, however, a great many persons who, I believe, attend no place of worship at all, and who live "in a most degraded state of concubinage."

Extract from Report, quarter ending March 31, 1865.

"I am thankful to report the continued full attendance at Divine Service and at the Sabbath school, "though I regret to state there seems to be a growing desire among many of the people to frequent "unnecessarily the police courts, an inclination which, if not checked, will, I fear, tend to foster "idle habits, and divert their minds from their legitimate duties. I have not failed to warn them "against this evil, and trust that, with God's blessing, it may be effectually arrested."

Extract from Report, quarter ending June 30, 1865.

"I very much regret to be obliged to report a considerable falling off both in the attendance at "Divine Service and the Sabbath school. No doubt the present scarcity of ground provisions, and "the high price of imported food and clothing, are in some measure the cause of this declension, but "I believe the chief reason to exist in a growing disregard for truly religious and moral culture, and "from the erroneous notion now being industriously circulated among the peasantry that they are "an oppressed and persecuted people. It is painful to witness the spread of concubinage, that great "obstacle to the success of missionary labour among the people, and the great source of almost all "the vices in this country."

Extract from Report, quarter ending September 30, 1865.

"I am very thankful to report an increased attendance both at Divine Service and at the Sabbath "school. There is, however, I regret to say, a marked falling off in the attendance at the Holy "Communion, and in the contributions for school and church purposes, a declension that I cannot "satisfy myself is owing to any actual circumstances in the condition of the peasantry over which they "have no control. It is quite true that both imported provisions and materials for clothing have "been and are still very dear, and that the people in consequence have to spend more money than "usual for these things, yet I am quite sure that, if they were disposed, they could contribute more "for church purposes than they at present do; but they are a credulous race, and I believe have been "led away by designing men, who have lately been endeavouring to persuade the peasantry generally "that they are ill-used and persecuted people. On this point, however, considering the exhaustless "resources of our fertile soil, and the thousands of waste uncultivated acres that may be had for the "living, my firm and unshaken opinion is, that had our people but half the well-directed persevering "industry of the English labourer, they would be as well off as any peasantry in the world."

Extract from Report for December quarter 1865.

"The attendance at Divine Service and at the Sabbath school continues steady, but I am sorry I "cannot report any satisfactory increase in the numbers of the partakers of the Holy Communion, "though on the Sunday before Christmas Day there were present more than usual.

"I cannot but exceedingly regret that, after a period of four years' connexion with the Society, "my reports on the state of the mission during the last year should be so unsatisfactory in character.

"I have endeavoured from time to time to point out, to the best of my ability, the unfortunate "state of affairs which obliged me thus to write, and I do not hesitate again to affirm that the "seditious teachings of unprincipled men and miscalled ministers of religion, which culminated in "rebellion in the eastern part of the Island, have been among the chief causes of the unhappy declen-"sion of this lovely Island, and I believe the resuscitation of the country to depend, under God's "blessing, on a new constitution, absolutely and entirely English, issuing immediately from the "British Parliament, and by which public measures of a sanitary, educational, and industrial "character shall be rigidly enforced, together with stringent laws for the better protection of property "and the more effective prevention of petty larcency. While on this point I feel I should be wanting "in duty to the Governor of this Island did I not give expression to my heartfelt conviction that, "humanly speaking, we owe it to him that the late rebellion was confined to St. Thomas-in-the-East, "and that this our Island home did not become the scene of bloody deeds and of atrocious acts, and "would have been rivalled in those of Cawnpore. Even in this comparatively quiet district there "were not wanting open threats of arson and indications of diabolical acts, and, but for the presence "of a gun-boat and a detachment of troops sent from Kingston by the Governor, I have little doubt "that at the Circuit Court at Savanna-la-Mar in November last there would have been a "serious riot.

"Those who judge rashly of the Governor's conduct should consider the important trusts committed "to him, and the utterly defenceless condition of the parish where the rebellion broke out, and of the "Island generally at that time, and then they would, I think, be constrained to admit that, though he "inflicted swift and stern retribution on the Rebels, it was at once the only effective and most merciful "course he could have adopted for the safety and preservation of the Colony."

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES M. MAGNAN,
S. P. S. Missionary for Bluefields, Westmoreland, Jamaica.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Morant Bay, Jamaica, January 13, 1866.

THE information of *James Minot*, of the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, tailor, states that in the month of September 1865, on a Sunday morning between the hours of 7 and 8 o'clock I was sent for by *Moses Bogle* (a Rebel leader, since executed,) to go to his house on the road leading to *Stony Gut*, near the cottage pen in the said parish. The messenger sent to call me was Moses Bogle's son, and he said if I was not able to walk he would send a horse for me, and he did send a horse for me. This being the *third time* on that day I was sent for, I told his son that it was Sunday, and I would not come; he said he wanted me particularly to attend a *meeting* on that day (Sunday), and also to *sign a paper*. I did not go, but during the day of the rebellion, Howell from John's Town, a Rebel, told me I had no right to save Mr. Brooks Cooke and put him on board the boat, and wanted to know how many had escaped on board the boat. Then *Moses Bogle* came up to me and taking me by the hand, said, Well, Mr. Minot, I am sorry that you are sick (he had then a cutlass in his hand), and this affair that has taken place is the same affair that I sent to call you about on the Sunday morning, and to sign the paper and attend the meeting. He also said, We are going to get the Maroons to join our party; and I

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said that they would not do anything of the kind, for I myself am a Maroon. From conversations that I heard from the black people, and from what was also told to me from time to time at Morant Bay, I am of opinion that the rebellion what took place on the 11th day of October 1865 was premeditated and long thought of, but as I had no idea myself that such a thing could take place, I gave it no notice, and therefore did not communicate it to the authorities. Robert C. Robertson, of Pembroke Hall in this parish, a friend of mine, told me that he was near by Stephen Cameron (a Rebel, who has been executed,) and heard the music coming down to Cameron's house, and he went there himself, as he was a neighbour, and Cameron said to Robertson, Brother, are you going to join our meeting; this was *about three weeks before the rebellion took place.* Robertson said to him, I must know the nature of the meeting before I join. He, Cameron, said, You had better sign your name first to a paper drawn up, and then you would be permitted to attend the meeting; but if you did not sign the paper; he (Robertson) said, You must tell me first what the meeting is about; he (Cameron) said, He would not unless you sign the paper, when you sign the paper I will tell you what it is all about. Robertson, fearing that something was wrong, declined to put his name down.

I know Buckley, living at the settlement called Dumfries, attended a meeting held by Thos. Buckley, a local preacher in the service of Moses Bogle, and was asked to join the meeting already referred to by me, on the Sunday morning, and he said he could not join without knowing the nature of it, and they would not tell him, therefore he refused to put his name down. He was turned out of the meeting house at Dumfries by William Thomas, the father of Thos. Buckley, and not allowed to know what was going on. Buckley then, while the meeting was going on, went to the back of the meeting-house, and tried to listen to what was going on, but he was prevented from gathering any information, because he was discovered and turned away.

On the 30th day of September 1865, Hurst, a tailor by trade, once a policeman at Morant Bay, now living near Harbourhead, seven miles from Morant Bay, near Port Morant, and who is still alive, came to my house during the time that I was sick, and told me that he heard the black people say, that week after next they were going *to soak the buckras at Morant Bay.*

I have every confidence in the white people, and have never yet had any harm done to me by them.

On the 11th day of October 1865, the day of the rebellion, I was down at the Wharf Road on my way home, after having purchased some medicine at the bay, and I saw a man beating Mr. Brooks Cooke, and trying to murder him; that man had a rifle with a bayonet attached to it, and also a stick, and after having beat Mr. Brooks Cooke with the stick he espied Mr. Bowen, and then left Mr. Brooks Cooke and attacked Mr. Bowen, when a black man by the name of Thompson said, "Robert, don't "kill Mr. Bowen, he is a good man;" he then left Mr. Bowen and went away, whereupon another Rebel attacked Mr. Brooks Cooke while I was protecting him, and had it not been for my care to Mr. Brooks Cooke he must have been murdered. I assisted Mr. Brooks Cooke to the wharf, he not being able to walk, and saw him placed in the boat. I then went away to my house, not being able to assist any one else, having felt so very weak from the exertion, after having saved Mr. Brooks Cooke's life, and fearing that I would also be murdered if I remained any longer for having saved a white man's life.

(Signed) JAMES MINOT.

Declared before me this 15th day of January 1866.
DANIEL MARCH ALLECOX, J.P.

MR. PAUL BOGLE.

DEAR SIR, May 10, 1862.

I DID not see you when I was last up. I expect to be passing Morant Bay on *Friday next.* Send to Mr. Gough and he will pay 1*l.* 10*s.* further on account of Bowie's Gregor.

Yours truly,
(Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY E. J. EYRE, ESQ.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Bath Post Office, January 16, 1866.

WHILE inspecting a portion of the eastern district of the Island on behalf of the Post Office Department, I gained some information about the late rebellion, and I now beg leave to enclose it to your Excellency.

Mr. Brooks Cooke, of the Customs, who accompanies me, has while on the spot forwarded to Mr. Bicknell, now at Morant Bay, the names of several persons who were present at the late rebellion but took no part in it, but they will be able to supply particulars.

I learnt at Port Morant that a Rebel by the name of Edward Brown, who has not yet been apprehended, returned again to the district, I therefore at once communicated the circumstance to Mr. Bicknell, I also sent him the name of a witness, Robert Saunders, who can prove to his conviction.

Trusting that your Excellency will pardon me if I have strayed out of my regular way, but I deemed it my duty after having gained the information I have to forward it to your Excellency.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) J. W. WINGSTON,
Inspecting Officer.

His Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq.

MR. ASTWOOD to GOVERNOR EYRE.

MY DEAR SIR, Rae Town, December 5, 1865.

I BEG to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 3rd instant, and enclose my own and Mr. Mais' statements referred to; I should have done so sooner but could not find Mr. Mais.

There are many other circumstances connected with the rebellion tending to lead to the conclusion that Bogle and his associates were expecting to retain possession of the parish at least; which he must

have known could not have been effected without a general rising and massacre of the whites and respectable browns.

If you had any one at Morant Bay who would go earnestly to work I think they may procure other valuable certificates proving this.

Mrs. Lundy at Morant Bay kept a store near Stony Gut, which was destroyed and the party in charge taken prisoner to Stony Gut. Whilst there he heard a man named Craddock (since hanged), a Kingston street preacher who went to Stony Gut with the Rebels from Morant Bay, speak to them and tell them that he felt the country was theirs long ago, and he hoped now that they had it they would keep it.

Paul Bogle also told the people to go and rest; he would call them when he wanted them; he mustered them the next morning.

I notice the English papers say he went to Morant Bay peaceably and wished to give himself up. Possibly this is taken from the fact that Bogle told his people that night that he went down to give bail for his appearance on a future day in answer to a charge against him, he did not intend so to be understood, he wished his people to say so if ever questioned. This is the way they have of *making evidence* on all occasions when they expect to go into court. It is also said that the volunteers fired on them and roused them; *not so*, they pelted the volunteers with stones and actually knocked down one and broke Captain Hitchin's head before he was allowed to fire or fired. Then, if they went peaceably, why did they take a number of hog spears with them; such as the one I sent you; a volunteer was actually run through with one of them. I learn from the friends of Mrs. Patterson of Monklands that when they went up there in force Maclaren and Paul Bogle were with them, and Mrs. Patterson proposed to Maclaren if he would not destroy her house, she would give him one near by with several acres of land. He consulted Bogle, who said, "No, Maclaren, you had better take the best house, you will want it." So it quite appears that they intended to scatter themselves over the country, taking possession of the best houses in various parts.

A Master Jones, the son of the Rev. — Jones of Manchioneal, once heard a man named Anderson, the postmaster at Golden Grove, address the people and advise them to cease drinking rum, and with the money so saved educate their children, for he looked forward to see a black aristocracy replace the present plantocracy. This may not bear upon the rebellion very directly, but it shows the groove in which their ambition ran, and if such could be the language of those preachers, it is easy to conceive that an ignorant and rude population once imbued with such ideas were not likely to wait the natural course of events.

I may be mistaken in the name Anderson, but I mean the postmaster of Golden Grove, who is a sort of occasional preacher.

I would also wish to call your attention to a map of the Island I took from Gordon's carriage and handed in with his other papers; I attach a good deal of importance to this map, but I fear others have not, and it consequently has not been brought forward. This map was wrapped in an old rag and put away in the bottom of his carriage; it had evidently been much used for reference to the parishes of Vere, St. Dorothy, St. Elizabeth, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, St. Ann's, St. James, Westmoreland, and Trelawny, whilst the upper parishes were comparatively untouched. This I conclude is in consequence of having been used to show men in the eastern parishes where to expect to find friends and sympathisers; they knowing the eastern parishes, naturally had no occasion to refer to them, so they remained clean; Mr. Bicknell ought to have this map; I gave it to him.

I would also call to your attention a conversation Gordon once had with Mr. James Ford, late of the Jamaica Bank, shortly after his speech in Vere, when he said that the people would have to make this another Hayti. He went to the bank, and Mr. Ford asked him if he intended to provoke a rebellion, he answered, "No, but what can I do, they (the negroes) call me out and I must go to them." Ford then spoke of such an absurdity and instanced India. Gordon replied, But you see India is a flat country and not so Jamaica. Ford then spoke of the number of troops that would be sent against them in so much less time than was required for India, to which Gordon answered that if the negroes ever got into the mountain fastnesses they could hold out till the climate carried off the white troops, thus it is evident he (Gordon) had thought over the matter and even studied the strategy of the country.

He had a conversation also with Mr. W. Lee of this city, very far proving what was revolving in his mind on this subject. Mr. Lee purchased a few days ago an old desk that once belonged to Gordon, and in one of the drawers he found a letter in Gordon's own hand to the yeomanry and taxpayers of western St. Andrew's, in which he strongly advised them not to pay their taxes, even should an attempt be made to coerce them. Western St. Andrew's comprises that turbulent district called Cavaliers, running down behind the Caymanas mountains into St. Catherine. Cavaliers is an old estate purchased by the party to which Gordon was early attached, and parcelled out to the negroes for political purposes. This letter was dated as far back as 1853. I trust your Excellency will pardon the length of this letter, and with an offer of my services in any way that they can be useful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. G. Astwood.

His Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq.

Deposition.

Robert Marshall Whittle.

Robert Marshall Whittle, the younger, of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, being sworn, saith:—I am about 15 years of age, and was in the employment of the late Captain E. W. Hitchins, of the volunteers, who was killed at Morant Bay. Mr. Hitchins was Deputy Clerk of the Peace at Bath, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and I wrote for him in his office. I used to fill up summonses. I was also in the brass band attached to the volunteers; I played the cornet-a-piston. On the night of the 10th of October a despatch came to Captain Hitchins, and the volunteer bugle and drum sounded the alarm. The next morning we all started for Morant Bay; there were about 18 volunteers, all in uniform, and with their arms. They were mounted, except Captain Hitchins, 1st Lieutenant Hall, 2nd Lieutenant Reid, and Private Gilfroy, who were in buggies; the members of the drum corps were walking. When

AMAICA.

we came to the river (Nutt's River) about 12 miles from Bath, the volunteers alighted, and marched into the Bay; this was about one o'clock on the 11th October. They went to Mrs. Gough's tavern, and there some eight or ten more volunteers joined them. I went up to Corporal Mark's shop and residence, about half a mile from the Bay, and put up Captain Hitchins' buggy, and then returned to the tavern about 2 o'clock. I was then asked by Private Jacobs to go and get him something at Mark's shop, and on my way there with a young man, named Robert Grant, also employed by Mr. Hitchins, saw a few men sitting by the side of the road, who asked us what we were going to do with the guns we had just passed with on our way down from Mark's to the tavern; we gave them no answer. They had big sticks. I and Grant then returned to the tavern. The volunteers had some refreshment, and then formed on the Parade, drilled, and afterwards broke off, and sauntered about, many of them going into the school-room, near the court-house, which is on the Parade. Shortly after, between 3 o'clock and 4 o'clock, but nearer 3, Mr. Arthur Cooke galloped into the Parade and called out, "Gentlemen, they are coming, about 5,000 men, armed with cutlasses and sticks." The volunteer bugle was immediately sounded, and the volunteers fell in, in front of court-house. Captain Hitchins gave the order to fix swords and to load, and they did so, and Captain Hitchins asked the custos to read the Riot Act. By this time the people who had followed after Mr. Arthur Cooke were all in front of the court-house. I should say that there were about 300, armed with cutlasses and sticks, which they were flourishing, at same time making a great noise, but I could not hear what they were saying. They were then about 100 yards from the court-house. The Baron (custos) tried to read the Riot Act, but he was so excited he could hardly do it. Captain Hitchins was in the act of going up the steps of the court-house to do it, when a glass bottle struck him on the forehead and cut him severely; he wiped off the blood from his forehead as you would sweat from your brow, and tied up his head with his handkerchief, and went upstairs to carry out his intention of reading the Riot Act. In meanwhile the custos had held out a white handkerchief and was waving it to the crowd. I heard some of the crowd call out "What's that?" and immediately there was a great shout of "War;" and they continued to press on the volunteers from the front. As Captain Hitchins saw them coming too close on the Volunteers, he said "God save the Queen," and ordered his men to fire, and many of them did, but not all. A good many of the crowd fell; can't say how many. They then fell back, sounded a horn, and there was a shout from the crowd, "Don't allow them to load;" immediately two other bodies of men on each side of the volunteers closed upon them, and commenced striking them with their sticks and cutlasses, those in the front closed too, and I ran away to hide at Mr. Marshalleck's house, near by; at this time the Bay was covered with men and women to the number, I should say, of several thousands. While I was hid at Marshalleck's, I was told by a boy named Thomas, that the Rebels were looking for me and another boy who came with Mr. Hitchins, and I was afraid to go out. I then saw the Rebels beating a volunteer named Anderson, and he was brought in speechless, and I heard a great shout by the Rebels for "Captain Symonds," a man who had formerly lived near Bath, and had lately gone to "Thornton," in same parish; he was butcher by trade, and has been hanged. I and Grant then tried to escape through Mrs. Lundie's grass piece, next to Marshalleck's, but we were obliged to turn back. While there, heard some one call three or four times "General Bogle, General Bogle," and I saw a person not very tall but stout, with a small-pox face, who answered "Yes," and went away, following the person who had called him into the crowd. I never saw him again. I and Grant remained at Marshalleck's until about midnight. There was then a great row at the gate, and a call for Marshalleck, and I heard the Rebels tell him that if he did not give them what they wanted they would "kill the dogs, and play hell with his place." He gave them salt-fish, ham, candles, and many other things. I had forgotten to mention that the man Symons brought Dr. Major to Marshalleck's, and told the latter he must take care of him, and deliver him back to them in the morning. At daylight I went to the Parade to see who was dead and who alive; saw Captain Hitchins, Parsons, Herschell, Inspector Alberga, 2nd Lieutenant Reid, and two of the Messrs. Cooke, old McCormack (a lame old white man), the Baron, a Volunteer named Brown, C. A. Price, and Private Gilfray, lying dead, and Privates Rutty and McGowan lying severely wounded, but not quite dead, Grant was still with me. We tried to get Captain Hitchins' body into the buggy, but could not, and so we started with the buggy for Bath, to fetch a cart. About seven miles from the Bay met four black men with sticks and knives; one laid hold of the horse's head, and asked, "Whose buggy is that?" We said, Mr. Hitchins'; he said "Where is "he?" We answered that he was killed. He replied, He ought to be dead and gone to hell long time. "Who tell him to go and join the volunteers?" At Port Morant, about a mile farther on, about 12 men stopped us again, and asked whose buggy it was; on our saying it was Mr. Hitchins', one of them said "Let us stone it," but the others dissuaded him, and we passed on. We got to Bath and told Mrs. Hitchins what had happened. Shortly after a woman went into Mark's shop and said to his brother that if he did not pay her seven shillings for her umbrella, she would fetch in the "Rebels;" five minutes after they came in, about 300, from direction of "Thornton;" they had sticks and cutlasses. I saw them go into Mr. Hitchins' yard, and then I ran into the bush and was away hiding from that day until Saturday.

I then returned to Bath, and found all the stores sacked of everything. Bath is about 14 miles from Morant Bay.

(Signed ROBERT M. WHITTLE, Junr.

Sworn before me at the city and parish of Kingston, in the county of Surrey, this 3rd day of January 1866.

JOSEPH FRANCIS, J.P.,
Kingston.

The girl Elizabeth Rennie mentioned in the accompanied letter was 18 months in Mrs. George's family and had saved the sum of 14*l*. She went with them to Spanish Town, on return to the country she became dissatisfied with the life, and on the plea of sickness gave notice to leave. Not wishing to lose her she sends for her father, believing her to be under his control, as she was only 14 years old.

He quite consented to her remaining on, and said he was very glad to have her in so good a place, and begged that no notice be taken until he gave it himself. A short time after this interview she was allowed to go home for a Sunday, promising to return the same evening, but did not until the following afternoon, bringing a written paper as from her father to say her notice was up, but as it was contrary to that which her father had said, Mrs. Georges would not receive it. On the following morning the enclosed was brought by a black young man:—

Richard Rennie.

(Addressed to Mrs. Georges.)

"MADAM, Tevukrey Park, 27 March 1865.

"SORRY i am to see that you has left of to be wise, and has followed the old man and his deeds. ah, what a sad thing it is when a Lady fall from their Lady ship moreover one that calls herself a Chistian, truly you know that Elisabeth is a follower of the Lamb that was slain on Calvary, dare you to say you know it not, for if you do thou shall die as did Saphira, saith the Spirit: you says that you cant take Elisabeth notice, you must do so, for i never brought her to you. I never knew anything about your agreement, whither you sent for her or she came to you for a situation. i can make my oath i know nothing about the matter, there; pray madam, what right you can claim with this eroneous demand of yours, by looking into parential power at the end, and not from the begining.

"If you did acquaint me at the first that you could not take my daughter to your house without my consent, you would have every claim of my notice but as you did not do so, thou haas no claim over me; now, thou has to say that as the poor maid has no one to vindicate her i will take every advantage over her for my Husband will act for me in law, for he has power there. But Elisabeth has neither Husband nor Father that has power in law to act for her, i see that these are your hopes, cause you to stop her; but come on as poor as i am i am able to run with you in law as did the Children of Israel, with pharough King of Egypt you know, that it is for a trial of my faith and obedience to Jesus, cause my daughter to come under you as a servant, as when the children of Abraham went down to Egypt to dwell untill the famine would past, but through blindness of heart pharough thought he was a God by not delivering the people of God to Moses. God drowne him in the red sea, previous he showed plauges by the hand of Moses and Aaron—several times before he drowned him he drove away seven nations, which hindered them from going into posess the holy land of Caanien, you read it i know, remember pharough was ignorant of divine knoledge, and fearfull was his distruction, how much more to one who knoweth his master's duty and doeth not it distructions must be as saith Our Saviour. I cannot take the pain to refer in scripture to you for you has it in your reach. read it and compare it you hipocrich and see if your action with my children are not equaly yoked together, i am not sold to Satan as you may think go and pray again, or God will do to you as he done to pharouh.

"As the bearer is coming let Elisabeth come with him for if you don't vengence will fall upon fair prospect saith the spirit. i say what you think of yourself do you think you are better than Elisabeth if thou has such thoughts thou are a foole plainly, she is to come and stop with me to become a maried woman as thou art and better two. you mingle me with your slaves but thou art Greatly mistaken if Eleanor will cleave to you or if you will do to her as herod did to John the Baptist: thou shalt not have Elisabeth she will be delivered as Peter was delivered by the angell of the Lord.

"I am (sd) RICHARD RENNIE."

MR. MCLEAN to MR. GEORGES.

DEAR SIR, Norris, January 7, 1866.

I SEND you remarks on the late insurrection, address to the Governor, &c., and other letters.

Everything is quiet; but I consider the people's minds quite unsettled from the way the rebellion has been taken up in England. They seem to look for newspapers with great greediness, and such expressions as "the Governor going to England in irons and being hanged" is very common among them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES MCLEAN.

Many refuse to sign the address to the Governor.

The Hon. W. P. Georges. C. M.

The REV. W. H. INGLE to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Welchpole, Montego Bay P.O.,
DEAR SIR, January 8, 1866.

I RECEIVED your printed circular on the 6th, asking for information on the condition of the black population in this my district of St. John's, in the parish of Westmoreland, according to my personal opinion.

The points are,—

(1.) Disposition of the negro population in the *past.*
(2.) Disposition of the negro population in the *present.*
(3.) Whether the seditious spirit was *local* or *general.*
(4.) Attendance at church? Communion? Observance of the rites of *marriage* and *baptism*?

1. *Past.*—Concluding that the time referred to is the period immediately preceding the outbreak, I may remark that the people appeared peaceful as far as I was capable of judging in the performance of my clerical duties amongst them.

2. *Present.*—I remark a studied carelessness on the subject of the rebellion on the part of the people, and those whom I address on the subject profess entire ignorance, or pretend unconcern about the late bloody events.

JAMAICA.

3. *Seditious spirit—local or general.*—It is my first belief, as well as the belief of the gentlemen of the district, that had not the prompt measures of St. Thomas-in-the-East been taken, the general spirit of sedition, murder, and rebellion would have broken out in this part of the Island. The presence of the military amongst us has obliterated every *outward* appearance of discontent.

I have never heard any inflammatory speeches, or seen any seditious writings; though I am convinced in my own mind that both have been made use of.

4. *Concerning Attendance at Church. Marriages. Baptisms.*—With regard to attendance at church by the negroes, I must say that for the whole of 1865 it was remarked by every one that our congregations (once so numerous) have dwindled down to a comparatively scanty few.

The reason always given to me on my inquiries on the subject, was that cloth was so dear that they could not *afford* to buy decent clothing.

It was only within the last few Sundays that the church was in any way properly filled.

The number of communicants has fallen from an average of 150 to 100; but on Christmas Day, I am glad to say, the number was 171.

With regard to *marriages* and *baptisms*, they also are diminished in number. I used to have some three or four marriages in each quarter, but for the last *six* months I have had but *one*, and that in the Christmas week (negroes).

I have answered the questions above to the best of my ability, and trust that I have done so in a manner that is satisfactory for the object in view.

I shall be ready to afford any other information in my power.

With my compliments,

I am, &c.
(Signed) WHITTRED HAGGERSTON INGLE,
Incumbent Curate, St. John's, Westmoreland.

The REV. M. G. CONSTANTINE to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, Clermont House, Highgate, P.O., January 8, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt on the 6th instant of your communication of the 4th instant from his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, "requesting, information and "my opinion as to the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to "the late rebellion, and whether the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general."

2. That I would report on the attendance by the negroes at church and at the communion, and on their observance of the rites of marriage and baptism.

I beg to annex a report for his Excellency as desired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. GREGORY CONSTANTINE,
I. C. Highgate, Spanish Town, P.O.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary, Executive Committee.

REPORT.

1. I never have during my ministrations of now more than 10 years in the Highgate district, partly in Metcalf and partly in St. Mary—observed in the past or present conduct of the black population generally, and referring more particularly to the congregation under my care, any act or acts that would lead me to believe that they were not and yet are strictly faithful in their allegiance to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and to the Government of the Island.

All with whom I conversed on the late unhappy disturbance expressed themselves in terms of reprobation and abhorrence at the brutalities of their countrymen in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

They further appeared to receive with attention and thankfulness the advice and suggestions I offered to them in the trying crisis.

No seditious spirit before or since the late lamentable and painful disturbance, so far as I know or have heard, has been manifested in my district. I know or have heard of no inflammatory speeches or writings.

I am therefore clearly and justly of opinion that the seditious spirit had not reached my district.

My own mind is not however clear to the conclusion whether the seditious spirit of the St. Thomas-in-the-East disturbance was local or general.

2. The attendance of the negroes at the Communion during the past two or three years has not been as satisfactory as formerly.

The Sunday services have not been for the same period well attended, except by the old people. The young and middle aged seldom attend church. Marriage is almost wholly neglected.

The young people are shamelessly immoral. No advice and reproof have been effectual to induce them to lead moral lives. Marriage with them is in truth the exception; and even when called to solemnize the rite, the pleasure is alloyed in the painful fact that the parties had previously been living in fornication, and this, too, with very young persons. With them who so live it is when reproved, "I don't care." "I do as I please." "I answer to God for myself." "I am as good as anybody else." "When the time come I will marry like anybody else." "I have to answer for my own soul." They who are not married find it now, and for some time past, rather a difficulty in getting persons who are communicants to undertake sponsorial duties without marriage by the parents.

It is painful to notice the absence generally from church of their children.

Remonstrance fails in inducing those even whose children attend the day school to bring their little ones with them to church on Sunday.

There are, however, your Excellency, a few bright spots in this dark picture.

The best friends of the negroes,—and I yield to no one either in this Island or out of it in sincere heartfelt desire for their temporal and spiritual welfare,—will not, cannot, deny that immorality and vice, superstition and obeah, prevail to an unprecedented degree in the Island.

A satisfactory state of society cannot therefore reasonably be expected. Comment is unnecessary.

The wisdom of the Government, aided by Almighty God, will, I hope and pray, devise means to check the demoralization and downward tendency of the people of this important dependency of the British empire.

M. GREGORY CONSTANTINE,
Island Curate,
Highgate, Saint Mary.

The REV. J. LESLIE MAIS to the SECRETARY of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIR, Walton, January 8, 1866.

IN reply to your favour of the 28th December 1865, I beg to forward the following replies, which would have been sent in sooner had I not been absent from home when your letter came to hand.

The report of the late rebellion reached me accidentally on my return from a sick visit on Sunday, the 15th of October last. My informant was a white man of decayed circumstances who had heard the report from negroes passing his house on their way to Ocho Rios and other parts of the parish.

At first I gave no credit to the report, but on further inquiry found out that my servants were aware of the fact and all particulars connected with it, and had without exception kept the matter entirely to themselves. I have since ascertained that the servants of families in the neighbourhood acted in the same way towards their employers.

The post of Tuesday, the 17th of October, fully confirmed all the reports I had heard. I do not hesitate to say that I felt considerable alarm and anxiety not only on account of my family, but also on account of the pupils of the school who were under my care and protection. The feeling in my mind at the time was that the spirit of rebellion was likely to spread from parish to parish, and until we heard of the prompt and decisive measures adopted by the Government to suppress the outbreak there was not an hour of the day or night that was not passed in serious apprehension.

Before the news of the suppression of the rebellion reached us I noticed a marked change among the black servants of my establishment. They were to be seen at different times of the day in earnest conversation evidently on the subject uppermost in every man's mind, which would be interrupted every now and then by loud peals of laughter.

This state of things lasted until it became known that the prompt measures of the Governor had hemmed in the Rebels and brought many to their just end, when it was impossible to overlook the immediate change in the looks and manners of the servants and people in the immediate neighbourhood.

Before, they were noted for their want of civility and disrespect to their superiors in language and manner; but now you could see fear depicted in their countenances in their humble and reverential manner. I may safely say that I never saw the peasantry of the district so civil and orderly as during the period of the suppression of the rebellion, nor have I ever known so many applications for field labour, which I freely acceded to, in the hope of inspiring mutual confidence. I believe fear was the motive that induced the change.

I am not prepared to believe that all the black population of the parish were disaffected; on the contrary, from conversations with respectable black men I am of opinion that a great many were quite contented with the existing state of things and openly expressed their disapprobation of the acts of the rioters in St. Thomas-in-the-East; but at the same time I am convinced that had a disaffected and riotous body of men shown themselves in the district many would have joined them.

I have over and over again heard respectable negroes, fathers of families and men of some substance, having their little properties stocked with a few horses and cows, complain that they had no authority over their children. As soon as they grew up they left the parental roof, regardless of all warning and advice, and went wandering about the parish, doing their own pleasure.

Young men of this description, idle, restless in habit, and without any principles, would not require much persuasion to join a mob bent on plunder and rapine.

I have only been in this neighbourhood from four to five years, and I must say that each year I have seen a growing insolence on the part of the black population that was highly offensive. No respect of persons, neither minister nor magistrate received a passing nod of recognition, much less the deferential salutation due to their stations in life.

I have several black men in my employ and am brought into contact with them otherwise, but with one or two honourable exceptions I am constrained to say that I am far from being impressed with their character. As a rule they are untruthful, dishonest, cunning, and treacherous. Do them the slightest injury, and from a spirit of revenge they will repay you tenfold. Ask for your due, and you either get an evasive answer or have to submit to your loss. Even fault-finding meets with surly looks, grumbling, and discontent.

There is a strong bond of union among the negroes. They never tell upon one another unless under extreme pressure; hence the difficulty of finding out what plans they may be engaged in.

Up to this period I have neither seen inflammatory writings nor heard any speeches tending that way. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that the disturbance was *local*, when at the time of the rising at Morant Bay serious apprehensions were entertained of the disaffected state of Vere and other parishes in the Island remote from St. Thomas-in-the-East. I am fully persuaded that even a trifling success on the part of the Morant Bay rioters would have led to similar outbreaks in other parishes, which in a short time would have thrown the whole Island into open rebellion.

Having only a school room set apart for Divine worship, my congregation is small; but I have nevertheless noticed a falling off in the few that attend here usually. I am very seldom called upon to perform the marriage ceremony, and very few children are brought to me for baptism; the excuse offered in both cases being want of means to make a respectable appearance.

In too many cases I am sure that both ceremonies are delayed until an imposing, but quite unnecessary, show can be made and extravagances indulged in that are quite out of keeping with the position of the parties, and in a moral point of view sinful.

JAMAICA.

I have had several battles with the people on this point, but cannot overcome their inordinate love of display.

An offer to marry or baptise if they will come in plain decent clothing is rejected with scorn. One man told me he would marry the lady of his choice if I would lend him five pounds to give a party.

In conclusion, I may add that I feel such a sense of insecurity from the turn recent events have taken, and such apprehension from the effect on the negroes of the opinion of a section of the British press, together with a deep feeling of disappointment at the success of my ministerial labours, which have extended over a period of ten years, that I would gladly avail myself of any offer in another land of peace and security that held out a prospect of livelihood to myself and family.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN LESLIE MAIS.

MR. ELPHICK to MR. GEORGES.

Belvidere Estate, St. Thomas-in-the-East,

SIR, January 1, 1866.

YOU have called on me to give you some information concerning the late rebellion and the causes which originated it. The time you limit for my reply is so short that it is quite impossible to enter fully into a matter requiring so much investigation and examination. However I hasten to give you any particulars, &c., with which I am personally acquainted.

I have observed for some time past on the part of many of the black population a feeling of independence quite antagonistic to our views as sugar planters; a carelessness about work when they did accept it, but a general disinclination to take any job work, as though they mistrusted our willingness or our ability to pay them; an insolent demeanour at the pay table on Friday evenings, where they invariably came with heavy sticks and many with cutlasses. Although this appeared at the time to be more from habit and custom than a desire for violent proceedings, I must admit that no act of violence ever did occur here, beyond personal abuse, which they lavished pretty freely, but which I took no notice of and let it pass quietly; they always separated immediately on the close of the pay book and the announcement that all the silver had been paid away. Now there is not a stick or a cutlass to be seen in the crowd, the salutary effects of their late punishment.

As regards the origin of the rebellion, there is more than one cause to which it may be attributed; indeed a combination of causes.

First. I should say that the numerous inflammatory speeches of the so-called "Friends of the people" upset their minds and cause them to be discontented. These are within the knowledge of hundreds, and principally at the meetings on the Underhill letter at Vere and at Morant Bay, as well as in the city of Kingston. It is also well known that secret meetings were organized in many parishes. I have it on the authority of a very respectable coloured man, living at Middleton, near Stony Gut, that for months past people were congregating almost nightly at Paul Bogle's, and crept past his house in a stealthy manner, wishing to avoid recognition. A few months ago a coloured gentleman, hearing of such a meeting at Morant Bay, entered the room; but he was peremptorily excluded and told he was no friend of theirs, and they would have no intruders. The company was composed of black men, some of whom were concerned in the late rebellion.

Second. The seditious writings of a portion of the public press, actually inviting the public to revolt if such papers were more generally seen and read by them.

Third. I confine my observations to this parish. The bitter antagonism displayed in our vestry, in which the prominent characters were the late lamented and worthy custos and Mr. George W. Gordon. The results of the trial Gordon *v.* Kettelholdt, and the feelings engendered in the minds of Gordon's political friends, the principal part of whom were the residents at Stony Gut. Gordon to them was as a god; they would do anything at his bidding, and in fact the whole black population of St. Thomas-in-the-East, with a very few exceptions, were completely under his rule. Did he wish to place a friend in the vestry, it was done. Did he aspire to represent the parish, he was elected. He had much in his power to exercise for good or for evil. The exclamation of a woman up the valley road leading to Coley the day after the massacre is a good commentary on this, "Ah! now me see Mr. Gordon make "the country free for true."

Fourth. The almost total absence of anything like Christianity or public worship among our people. The church at Morant Bay on Sundays had very few attendants, almost devoid of worshippers. I am sure not more than 60 or 70 attended on an average, and of these perhaps 20 were males, the greater part being old women who went from habit, young girls to show off a new hat and feathers, and some children. I speak strictly of the agricultural people, not of the residents in the town.

Fifth. Another local cause of discontent was the removal of the late stipendiary justice, much liked by the negroes, although they did not show their love in a very amiable way when they very nearly murdered him at Amity Hall, and indeed left him only because they thought him dead. But I do not think this latter cause, the removal of Mr. Jackson, created much dissatisfaction beyond the immediate district of Morant Bay.

Sixth. The great productiveness of the lands of this parish, the facilities of rearing stock enjoyed by the negroes, their consequent independence of estates labour, the large quantities of unclaimed land, where they procured cedar and other valuable woods, the general ease in which they lived, coupled with that natural antagonism implanted in human nature which no earthly power or imperial law can set aside, the difference of race and origin, the knowledge of his numerical superiority, his overweaning conceit in his own powers, all these combined with the foregoing causes led them to wish for full power and sway in the land, which they fancied could be accomplished by the extermination of the white and coloured population, and which they were bent on doing. The leader of the gang who entered Coley estate told Mr. George Ford, who was working on the coppers at the time, that "The negroes in Vere had "already risen, or if they had not done so, would immediately." How did he know that? Was there not correspondence and unanimity among them?

During the first week of August last a man whose name I don't know, but who was a baker for the late Mr. McNab, at Chiegofoot market, nearly came to blows with another for his opposition to the violent speech he was making in the public road; he came from somewhere to leeward, and denounced the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East as worthless cowards, ruled by buckra, who were all damned brutes; and if they were only of his mind he would soon put matters different, would fight till the flesh dropped off his bones, &c.; this was told me in August or September. I had two men digging out a pit for a mixing cistern in the still-house about the same time, and on my remonstrating with them about the slow manner in which they worked, they reproachfully told me they were ground down by buckra, but that God in His good time would avenge them, &c. They stated no particular case of oppression, although I tried hard to elicit the cause of their discontent. These matters I now look upon as heralds of the coming storm, although at the time I took no notice. The people often said they would get better wages after Christmas, and even named a dollar per day as the amount. A week before the massacre a fellow named Dugald Lindsay (shot in the rebellion) called out to our ploughman (Minott, you know him), "Well, Mr. Minott, if war come, who you for, buckra or niger?" Minott answered, "You fool, man. Who this plough for? Who land this? Who cow this? Who pay me, and you too? "No buckra. You niger, got anything to give me?" Minott says he would have told me at the time, but he thought it all nonsense. He told me the day after the massacre. The inflammatory address issued by Gordon was not seen, I believe, by any white person at the time. You are well aware of the jealousy even entertained by the negroes with respect to our visiting their settlements, and as a corollary to this I may mention that although Stoney Gut is only about four miles from this, I have not during a residence of ten years been even near the spot, nor do I believe that any white man, except, perhaps the doctor, in epidemic seasons, has visited the place for a long time past. This is certainly to be deplored; but the feeling is general, and tends much to keep up that spirit of mistrustfulness evinced by the negro toward the planter, and which, acted upon by the excitable speeches of their self-constituted friends, is a productive force of much social evil.

I remember the morning the Gazette containing the Queen's advice arrived here by post, George W. Gordon was in the great house in company with Mr. Jackson; knowing this, I walked in with the paper in my hand; he smilingly said, "Ah, I see what you are after, you planters are highly delighted "this morning." I replied, "Yes, Her Majesty has sent out some seasonable advice for our black friends "and tells them to work; 'tis all up with your meetings now; you need not agitate any more." He answered me in allusion to some other remark I made that he was always glad to find the people in this district so well clothed and contented; but at the same time could assure me that in some districts, and he named Mexico in St. Elizabeth's in particular, that the people were in a most wretched condition: for some time past also the negroes in this vicinity have declared that land was to be free; they were to pay no rent, and in some cases refused to do so. Whether they really believed this, or only wished it to be so, I cannot say; but incline to the latter supposition. When the lessee of Middleton called on a man for rent last August he told him this tale, and said, "Think I lie, sir? look here," producing a paper with the address to the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and a person who was at the house at the time said, "I do not like the looks of this, '*Be up and doing.*'" *Doing what?* The people here (about 22) who have grounds paid up very readily for the last half year; they are afraid we shall not allow them this privilege in future. They seem to be pretty well daunted by late occurrences, as far as I can see, though some rebellious spirits still exist among the young people; but as for any sorrow for the fate of dead relations, whether father, husband, or brother, they appear to be quite incapable of such a feeling.

In concluding this hurried statement, I must add that I consider Governor Eyre deserves the heartfelt thanks of the community for his exertions in staying the progress of rebellion, more especially since we see the insensate strictures of a portion of the English press.

I remain, &c.

The Hon. W. P. Georges,
&c. &c. &c.
St. David's.

(Signed) PLATO ELPHICK.

SIR, Vere, January 19, 1866.

IN reply to circular No. 2,295, dated 28th December 1865, I have to state that I have found the black population generally civil, till within the last few months. I have remarked a distinct change of late as to the contentedness of their disposition, they have shown an unwillingness to be reasoned with, not a state of mind as may arise from suffering privations, which many have had to submit to in consequence of the lengthened and severe drought, but an upishness as if undeservedly injured. I attribute this to the impressions made on their minds by Mr. Underhill's letter, and the opinions expressed at the meetings relative to that letter.

This uneasiness of spirit existed so strongly and so generally among the people that I thought it advisable to refrain from distributing copies of the Honourable Mr. Cardwell's letter, sent to me by the Government for that purpose. In the then state of feeling I felt convinced they would be rather exasperated than appeased.

There has been a great falling off in the attendance of the middle and lower classes at church, and consequently at the Communion. There were recorded in the parish register of Vere, in the year 1860, 43 marriages; in the year 1861, 74; in the year 1862, 32; in the year 1863, 20; in the year 1864, 10; in the year 1865, 9. There has been a large decrease in baptisms during the past year, but in the previous one the number was large.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to the Executive Committee.

(Signed) THOMAS GARRETT, M.A.,
Rector of Vere.

JAMAICA.

SIR, Grange Hill, P.O., January 10, 1866.

IN reply to your circular letter of the 4th instant, I have to state that on receiving intelligence of the late disturbance in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I visited all parts of my district, and also directed some trusty members of my church to be on the watch, and to give me information of the arrival of any suspicious characters in the district, or of the holding of private meetings either by night or day; but I discovered nothing to lead me to suppose that a seditious spirit existed, or that there was any wish or intention on the part of the black people to murder all or any of the whites and browns.

That there was wide-spread misery and discontent on account of the universal poverty arising from the low rate of wages and the high price of food and clothing, I had long known, and when considerable numbers of the population in any country are in this condition there is always a danger of riotous outbreaks, but that there is any hatred on the part of the blacks to the whites as a class, I do not believe.

The opinion I have formed from the evidence that has been published is that the late outbreak originated on Saturday, the 7th October, from a local excitement acting on previous discontent and hatred of the parish authorities; and culminated in the riot and murders on the 11th; but I think that if it had not been instantly and vigorously repressed, it might have extended throughout the Island. I cannot, however, approve of what appear to me the illegal and vindictive measures adopted by the authorities after all resistance on the part of the Rebels had ceased.

I do not consider that his Excellency Governor Eyre and his advisers are free from the guilt of inciting to this rebellion. They have persistently ignored the distress which everywhere exists among the labourers, and in publishing that most inappropriate reply of Mr. Cardwell to the St. Ann's memorial, in the shape of a Proclamation from the Queen, they mocked the cry of the poor, and showed themselves the mere partizans of the class opposed to the negroes, who form the bulk of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and whose prosperity and welfare ought, therefore, to be the first object of the Government. When I received 200 copies of that placard, with instructions to circulate them extensively among the labourers, I was as much filled with amazement at the recklessness of the Government as with uneasiness at the probable consequences of their act, and I determined to use my own judgment in the matter, and to suppress the placard as far as I could in this neighbourhood. I addressed a very long letter to you on the subject, but when it was ready for the post I resolved that as the mischief was already done, and as all my previous correspondence with the Government had been fruitless, I would not send it, and it still lies on my study table. The following is the concluding paragraph of that letter:—

"I do not approve of what are called the Underhill meetings, because I think it not only useless, "but highly dangerous to call together a number of ignorant people, and to disturb their minds, and "excite their passions about subjects on which it is impossible they can have any intelligent ideas. "Everything should be done *for* the poor and ignorant, but nothing *by* them. It is for this reason "that I ask the Government to excuse me from complying with their request to publish and circulate "these papers in this neighbourhood. I feel quite uneasy at the thought of the effect which this measure "may have on the people. So long as the despatch was published only in the newspapers it could do "no harm, because labourers do not read newspapers, but there is no telling what may be the con-"sequence, in their present discontent and excitement, of placarding in public places, and circulating "in every house, a paper from the Queen, whom they have always regarded as the giver of their "freedom and their protector against their oppressors, which tells that she requires them to work "constantly on the estates at such wages as the managers may choose to give them. I hope no evil "results will follow, but I remember what took place at the toll-gate riots in this parish, and I have "no wish for us to come again as near the edge of the precipice as we were on that occasion."

It is clear that this proclamation called forth the inflammatory proclamation of Mr. G. W. Gordon, which forms the only evidence against him that I have yet seen. In the opinion of the Government Gordon's proclamation incited the rebellion, and in my opinion the Government proclamation incited Gordon's.

The congregations at my church during the past year have been smaller than during any of the 13 years I have held the curacy, but I ascribe this mainly to the want of clothing. For the last three years marriages in this district have all but entirely ceased; I attribute this to the circumstance that the district consists almost entirely of sugar estates, none of which provide any house accommodation for their resident labourers; the people are, therefore, sheltered in miserable huts of their own building, in which old and young of both sexes herd promiscuously. Under such circumstances it is impossible that Christian families can exist, and therefore marriages must cease.

The only consolation I feel under the heart-sickening circumstances of this insurrection, is the knowledge that it has overthrown that detestable tyranny which for 200 years has so cruelly oppressed the poor black people of this Island. Considering the wrongs done to the negroes by the governing class, my astonishment is not that a rebellion has now occurred, but that it has been so long delayed.

I am, &c.

Wm. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary to Executive Committee.

(Signed HENRY CLARKE, Island Curate of Trinity, Westmoreland.

SIR, Rectory, St. Andrew's, January 17, 1866.

IN reply to your circular of the 28th December, I have to state that the accommodation for the poor at the parish church of St. Andrew's is, unhappily, very scanty; but the population in the immediate neighbourhood is also very limited. The room at their disposal is fairly filled, especially on Sacrament Sundays. The rite of marriage is not generally observed, as the baptisms of illegitimate children exceed those of lawful children in about the proportion of two to one. The rite of baptism is generally observed, but there is considerable difficulty in procuring proper sponsors for illegitimate children.

With respect to the late rebellion, I think that the seditious spirit was general. I enclose a threatening letter, which I received through the Kingston Post Office. I believe it to have come from some

tenant whom my agent had ejected for nonpayment of rent. They have very loose notions hereabouts about public lands, they believe they have a right to turn their stock into Bishop's pen, because it is Queen's land. This may, probably, arise from the absurd language used in vestry, when the Bishop, after two or three years' loan for the parish school of certain premises erected at his pen by charitable contributions, thought it only right to charge the parish for the future a rent, and devote it to the objects contemplated by the contributors. Mr. Osborn contended that the pen did not belong to the Bishop, but to the public; that the Bishop could not rent any part of it, &c., and so there is now no proper place of assembly for the school.

I saw the other day one of my old parishioners from Westmoreland, Mr. Cooke, of the Hermitage, and I asked him if it was true that there was disaffection in his mountains, at Seaford Town, which I had always understood to be a settlement of Germans. He said, "Yes, but there is also a large black "population, and there was great excitement among them after Gordon's visit a few months ago, but it "subsided when they heard that Gordon *was hung*." He added that Gordon had bought some of their produce and never paid for it, and this leads me to say the sooner the better the British public can be disabused of their notion that Gordon was a saint and martyr, and made to understand that he was a rogue and hypocrite. His character and acts once known, the broad maxim "*Salus publica, lex suprema*," will be a sufficient excuse for his removal from Kingston to Morant Bay.

No one can bear truer testimony to Gordon's rascalities than Mr. John Polson, the overseer of Mr. Moses' coffee property in this parish, now the property of Mr. Augustus Miles. Gordon was formerly attorney of that property and of several adjacent properties, and Mr. Polson was manager under him. He is a worthy, straightforward, old Scotchman, and Mr. Miles speaks in the highest terms of his integrity.

I most respectfully urge Mr. Polson's being called before the Commission of Inquiry, or, if he is unable to travel, that his deposition should be taken before Mr. Miles or some other magistrate.

I will only add one or two interesting facts. One Sunday after church the people went up and thanked Mr. Miles for keeping the peace of the district; that was because he had not appointed any special constables. He had abstained from doing so because he thought that men dressed in a little brief authority sometimes do more harm than good. Mr. Miles also told me that a trusty negro said to him, "He hoped the Rebels would not come that way, for if they did ——— and ——— would "certainly join them, and others would be overawed into doing so." The negro added, "I shall be on the "look-out, and give you the earliest warning to escape, and that is all I can do for you, you cannot expect "me to fight *against* my own colour." Mr. Miles said he put more faith in that man for his candour than if he had made vehement protestations. And that is true, but it is a most suggestive declaration on the part of the negro.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
&c. &c.

(Signed) W. Mayhew.

12 October 1865 Wilam Mayor

i am up at poteintoney and i hear of your great oppression towards the people that hire your glebe land you best to look sharp for we shall set to resolution and cut oof your head the same as the barron and the sooner you quit from standret it will be the saveing of yourws life you are not better than parson espell you did not buy the land which you are oppress them of and account of you we shal come down and others will suffer for we are the devil whe dont care for nothing you irish brute we shall let you go to your land your irish hog.

Reverend David B. Panton to Mr. Myers.

Sir, Birnam Wood, St. George, January 12, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of date January 4th, and in reply beg to express my thanks to his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee for the opportunity thus afforded of expressing an opinion on a subject of the most vital importance to every British subject in this Colony.

I have passed 20 years of my life in Jamaica, nine of which as a clergyman of the Established Church. I am now pastor of a congregation of about 700 blacks, with whom for the last five years I have had almost hourly intercourse. I take a deep interest in my people, and am by no means discouraged in my work and labour among them. I am not prejudiced against them, for in many respects I think more highly of them than I possibly could of an English peasant congregation. Nevertheless I am convinced from my knowledge of the negro that had less severe measures been resorted to for the suppression of the outbreak which has just occurred in St. Thomas-in-the-East, rebellion would have blazed from end to end of this land.

The outbreak was local, but the *seditious* spirit was *general*. The germs of sedition was to be found in every parish, but more especially in those parishes most frequently visited by the late G. W. Gordon; therefore the outbreak occurred in St. Thomas-in-the-East, the head-quarters of that arch traitor. There were districts in each parish where no seditious spirit existed, but such is the want of moral stamina in the negro character that had the tide of rebellion flowed in his neighbourhood, he must inevitably have gone with the stream, although in his heart cursing the seditious movement. For the well government of this country, the peculiar characteristics of the black man must be taken into consideration, certain strings tightened, others slackened. It is absurd, and in future it will be death to the white man in the first place, to the coloured man in the second place, to adjudicate as if the negro were what he is supposed, or at least represented to be in England, a black Anglo-Saxon. I should be wasting time were I to enter into the detail of facts, upon which I have based my opinion that the seditious spirit was *general*, not *local*, for these facts will be communicated to the Government by others, from whom I received them, and which, unfortunately for our future prospects, are as common as dry leaves in the time of drought.

JAMAICA.

My own district was perfectly quiet during the weeks of deep anxiety through which the entire Colony passed. I made particular inquiry regarding seditious speeches and writings, but am confident that none were either spoken or written in the Balcarres district of the parish of St. George. The attendance at church and the observance of the rites of marriage and baptism have been usually good, even during the time of the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East. But I do again unhesitatingly assert that had the rebellion succeeded in its commencement, these loyal people, through fear of their race, would have joined in the movement. Whatever the people of England may think and write, the negro will stand in no gap, defend no Thermopylæ, and can never be expected to lead a forlorn hope.

These being my convictions, I may be allowed to express my gratitude for the energetic measures of his Excellency the Governor, absolutely necessary for saving this Island from that ruin which the fanatical excitement of a portion of the British people may yet bring to pass.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Executive Committee Office.

(Signed) DAVID B. PANTON, Island Curate, Birnam Wood.

Since writing the above, I have heard that the late G. W. Gordon remarked to Mr. Henry Ford some months ago that the rebellion in India did not succeed, that country being flat, but that rebellion here might be expected to succeed, this being a mountainous country.

JOSIAS CORK, ESQ., to WILLIAM MYERS, ESQ., Secretary, Executive Committee.

SIR,

I AM now in a position, having recorded in the parish books the surplice duties of the parish for the past year, to ascertain statistically by comparison with former years how things have stood.

Ere, however, I enter upon these statistics, and only having recorded, without summing up or comparing, I deem it but fair that I should, while these facts are unknown to me as to numbers by comparison, pen what I wish in answer to the general inquiries of the Circular No. 2,295.

I am asked for my opinion as to the general seditious spirit of the black population, and I answer that my view of sedition is, that a seditious spirit must be, as far as possible, a spirit hidden in the breasts of the discontented to afford the least chance of the consummation of an overthrow of that authority against which sedition is intended to be brought to bear.

Only then by implication and by a comparison with some overt acts of a local status can a general spirit of sedition be sought.

I ask, Was there discontent generally from the time of the Underhill controversy? I answer unhesitatingly that everywhere among the black people, not imbued with the spirit of real religion which calls upon its professor to do what he finds to hand with all his might, there was *real discontent*, and with the industrious something akin to despair crossing their minds.

The industrious were paralyzed in their labours by larceny of their food crops by their idle and unscrupulous fellows. Everywhere shopkeepers and others accustomed to give credit found an almost universal difficulty in obtaining payments, and hence there was a sullenness pervading the general body of the people which portended perilous times.

My labours among the people date from before the year of freedom, and you, Sir, have known me nearly all this time, and know further, that I have laboured earnestly for the good of the black people, and I am not afraid for men to ask in my absence at any of the stations where I have laboured if I have not left a name had in honour by my black brethren. We know each other intimately yet not entirely. There are real secrets connected with the practice of Obeah which no white man can penetrate, and there are feelings of race within the black man's breast impenetrable to those without except in so far as quarrels which lead to legal or pastoral cognizance reveal. I say then unhesitatingly that the blacks of Jamaica can and do keep certain secrets from those without, and therefore I fairly imply that they could carry in their breasts the secret of an intended rising. Did they do this? I dare do no more than supply certain facts.

It is a fact that a feeling of insecurity prevailed to an extent which induced brave men to look for a place of security for wives, children, and valuables, and although it was known among friends of my determination to throw myself between our small organized force, and any rebellion, should they arise, and urge them to return to their duty, even should I perish in the attempt, rather than see the peace of my parish broken, yet was I looked to as a medium of security, for responsibility beyond the care of my own family and effects for a time devolved upon me.

I have never feared that any one knowing me would take my life, and I therefore with cheerful countenance always went about my work. In this fearless temper then did I see cause for alarm in others? I saw this.

The news of the rebellion reached this parish late on the Saturday night, and was spoken of early by those in the secret with bated breath; but the while it really was no secret. In some way or by some means the news had travelled everywhere, as if by a general electric needle pointing to every cottage.

I thanked God I could give assurance to all the well-affected that prompt measures had been, and still further measures were being, taken both to quell the rebellion and awe elsewhere the disaffected. Still the hours that intervened ere the post hour on the Tuesday afternoon were very anxious hours indeed, and any delay in the sound of the postman's horn that day would have called forth both earnest solicitude and a prompt gathering of all the appointed conservators of the peace. Fortunately the post brought good news, and the expresses through the police stations were also cheering.

It was known there had been drilling in the mountains near Bluefields; it was also known that threats had been uttered in the parish. The authorities consequently saw the necessity for calling together the well-affected or supposed well-affected. The drilling was an overt act; I heard it from one of the magistrates, who looked into the matter, that two of the persons in the district who were known to have been engaged in drilling refused the test of loyalty proposed to them, viz., to be sworn in as conservators of the peace in their neighbourhood.

Another overt act was the tampering with a coolie of George's Plain, at Mesopotamia estate. I had

it from the attorney of George's Plain estate that one of the coolies went to see a countryman at Mesopotamia. He was accosted by a negro, one of a party, and to the coolie all perfect strangers. The coolie was asked if he had heard that war had begun against buckra, that it would be sure to spread, and that the negroes desired to know on which side the coolies would fight. The coolie returned to George's Plain and informed his overseer, and the overseer the next morning told the attorney. The answer of the coolie was, "Buckra brought me to the country and buckra must take "me back, and if fight come me fight for buckra."

Coolies are located in considerable numbers on George's Plain estate, and hence the significance of the inquiry and its secrecy; the coolie had no means of identification, as on no former visit to Mesopotamia had he ever seen the party who addressed him through their leader on that Sunday.

Again, the coolies at George's Plain stated in the latter part of October that an African man (very tall) slept at their house one night, and left again early in the morning. He told them he came from yonder, where war was going; "they hang minister and plenty people, that if buckra war come down "here they must tell him which side they will fight." They informed the book-keeper Scott and overseer Nesbitt of this the next day, but the man had gone away some time. Now (January 12, 1866) they say they do not recollect the latter remark, "but the man tell them plenty about the war which they "don't understand."

Again, Mr. George Fenton, overseer of Fort William estate, states:—Directly after news of the insurrection a respectable tradesman living among the settlers in Porter's district at the back of the estate, came to him and told him that there was some excitement about the people, who were grinding and sharpening their macheats and old bayonets. Mr. Fenton informed his employer, Mr. Vickers, and requested his informant meanwhile to obtain all the information he could. Mr. Fenton was subsequently waited on by the same man, who told him the people found there was no chance, as buckra was making preparation.

A Mr. ———, I mention his name in confidence, told myself at the time the rebellion was known, but not its entire suppression, he was on his way home from Savanna-la-Mar, he was met by a party of negroes riding abreast, and occupying the whole road, that not one of them would make room for him to pass, and jeered him as he took to the trench. When he told me this we had a force, both military and naval, at hand. I asked him if he knew any of the party, as they were all amenable to the law for such an obstruction, his answer was, he feared to bring them to justice, as his home, his wife, and children were in a measure isolated, and therefore it was better for him to put up with the indignity than risk the ill-will of the party.

Again, and I think important, on a Saturday the week *before* news of the outbreak reached Westmoreland a black man from Hanover, selling provisions at Townhead market, took a drink with his companion, also from Hanover, at the shop of Mr. J. E. Bucknor, his "sentiment" being that "he hoped every mulatto man and buckra in the country would soon be governed by negur." Bucknor spoke to his wife the same evening of the strangeness of this remark; the other man told his companion to be cautious what he said.

After the insurrection a man named David Barham came into his (Bucknor's) shop in his absence, and was exceedingly insulting, saying, "If he stopped there till night he would make every d—d "mulatto in the quarter smell h—l."

As to the speeches of demagogues, I did not hear any. I refused to sign the memorial to the custos, calling for the Underhill meeting at Savanna-la-Mar. My school-house was invaded for the meeting, the master and children turned out, and the room crowded to such a degree that the flooring gave way. It was not to be expected that I should enter the building when such discourtesy had been shown to myself as not even to ask for its use.

All I can say is, that I foresaw the evils of such gatherings to the black people themselves. I am fully convinced of this, that these meetings had much to do with the rebellion, and had it not been so speedily put down we should have had a general rising from beneath, that is, from the idle classes who, unfortunately for Jamaica, are a very large class indeed.

And this leads me to the fact that in this parish there are numbers of true-hearted black men who would not have joined the class to whom allusion has been made except under compulsion, and who, moreover, would have stood by constituted authority so long as it had a fair chance of maintaining its ground, but the class whom no ministerial efforts reach beneficially are idle, vicious, dangerous, and I use the words in their full acceptation, their liberty is licentiousness.

On my acceptation of this incumbency I found the rector of this parish for the time being for a long series of years had been the chairman of the poor-house committee. I never shrink from any assigned duty, however burdensome. Circumstances soon transpired to place me, in addition to the general chairmanship, as principal manager, and entailing on me almost daily visits, and I can speak of a class therefore drafted from without, as so lazy, so devoid of all self-respect, yet so vicious in their habits, that I cannot keep them in due subordination, and make them do the least thing towards cleanliness, either of person or abode, except by lessening their allowance of food. The postponement of rations and half rations are not unfrequently equally necessary to keep down the spirit of rebellion against the mildest authority.

Their fellows without might have a weekly market of cassava and sweet potatoes, for which the plains around are the better locale, but they neither plant nor suffer those who have planted to reap. I spend 2*l.* cash weekly for ground provisions for the poor-house, but not a meal comes from the neighbourhood. Not to feel that such a class could be stimulated to reckless acts of rapine, arson, murder, with all their vile accompaniments, would be a want of common sense, and to feel further that ere this such acts would have been consummated but for the vigorous measures used for the suppression of the insurrection, and the necessary after-severities to prove the power of lawful authority to all the lawless is but the legitimate decision of a well-balanced mind.

In examining statistics I can say this, that at my church, for about five weeks after the rebellion broke out, except for the presence of aged black men and women, and some widows not so aged, it might have been said a race had forsaken their church and their God. The reason assigned was fear.

JAMAICA.

I am not indisposed to take the assigned reason as a fair one, for I personally witnessed, after the military could be paraded, more than one party seemingly afraid to go into the town to sell.

At the communions at the parish church the numbers are large, and necessarily therefore fluctuating, as the parish is a wet one, and only the post roads are fit for travel to church after a heavy shower. The streets of the town are in a like condition. The falling off for 1865 has been, I find, about one-eighth only, for which the late drought and the enhanced price of clothing may be the cause. The general average for the parish of baptisms and marriages for the past 11 years are as under:—

	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
Marriages - -	59	91	83	78	75	156	212	85	67	50	54
Baptisms - -	397	501	406	658	520	612	506	427	404	440	345

I am, &c.
(Signed) JOSIAS CORK.

January 15, 1866.

DEAR SIR, Point Hill, St. John, November 3, 1865.

I HAD been informed that during the present week two or three arrests had been made in this parish and district of persons for using seditious language, and a policeman last night came to my house to require the attendance in Spanish Town of my man-servant, Peter Brown, who, it appears, on the information of another witness, was present when some such language was used at a shop near here (Hutchison's). Against Brown himself I believe there is no suspicion, and I am myself prepared to guarantee his loyalty and good conduct, he having been in my employ for three years and a half. I believe it is only his evidence that is required.

I do not for a moment doubt that my man-servant's duty to the Crown is greater than his duty to me, and therefore I do not wish to say one word in complaint of the temporary loss of his services, although I shall in his absence be left with two white and two black adult females and my three little children to protect, and with only a boy of 12 years old to assist me.

What I would wish, however, respectfully and deferentially to submit to your consideration is this, that although I have not now, nor even when the rumours of rebellion were at their worst, had I then any fear or doubt of the *general* loyalty and trustworthiness of the peasantry of St. John's as a body, and especially of those who are attached to my own church, yet I have not been able to hide from myself the fact that we are much more isolated here than from our proximity to Spanish Town might at first be supposed, and that the parish of St. John's has been, is, and must necessarily continue to be the most defenceless place in the whole Island. If, therefore, it should be found necessary to make further arrests in this parish and district I think that at least the civil arm of executive power should be materially strengthened here. I am aware, and I believe, the generality of the peasantry round about are also aware that the flame of rebellion has been quenched, and that even the scattered sparks of it are being sternly stamped out by the civil and military powers of the Crown; and I may truly say that I believe that this is a source of great satisfaction and joy to the great majority of the people of this district, and that should there be any whose secret feelings are not in harmony with the general thankfulness for God's mercies vouchsafed to the cause of law and order, that they will NOW be effectually overawed by the steps that have been taken to vindicate the insulted majesty of the law and the Crown, but from an experience of the negro character, formed gradually in nine years and a half, dwelling among and daily dealing with them in the capacity of a country clergyman, I should respectfully say that this wholesome result would be best produced and maintained in those badly disposed while their *feelings* were unaffected and their *judgments* and *reasons* kept cool and healthy, for should such minds become, unhappily, inflamed by a feeling of passion, terror, or excitement, I fear that NO amount of wholesome example exercised ELSEWHERE, or indeed *anything* but the actual presence and pressure of immediate overwhelming force would prevent many ignorant and badly trained minds from indulging (were it even only for one brief half-hour) in acts of madness and blind despair, wholly indifferent to or regardless of consequences to themselves when the inevitable day of retribution came. I would not have it for one moment supposed that I am at all afraid that any attempt would be systematically made here to renew the atrocities that have been perpetrated elsewhere; and I have already given the best proof of my confidence in my neighbours by remaining at this isolated post with my family, and especially in the late heavy seasons, when I was at times literally cut off from all communication, and, indeed, at the best of times I have but few opportunities of seeing any persons of greater intelligence and influence than my own schoolmasters. I think it, however, right to state that, in my judgment, that should a feeling of terror of extensive proscription seize the people of this district that their clannish feelings will be aroused, and unless some material obstacle is intervened for a sufficient length of time to allow the reign of reason to be resumed in their minds, that some disastrous incidents may occur.

I am quite aware that the Government at this time may feel it right to show that it can put down rebellion in substance or in shadow anywhere and everywhere; but for us who would be, as it were, between the hammer and the anvil, and especially for those households which vindictive feeling might single out for having had (as it appears now mine has also occasion to have) to furnish witnesses against disaffected persons, I say to us the swiftest and most signal retribution would be no equivalent for being without the slightest protection or defence in the very focus of the collision.

If, therefore, to use plain language, it is found necessary to make many more arrests in the parish of St. John, it will be necessary to increase our police and constabulary force. I do not think military aid, in any case, would without due notice be necessary, although, on the other hand, there is no local

material out of which a volunteer corps could be formed. Although I have been myself compelled to write this letter without consulting those few magistrates who are resident in this parish, yet I may here venture my opinion, that the resident magistrates would altogether agree with me on this matter.

In writing at length, as I have done, I may not altogether escape the character of an alarmist, but although I am aware that such a character, at this time, is both dangerous and ridiculous, yet I cannot but feel now, in reference to this rebellion, that things have been drifting thitherward for many a long day, and that the whole vocabulary of our peasantry will have to be subjected by them in future to much more restraint than has hitherto been common among them. And as the Governor has already, by his proclamation, offered clemency to the minor offenders, I trust that such idle prate as may have been uttered by a few ignorant or misguided persons in this parish will not detract from the general good reputation of the parish at large, and of the districts of which I have the spiritual cure, and where the Christian teaching and influence of my predecessors (to say nothing of my own efforts) have been productive of much good, of which both the humbler and the higher classes are now, I believe, in the present quietness reaping the acceptable fruits. I would not, therefore, wish to write in the character of an alarmist, but, on the other hand, doubtless with many others, I would at this time rather run the risk of being laughed at, severe trial as that is to the moral courage of an educated man, than to subject my wife and children, my household and neighbours, to the risk of suffering for my foolhardiness. I would, therefore, now leave it to your discretion and friendly sympathy to treat this letter either as private or official, as you in the interests of this parish (with which you have been long connected) may deem fit, and should you think it best to consider it in the latter light, might I request that you will courteously show it to Messrs. Levy and Espeut, our members, to either or to both of them, want of time preventing me from writing to them to the same effect and by present opportunity.

I remain, &c.

F. R. Lynch, Esq., C.P.,
Precinct of St. Catherine.

(Signed) HORACE SCOTLAND.

SIR, Point Hill, St. John's, Rodney Hall, P. O., January 15, 1866.

SINCE writing you in reference to my conversation and correspondence with Mr. Vendryes, I have duly received your circular of date the 4th instant, and in reply beg to state as follows:—

1st. I have obtained from Mr. Lynch, the clerk of the peace of this precinct, the original of a letter which I wrote to him under date 3rd of November 1865, that is, while a portion of this Island was still under martial law, and while (as the letter itself will show) there were symptoms, even in this district, that a general outbreak was by no means improbable, and would possibly have taken place but for the good sense and right feeling of the more respectable and influential negroes themselves.

That letter I have obtained Mr. Lynch's permission to forward to you, and I think it will show, in connexion with what I have to say in the sequel, that I had some reason to be alarmed, but that on the other hand I had implicit confidence in the general good feeling of the negroes around me; and also that I was then ready to bear testimony to the loyalty and peaceableness which (despite some few exceptions that came to my knowledge) I felt sure was then the ruling principle in this district.

2nd. I have, however, now to state, with regret, that an agitation has since been got up in this district, chiefly by the public and private reading of one of our Island newspapers, which has sedulously copied every article in the English organs hostile to the action pursued by our Government in respect to the rebellion, while it has withheld opinions of the British press of a contrary tone; the result is, I fear, that the seeds of deep social misunderstandings and hostilities are being daily sown, in a soil only too favourable for their speedy and noxious growth. And I cannot but express my opinion that my present influence for good must be considerably abated, and that I really feel that the general cause of law, order, and peaceableness is in more actual danger now in this district than it was during the time of the rebellion, since many respectable and influential negroes, without having had any additional information as to the facts afforded them are now rapidly changing their opinions, and taking up views in reference to their own condition which have originated in England, but for which there are no foundations whatever, as far as I have been able to learn, either by present observation or past experience. As an illustration of how easily the negroes may be led in these matters. I am credibly informed that the very man who, during the rebellion, was the chief and principal witness against the parties tried for sedition, and on whose evidence mainly one or two of them were actually flogged at the camp, is now to be seen at the same shop where such seditious language was spoken, reading out the columns of the newspapers to which I have referred to gaping groups of the peasantry. I am not aware, however, that this man himself is seditiously disposed, or that he has indulged in any actual address to the people, and the probability is that he would be quite ready again to give evidence in cases of seditious language, should such a contingency arise.

3rd. It would occupy a greater amount of time and space than I can at short notice afford for the narration, or than the Government, perhaps, could spare for the perusal, of those facts and circumstances which induce me to believe that, although the generality of the negroes had not been intrusted with the secret plans of the leaders of the late rebellion, yet it would not be difficult to show that some secret organization, for the purpose of effecting extensive social and political changes, has for a long period of time been slowly maturing. My own opinion is, that the late outbreak was not only premature, but that the leaders of the movement had not, as yet, finally settled the plan of operations; the ramifications of such organization were being, however, gradually extended from parish to parish.

It would ill comport with my clerical office to act as a spy or informer, and indeed even in reference to my supervision of the members of my church, while I have always taken cognizance of gross scandals among them, yet I have at the same time repressed any tendency to the propagation of

JAMAICA.

gossiping and talking. And I have thus, perhaps, heard less of the small talk prevalent in my district than I might have gathered had I been disposed to do so; but I may say that for some years past the late George W. Gordon has been attempting to establish an influence in this parish and district. And more than once I have been compelled, publicly and privately, to discountenance his plausible but pernicious machinations among the members of my own flock and others; and some time previous to the outbreak of the rebellion it was commonly understood about here that there was an intrigue at work to depose a very pious and amiable man, the Rev. Mr. Watson, the Baptist minister at Point Hill, from his appointment, and to instal Mr. George W. Gordon in his stead. And it also came to my knowledge, although I have no documentary evidence or witnesses to prove it, that Mr. Charles Anthony Price, who was the one black man murdered in St. Thomas-in-the-East, used all his influence, which at one time was very great, among the peasantry of this parish (he formerly represented the parish in the House of Assembly), to prevent this scheme from taking effect, a scheme which would have converted the Point Hill Baptist chapel (towards the repairs of which Sir Morton Peto himself, in 1865, gave the sum of 20*l.*) into a conventicle like Mr. Gordon's "tabernacle" on the Kingston parade, or Paul Bogle's chapel at Stony Gut.

4th. There are many highly respectable and religious persons of either sex among the humbler members of my own congregation, and I also believe among the congregations of other denominations in my district. And I think these persons, like Abraham and Lot, deserve the greater consideration and respect because they are certainly a minority, and I fear much a decreasing minority; but if I am to speak of the peasantry of my district as a whole, I must candidly say that, with the special reservation of the class above mentioned, I cannot, as a rule, report favourably of their public observances of and respect for religious ordinances or even social courtesies and civilities; nor can I say that in private life morality, honesty, truthfulness, industry, and perseverance in continued well-doing may be numbered among their virtues. Marriage is still the exception among them, and not the rule, and I regret to observe that many who are themselves the offspring of lawful marriage, and who have had the benefit of some superficient training in our churches and schools, have nevertheless relapsed in unholy connexions and uncivilized habits; indeed there is hardly a widow woman in my congregation who has not deplored to me alike the misconduct of her children, and her inability, by advice or restraint, to correct their evil courses. Nor can I say that my schools are so well attended as they ought to be, although I have for four years striven to do everything in my power, both to increase their usefulness and to cheapen the expense of education to parents, as my numerous reports, sent into the Government during that time, will, I think, abundantly testify. All these facts are of much evil augury for the future career of those young persons who are fast entering upon manhood and womanhood.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.
Executive Committee Office, Spanish Town.

(Signed) HORACE SCOTLAND,
Island Curate,
Slindas Vale and Point Hill, St. John's.

REV. R. W. FIDLER to MR. W. R. MYERS.

DEAR SIR, Old Hope Pen, January 15, 1866.

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of a printed circular, dated January 4th.

I am unable to say from what cause under my own observation, whether the disturbance was local or general, but I can affirm in this particular part of the parish there was no seditious spirit, although it was confidently expected there would be a general rising.

The attendance at my chapels is very good indeed; but the number who actually partake of the Eucharist has decreased; the number on the list still good.

Marriages are increasing; baptisms much as they were.

I am, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Sec. Executive Committee.

(Signed) DANIEL R. W. FIDLER,
Island Curate.

REV. H. H. ISAACS to MR. W. R. MYERS.

SIR, Woodford Parsonage, Kingston, P.O., January 15, 1866.

IN reply to the letter of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, under date the 4th, I regret that the nature of the questions is so circumscribed that it does not admit of the expression of opinion relative to the supposed causes of the late rebellion, or of the general condition and prospects of the labouring population.

In this district the blacks, as a rule, have shown but little sympathy with their fellows in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and beyond the expression of opinions reported to me as having occurred in conversation with persons non-resident, I have heard of nothing approaching disaffection, while opinions have again and again (to within the last 24 hours) been advanced by the more respectable among them that his Excellency, Mr. Eyre, was fully justified in the steps he took to suppress the further progress of insurrection.

Nevertheless there exists, I believe, so much jealousy of the whites, whose inferiors they feel themselves to be mentally, morally, and socially, so little stability in the negro character, such a natural love of plunder and hatred of labour, and so much tacit agreement with what they believe to be the winning cause, that they would soon have yielded either to persuasion or a display of force had it not been prevented.

My belief, Sir, is that, subjected to healthy influences, with contentment, industry, and self-reliance inculcated, the negro is both prosperous and happy; but the existence of so-called "places of worship" (of which there are five or six in this neighbourhood), presided over by persons who can neither write nor read, and where the services are frequently conducted at night, is peculiarly detrimental to the moral and social good of the people. These, closed for the last three months, are now re-opened and in full operation. I am not able to state any particulars more determinate than the general warning and

assertion, again and again repeated by the more respectable among the negroes, who have something to lose, and who are better instructed than the others, that all the sedition and disaffection which does exist is engendered in such places.

The attendance at church and the number of baptisms performed during the past 18 months have been rather above the average, while the number of marriages solemnized and the attendance at communion has been decidedly below.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Sec. Executive Committee.

(Signed) H. H. ISAACS.

SIR, Montego Bay, January 18, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and in reply beg to state that, having been recently appointed inspector of police for the parishes of Saint James and Hanover, and only just arrived, I am not in a position to state or give much information as to the present disposition of the black population generally in these parishes, but so far as I have seen they appear quiet and orderly.

I resided in Portland at the time of the outbreak at Morant Bay, and believe that it was a determined and deliberate movement, not at all local, and but for the prompt measures used in having troops landed at Port Antonio, on Sunday 17th October, from the "Wolverine," the Rebels would have attempted the town that night, as disaffection, seditious feelings, and, I suppose, evil intentions prevailed to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood.

I do believe that the people in Saint Thomas-in-the-East and other parishes were encouraged and stimulated by the lectures and writings of Mr. G. W. Gordon, and I may add that in travelling through the country from Portland to this parish I observed evident signs of disaffection and ill-feeling depicted on the faces of men collected in groups, who became silent as I passed, but scowled and looked insolently on me.

I am, &c.

W. R. Myers,
Secretary Executive Committee,
Spanish Town.

(Signed) J. H. D. SUNT,
Inspector Police.

CAPTAIN HOLE to the DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

SIR, Port Antonio, December 19, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a letter I have received from Mr. Harland, sub-manager of the Manchioneal Cotton Company.

As reports in which untruths are circulated about his Excellency the Governor may tend to mischief, I have felt it my duty to bring the same to the notice of the Major-General commanding.

I have, &c.

The Deputy Adjutant-General,
Kingston.

(Signed) L. B. HOLE,
Captain commanding at Port Antonio.

MR. HARLAND to CAPTAIN HOLE.

White Hall Estate, Portland, Jamaica,
MY DEAR SIR, December 18, 1865.

I THINK it right to inform you that an idea as absurd as the one the negroes have about the Queen having sent money which the Governor withholds (which has been productive of so much mischief) is now being diligently promulgated amongst them.

They are made to believe that the execution of Bogle and Gordon has been concealed from the Queen, and that Her Majesty has written ordering them to be sent by next mail to her; that she is angry that so many innocent persons should have been hung, and that the Governor is in a mess, for that he cannot send the men the Queen has written for, and that all the men who, like Nathan, were arrested on suspicion, and taken on board the "Aboukir," are not fools; they will revenge Gordon's death.

They say God looks down and sees that the Governor wrongfully treats the negro, and He will help the blacks.

This is the substance, and although I do not place faith in negro boasts or negro threats, I think that when they *unanimously* entertain such ideas mischief may brew. I place the facts before you for consideration, only let them speak for themselves.

I have, &c.

Captain L. B. Hole,
Port Antonio.

(Signed) JOHN WHITT. HARLAND.

Plantain Garden River Estate.

I, Frank S. McDermott, reside on Plantain Garden River Estate. I remember the 12th of October. I went to the fields as usual to see the people commence the day's work, but was very much astonished to find the people standing in groups and conversing with each other. I asked them why they did not begin their work, when they said, "We hear say war dey at Morant Bay, and bucera are killing our "colour." I argued with them, and told them it was nothing of the kind or I would have heard of it, but they all walked away, and one person (a woman) said, "Now we'll put hell upon bucera." I next went to some men who were making a wear, and met them leaving their work; I asked them what they meant and again received the same reply, that they heard a fight was at Morant Bay. I told them it was nothing of the kind, but they told me I would soon know for my turn would come to-morrow. Finding that all the people were determined to leave work and go to join the rioters at Morant Bay,

JAMAICA. and seeing them arming themselves with sharp cutlasses, I called at once on the constables to come and join with the book-keepers and protect the estate, but met with a very poor response from them.

The estate was quite deserted until about 12 o'clock, when about 30 men and women passed by, and I got up to see who they were, when one fellow said, "You have right to look, my man, but to-morrow "will show you something." Later in the day another lot passed by, and three men, who had some money owing to them at Bachelor's Hall, then came up to me in a very menacing manner and demanded their money. I told them I had no money with me, but as soon as Mr. Shortridge came home they would be paid; one then said, "Den if he no come me lose my money," as much as to say, he was sure Mr. Shortridge would never see home again. About this time a cart we had sent to town was chopped to pieces, and the driver (a black boy) was beaten severely, but allowed to pass, as he was not a full year employed by Mr. Shortridge.

During the evening I heard several horns blown, as if the people were mustering their forces; but no one disturbed anything on the estate, although several passed through the works as it was growing dark, but they all went in the direction of Golden Grove.

The night passed quietly enough, but in the morning, say about 8 o'clock, on Friday the 13th, I heard the people breaking down Winchester House, and shortly after I heard them on their way to P. G. River (as they had promised). I had then to hide myself in the canes along with my fellow book-keepers, and I heard when they arrived in the works, and then divided into two gangs, one to plunder and the other to search for us.

From what I saw I firmly believe this most infamous rebellion to be a deep-laid scheme, and from the behaviour of one of the men working at Bachelor's Hall Pen, and who I had occasion to send up the valley district to a place called Stony Gut, I believe that he was told of the intended rising, for early on Thursday morning he left his work and at once went and joined the people on their way from Morant Bay.

It is my firm belief that if his Excellency Governor Eyre had not acted with such promptness and decision this deep-laid rebellion would have been a general rising throughout the Island.

(Signed) FRANK S. MCDERMOTT.

Declared before me this 6th day of January 1866.
Saml. Shortridge, J.P.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

STATEMENT of THOMAS EARLE.

Saint Thomas-in-the-East, Golden Grove Estate,
January 8, 1866.

I AM a planter and head book-keeper on Golden Grove estate, in the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East. On Thursday the 12th day of October last I was in the fields and saw a large gang of cane-hole diggers and others, about 50 to 60 persons, not working. I naturally asked what was the matter; the answer I got from the headman was, "You had better look out, some is dead," naming Mr. Walton, "and I am only sorry it was not Chisholm; when we have finished with them, *you others look out!!* "we are all going to Morant Bay."

He then said to his people, "We had better commence from here at once, and meet them and make it "strong." He said a great deal more, and I thought it *not safe* to remain with them, so went away.

This was about 8 o'clock in the morning; a little after 4 o'clock in the afternoon a large body of people, men and women, commenced demolishing Mr. Tavare's store, many of the gang of the morning were there, and a host of people that I knew belonging to "Arcadia" and "Pera" settlements.

They went to other properties, growing more numerous as they went along, and continued the whole of that week their work of destruction, till the soldiers arrived and put them to flight. Their cry was colour for colour, colour for colour, from morning to night, "*Destroy the white and coloured people, and "let none of them live.*" I was two days and two nights in the woods as a fugitive escaping for my life.

I am a native of this Island, and have been a planter for these last six years, and since my residence in Saint Thomas-in-the-East (three years) I can safely affirm that the labourers generally have been well treated and regularly paid, so that I really feel at a loss how to account for the recent outbreak, except through the evil influence of political demagogues, who have for years past been working on the passions of the negroes.

Myself, as well as my brother book keepers, will ever feel grateful to his Excellency the Governor and military authorities for their prompt aid in rescuing us from our perilous position and for suppressing the rebellion with such promptness.

Declared before me this 8th day of January 1866. THOMAS EARLE.
Saml. Shortridge, J.P.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

STATEMENT of GEORGE DAVIDSON.

Plantain Garder River Estate.

SHOWETH, that I reside on Plantain Garden River estate, and am book-keeper to Mr. Shortridge. I remember the 12th October, I went from Dalvey, where I then resided, to Duckenfield estate, to ascertain from the book-keepers there if what I had heard about the dreadful massacre at Morant Bay was correct. I saw about the works groups of negroes standing and others sitting, and distinctly heard a woman say, why I did not go to Morant Bay also: a man replied it appears I did go, but am now running away; and they all laughed heartily. I said nothing to them, but went direct to the book-keepers, who I found as much alarmed as myself. I got the information I wanted, and on my way homewards a negro in another group said to me to stop cantering the horse I was riding, and what I came there for, and that I had better make myself scarce, and not let him see me about there from that evening. These groups of negroes were no other than labourers on the estate. About midnight I was aroused out of my bed by hearing a woman talking very loudly, saying that they had

chased all the white people in the woods and have now gained the day. I sat up and heard a great number of them passing backwards and forwards till morning, talking in the same manner. On the 13th about noon a man who was passing my residence called out my name aloud and said, that I had better take care of myself and the house I was in, as they intended to be in there on us that night. I then thought it best to make my escape somewhere, and on my way I met the same man with a cutlass in his hand: he was making use of very obscene and threatening language to a constable. As I passed him he called out my name a second time, and came after me, but fortunately I turned round a corner very quickly, which was bushy, when he returned to the constable and cut him with the cutlass on his hand. I was not out of the house two hours when I heard the blowing of shells and the people all gathering into a body, who went immediately into my residence, searching for me, and after plundering different houses went and joined with those of the estates. I was shut up in a room for three days, undergoing the most fearful apprehensions of being murdered by these negroes or Rebels, but for the timely aid of the military and naval forces sent up by his Excellency the Governor, to whom I feel deeply grateful, I fear but few of the white and fair coloured inhabitants would have been now alive to tell the tale of such a horrid and bloodthirsty rebellion as was evidently fully intended.

Declared before me this 9th day of January 1866.
Saml. Shortridge.

GEO. DAVIDSON.

STATEMENT of ALEXANDER FRASER.

Plantain Garden River Estate, St. Thomas-in-the-East,
January 6, 1866.

I AM a planter, and reside at Plantain Garden River estate. I went out as usual on the morning of the 12th October, to take a list of the gangs I had charge of, but was surprised to find them all standing in groups, and talking about the massacre that happened at Morant Bay the evening before. I then asked one of the headmen why he did not set his gang to work, and he replied that his skin stood bad, and hearing of the bloodshed at Morant Bay he would like to go and see it. I then went to another headman's gang and found them the same, very unwilling to work. I left them and was returning to the works, when the gang of cane-hole diggers asked me in a boisterous manner if the overseer was going to pay them to-morrow. I told them that they could not expect to get paid twice a week; they then said if they did not get paid you will soon see what is going to happen. I remained on the estate till 4 o'clock, and then took a ride to the neighbouring estates to see if they were situated in the same way, and found them much the same as ourselves. I returned home the same evening, and everything passed off quietly that night. The next morning I had to go into the cane fields and woods, as I heard the people coming after me, and remained there for two days and a night, until our worthy Governor sent up troops through the district and rescued us; and I firmly believe if he had not acted with so much promptness we should have perished; and his Excellency the Governor is worthy of all praise.

(Signed) ALEXR. FRASER.

Declared before me this 6th day of January 1866.
Saml. Shortridge, J.P.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

STATEMENT of WILLIAM C. PORTER.

Winchester Estate, January 4, 1866.

I AM a native of this Island, and at present manager of Winchester estate, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I have resided in this parish for 14 years, and am intimately acquainted with the general character and disposition of the labourers of this district, which used to be quiet and peaceable. Since the year before last, however, I noticed a considerable change in their conduct and general demeanour, which became openly rude and insulting, particularly after the recent publication of Dr. Underhill's letter, and the inquiries which were then set on foot as to the truth of the absurd aspersions therein set forth, which produced great excitement among the negroes, and in my opinion brought about the late calamitous rebellion, or at least hastened on the crisis, through the baneful influence of evil-disposed and designing "demagogues."

I was at Morant Bay on the ever memorable 11th October, and saw large numbers of able-bodied men and women gathering in groups, which, coupled with the "riot" I had seen on the previous Saturday, when a man was rescued from the Court, at once convinced me that some organized outbreak had been determined.

I need not here detail what occurred afterwards, except that I made good my escape to the residence of D. C. McKenzie, Esq., where I remained until his Excellency Governor Eyre (to whom, with Divine Providence, we must all ever feel grateful for his prompt action) sent up the naval and military forces to our aid, and had not this been done, and the just retribution which speedily fell on the Rebels, I believe a tale of woe would have to be told of the white and respectable coloured inhabitants of this "Island" which would have equalled if not surpassed the "Indian mutiny."

(Signed) W. C. PORTER.

Declared before me this 9th day of January 1866.
Saml. Shortridge, J.P.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

STATEMENT of CHARLES G. SLADER.

Plantain Garden River, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I RESIDE on Plantain Garden River estate, and am book clerk to Mr. Shortridge. I remember the 12th of October. I went to Bath on business, and there heard of the dreadful massacre at Morant

Bay. On my return to the estate I found the people standing about in groups, and they seemed very unwilling to go to work. Shortly afterwards the overseer came in and told me that the people had struck work and made use of very seditious and threatening language. We were then at a loss to know what was going to happen; but from seeing large numbers of negroes passing backwards and forwards, I fully expected there was going to be some general outbreak. I remained however on the estate with the overseer and book-keepers until about 4 o'clock of the same day, when we decided upon riding down to some of the other estates, when we found they were similarly situated, and in a considerable state of alarm. After this we thought it best to make our escape to the woods, where I remained for two days and one night, or I firmly believe I should have been murdered, as I had no sooner made my escape than I heard the people coming after me and threatening to kill me, if they could only catch me.

The design of these negroes or Rebels was evidently to exterminate the white people, especially those of us in charge of or connected with the estates, so that they might get possession of them; and but for the timely aid of the naval and military forces sent up by his Excellency the Governor, to whom I feel we all owe an everlasting debt of gratitude for his prompt and energetic action, I fear few of the white inhabitants would have been left to tell the tale of such a barbarous and blood-thirsty rebellion as was evidently fully intended.

CHARLES G. SLADER.

Declared before me this 6th day of January 1866.
Samuel Shortridge, J.P.,
Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

MR. WARMINGTON to COLONEL HUNT.

DEAR SIR, Muirton, Manchioneal, January 21, 1866.

I THANK you for your letter and the trouble you took in sending my letter to his Excellency Governor Eyre. I have just received your letter by packet express. I shall certainly do as you suggest, make a deposition and send or bring it to you myself, as I am warned to attend as a juror in Kingston on the 24th inst. I shall hardly be able to do so this evening, but will complete it in Kingston.

I very much regret the detachment has been recalled. I do not think our lives are worth much. The people are much excited and express themselves in most seditious language in Golden Grove Market. Mendes, a maroon man, was mobbed and ill-treated at Golden Grove lately. I enclose a letter I have just received from Mr. Harrison of Hadley, which corroborates what I say, and shows the state of society in the P. Garden district.

Mr. Bright and men of that school will, I think, have a heavy load of sin to answer for if their abominable and atrocious condemnation of the energy and promptness which our noble Governor displayed in quelling the late rebellion causes another rising among the negroes, and I fear it will have that effect if troops are not quartered in this immediate neighbourhood. I am not a mere alarmist; but it is my firm conviction and of many other besides.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR WARMINGTON.

Col. W. B. Hunt,
Mil. Sec. and A. D. C., Sp. Town.

MR. HARRISON to MR. WARMINGTON.

MY DEAR SIR, Hadley Estate, January 21, 1866.

I SHALL be very happy to see you to-morrow morning (if my head is on my shoulders). This evening I am taking my wife and other ladies to Port Morant, to place them on board ship for safety whilst I am away, for I don't like the look of things, particularly at Golden Grove.

I can't write more as I am laid up with fever and a bad finger. With kind regards.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) J. HARRISON.

A. Warmington, Esq., Minister.

DEPOSITION of DAVID FORD.

I, David Ford, lessee of Bloomhill, St. David's, having been sworn to a deposition on 23rd December 1865, concerning one "Dee Carr," who I met on my property, armed with long knife and cutlass on the 15th October, and who was on that day trying to get recruits in St David's for the Rebels, and who when hearing of the arrival of the military in this neighbourhood, which merciful interposition again drove the party of Rebels who were entering and scattering into this parish back down to St. Thomas-in-the-East, Dee Carr running, as he told me, to inform his captain (Paul Bogle) of Stony Gut, of the arrival of the military. I again met Dee Carr on Friday evening last, 12th January 1866, at Wilson's Gap, St. David's. I asked him where he was during martial law, he told me in the bush, and that the soldiers had not caught him. I accused him of being at Morant Bay when the Baron was murdered; he said no. I then told him I would take him to a magistrate, and on attempting to take hold of him, the crowd (a large number of persons being present) rescued him from me, vociferating at same time great nonsense, saying "That the Queen had sent for "Governor Eyre and Colonel Hobbs to hang them, and that the rest of buckras would have to pay "for all the blacks lost, and that they the blacks were soon to have everything their own way," and other language of a seditious nature. For the last month the people about this have been meeting in groups, and addressed by parties, supposed from Kingston, and discussing together what has been said by the English papers thereon, putting their own construction, and this being again retailed over to the more ignorant. It is in this parish, and from what I can learn it is in the neighbouring

parish (St. Thomas-in-the-East), raising the people to the highest pitch of dissatisfaction against their employers, and may very probably lead to much worse than is at present anticipated, should those meetings and discussions be allowed to continue to inflame the minds of the peasantry, and I firmly believe had it not been for the prompt arrival of the military on the 15th October, and the measures then taken to suppress the rebellion which was spreading so fast, that I and many more would not have been alive this day, and it is through dread of a repetition of same which causes me, I may say, one of the people and who know them well, to make this deposition, trusting that those in authority may give it the attention that such a precarious state of affairs requires.

(Signed) DAVID his × mark. FORD.

Sworn to before me at Richmond Vale, St. David's, having been first fully read and explained to Deponent, this 15th day of January 1866.

(Signed) RICHD. McENERY, J.P.

Witness,
(Signed) James Paterson.

STATEMENT of ARTHUR WARMINGTON.

I AM a magistrate of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and have resided (with a short interval) nearly ten years in Jamaica, and in various parts of the Island, latterly as the manager of the Jamaica Cotton Company's estates, situated in the Manchioneal district; my father is a shareholder in this company. About the 6th of October last I received a letter from the late custos, Baron Von Ketelhodt, requesting me to attend the quarterly vestry, to be held at Morant Bay court-house at ten o'clock on the 11th October last. I left Muirton early in the morning on the 11th October, calling on my friend Mr. Harrison, of Hordley estate, on my way down. Mr. Harrison informed me that the people at Morant Bay seemed very riotous and unsettled, and advised me not to go. I however, thought, as I had received a special request from the custos, that it was my duty to be present at the vestry, and accordingly proceeded on my journey. When I reached Bath the whole place seemed in a state of excitement. I must mention that on my way from Muirton to Hordley, and from the latter place to Bath, I passed men walking in twos and threes, all of whom had sticks; at this time, however, I did not think much about the matter, save that they looked sullen and did not offer me any salutation, which is very unusual with negroes. When I reached Bath I saw men with cutlasses and sticks, and they were then crowding about the gate of the residence of the late Captain Hitchins, where I saw the volunteers drawn up, and Captain Hitchins distributing a few rounds of ammunition to his men. I asked him what it meant, and he told me he was called out on active service, and that riots were expected at Morant Bay. I did not feel at all surprised, but thought this force of volunteers would be sufficient to keep order at Morant Bay, or at least till aid from Kingston arrived. I joined Dr. Major and drove with him, going at a slow pace, and keeping the whole way near the volunteers. I called with Dr. Major at Potosi, and there saw Mrs. Herschell, and she said her husband had already gone (the day before) to Morant Bay, and that she was very anxious about him. Mrs. Herschell asked me if I would like to take her husband's gun. I did not at first consider it necessary, but on reflection I took the gun in the carriage to Morant Bay, first loading both barrels. I saw a number of men and women going along the road towards Morant Bay, most of them, indeed, as far as I recollect, *all* had sticks, and I noticed not a few with cutlasses. I thought at this time things were looking very suspicious, and I half regretted that I had left my wife and child so far away. Near Leith Hall estate, as we passed under a cliff, I saw a number of half-frantic women, who were screaming and yelling (words that I did not quite comprehend at the time) "Flog them "John's town, flog them;" this repeated over and over with frantic gesticulations. I here saw a great number of men and women, many armed with cutlasses, and *all* had sticks. Nearly all were in the dress of ordinary labourers. As I neared Morant Bay the numbers considerably increased, and they seemed to swell every moment as we neared the bay. On reaching Morant Bay I put up my horses at Mr. Marshelleck's, the volunteers were marched off to the parade, and after some slight drill temporarily dismissed to obtain refreshments; soon after the vestry commenced the volunteers were ordered to fall in and remain under arms in front of the court-house. The drum corps played lively tunes at intervals. Previously to this I went over to the police station and conversed with the late inspector, Alberga, who told me he had sent for a strong additional force of police from St. David's, but they had not arrived; he was very anxious, he said, and he thought the people intended mischief. I then, accompanied by him, went over to the court-house, and took my seat at the Board as a magistrate. I heard the custos say he had written to request "his Excellency" to send troops to Morant Bay, and that he hoped they would arrive that day. The business of the vestry then went on, and was nearly completed at about half-past three o'clock. The drum corps was playing a lively air at the time, when all of a sudden they stopped, and a cry of "They are coming" caused every one to start up. The custos cried "Keep your seats, gentlemen," but we heard yells and a great noise, and all rushed the next moment to the windows. I heard Captain Hitchins order his men to load. I saw about 700 to 800 negroes, men and women, armed with guns with fixed bayonets, and others with bayonets on sticks, and all that I could see had cutlasses, bludgeons, and stones; the latter were principally in women's hands, many of whom also had cutlasses. They came on, yelling "colour for colour," "war, war," frantically brandishing their arms over their heads. The Baron (custos) and other gentlemen and myself came on to the steps, and the custos cried out "What do "you want?" They yelled "War, war." The custos then ordered them to disperse; they still came

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on, and were within a few yards of the volunteers, who I saw had their rifles at the "ready;" some one said "fire," but Captain Hitchins said, "No, fall back, men;" they did so, till close to the court-house, still the mob came on. The custos now attempted to read the Riot Act, but had only read a few words when a volley of stones were thrown at the volunteers, and at those on the steps. I saw the volunteers bleeding; at this moment the Baron cried out "fire," to Captain Hitchins, and instantly the men fired a volley; a number of the negroes fell; instantly the doors were closed, and stones and bullets came crashing through the windows, knocking down the plaster on the walls, and smashing windows to pieces. I recognized some of the guns and bayonets in the hands of the mob as those I saw in the arm racks at the police station two or three hours before, and I had no doubt they were the same, as I noticed they were old fashioned and brass mounted, and brightly burnished.

I with others in the court-house retreated to the back part of the building, as the firing was too warm. I heard the volunteers fire one or two regular volleys again, and then the few left not placed "hors de combat" rushed up the steps of the court-house. I saw Captain Hitchins and the brothers Harrison and others covered with blood; they all set to work, all of us aiding, to barricade the doors. The volunteers were ordered by Captain Hitchins not to throw away a shot, but to take a steady aim from the jalousies when they had a chance. The main body of the mob had scattered by this time and retreated down a street near the court-house, though numbers of men had posted themselves behind every available screen, from which they fired into the court-house. The fire of the volunteers evidently galled them, for I observed almost every shot tell, and they were too cowardly to attempt to carry the court-house by storm; they got bolder, however, as our fire slackened, and gradually surrounded us, though in ambush. Stones still came crashing into the building and frequently bullets. At this time, about half-past four, I observed smoke coming through the shingles of the school-house, only a few yards from the court-house; at the same time I said, they are going to smoke us out, I called Serjeant Harrison and pointed out a man I saw in the building; he took aim at him and fired, and the man fell. The smoke soon increased and then flames appeared, and we all saw the object of the negroes was to burn us alive as they could not get at us. The flames rapidly increased, and I saw at once the roof of the court-house must soon catch fire. About five o'clock the custos asked an old black man (there were several in the building) if he would go out and take a flag of truce to the Rebels; but he declined. I gave my handkerchief to the Baron and he tied it on his umbrella and walked towards a window in front waving it about; he stood behind a jalousie for protection from stones. At this time the Rebels were congregated, I should say in round numbers about 1,000; they called out "What's that?" The custos replied "We want peace." Instantly the mob shouted "War, war; we want no peace; colour for colour; kill them;" and the attack on the court-house was renewed with greater fury. The roof of the court-house was now on fire, and the flames were rapidly gathering way. The peril was extreme, yet to appear at a window was a signal for a bullet or a volley of stones. We consulted together what we were to do. A few persons made a dash out of the door and got over to Mr. Price's house. Baron Alfred first escaped, by dropping out of a window at the back of the court-house some 18 or 20 feet from the ground. He was instantly chased as he ran across the ramparts; he had a small revolver in his hand; I saw him turn an instant and fire point blank at the ruffian; the man fell, and the Baron dashed on. I saw Mr. Georges next escape, and then others, and I myself dropped out, thinking for a moment my leg was broken. At this time a portion of the roof had commenced falling in pieces. I with others made a dash and got over (in spite of a volley of stones and bullets) to Mr. Price's house, the negroes yelling frantically "Colour for colour; down with the white man; kill them, kill them." I found a number of gentlemen, among whom I saw Mr. Price, crouching in a corner of the room behind the bed to avoid shots. Captain Hitchins and about six or seven of his men were also here. Price's house now took fire from the court-house, and it seemed as though we were doomed; the savages came nearer and surrounded the house, firing into us at only a few yards. Lieutenant Hall received a ball through his throat, and in a few minutes after expired. Mr. McPherson was then hit, and the ground was covered with his blood. Then Mr. Georges was hit on the thigh, and poor little Alberga. The custos cried out "What do you want? If you want me, I will come out." In answer he received a ball in his thigh, and he cried out, "My friends, I have it now;" it was a flesh wound. Mr. Herschell offered a short prayer. The Baron requested Price, as he was a black man, to go out and parley; but Price replied, "It's no use, Baron, they will kill me as well as you." Our thirst was intense, and the roof of the house was at this time burning fiercely, and red hot nails were falling amongst us. I tried to put them out, but found it was a useless task. We then consulted as to what was to be done; nothing suggested itself to our minds but to rush out and "*sauve qui peut.*" It was now getting dark; but the flames made it light as day. We had previously fancied a steamer was in sight; alas! it was a vain hope. The yells of the men and women were demoniacal. At this moment I met the Baron and he said, "Mr. Warmington, there is no hope." I said, "None "but God can now help us." At this moment three savages rushed up and cried, "Ah, here's the "Baron, now we have him, damn him, kill him; colour for colour." The Baron had no arms, and was instantly cut down, his head split open; he did not say a word, the first blow must have killed him. I crouched behind the parapet wall, and here came on Dr. Major and Mr. Herschell. We laid flat down as the shots hailed on us; I received a heavy blow on the leg from a stone. We were surrounded; the slightest movement was seen. I said to Dr. Major, "How lucky I assured my life." Herschell said "Oh! God, my poor wife and child." I then shook hands with Major and Herschell, making them promise, if they escaped and I was killed, they would see that my wife and baby were sent to England; they promised and we parted, each seeking a fresh hiding place. A minute or two after I saw Herschell running and a number of savages after him; they came up and struck him down on his knees with cutlasses. He said "Would you kill your parson?" They answered, "Damn the parsons; kill him." He entreated for his life, offering three hundred pounds. In vain,

and he fell and was hacked to death. I then ran back to the rampart wall and came upon Captain Hitchins and Private W. Harrison; they were covered with blood, and Hitchins said, "Warmington, "old fellow, I am very faint; I can't shoulder my rifle." I said "Never mind, old fellow; rest your "rifle on my knee, and shoot that fellow coming up." He laid it on my knee, and fired: the man fell, and two others ran back shouting, "Take care, take care, buckra dar will shoot we." Hitchins could hardly stand, and said he had no more rounds. We parted, and I ran hither and thither. It seemed horrible to die without a chance of fighting. I had not any hope of escape. I saw a small building which seemed to offer some shelter (a privy); the door was closed; I crept round and found a small arch at the back, and squeezed myself through on hands and knees; the place seemed full of men. I came on a man and I said, "Are you white or black?" He did not answer me, and I felt his head and face rather woolly. I never knew who he was. He pushed me, and I thought tried to get on me; but I pushed him off. I found several Volunteers underneath; they said they were wounded, and had no rounds. I felt several rifles; they told me they hid them so that the Rebels might not use them against us. I heard whispering overhead, and saw persons as the seat was taken off. At this moment I saw a very tall savage look under the arch, and he yelled out, "Buckra here, buckra here." Some more ran up and commenced probing with bayonets and bludgeons. I received a stab from a bayonet, but could not move, as some one was half lying on me. I felt the blood soaking my leg. It was Mr. McPherson, the clerk of the vestry; several guns were discharged close into us, one close to my head. I now heard numbers outside stoning the house and tearing off the boards, while some cried, "Take care, buckra shoot you; colour for colour; kill them; hurrah, hurrah." I then heard the door forced, and Dr. Gerrard cried out, "I am Dr. Gerrard." Some negroes cried, "Save the doctors. "we want them." At this moment poor Hitchins was taken, and said, "Oh, doctor, I am so faint;" then I heard blows, heavy thuds, and for an instant quiet. Then the negroes entered the privy and commenced tearing the place down; several men were dragged out and killed over me. I felt their blood dripping on my hands; but could not get up, as Mr. McPherson had a bayonet thrust up his person and could not move. He was lying on me, but I thought he was dead. Torches of flaming bamboo were thrust in my face, and some blows were aimed at me; but McPherson's body sheltered me, and I managed to get my head under a board. I thought I was not observed, or that they considered me dead, but some one knelt down and held a torch close to my face, and said, "Here one "other buckra left; kill him." They shouted, "Come out and make me kill you, damn you." I said I could not move. Two savages caught hold of me and dragged me out. My watch and chain and rings were torn from me, and my pockets torn open in a moment. Some seized me by the legs and some by the arms. I thought my arms would be torn out of the sockets. I cried out, "Kill me at once; don't "torture me." I received blows from sticks as I was pulled backwards and forwards; then some cried, "Kill him, kill him; down with the white man. Colour for colour; kill them all." At the same time I received a slash with a cutlass across the forehead, and my eyes were blinded with blood. Just at this moment I remembered the savages' said, "Spare the doctor." I cried out, "I am a doctor." Some one called Captain Bogle, and a savage with his head tied and covered with blood came up and said, "Who you?" I replied, "I am a doctor, Major's partner, and have come in with him to-day" (which was true). Bogle said, "Take care, you lie. If you tell me lie, I will take your head off." I said, "It is so." I was then placed on my legs, but could not stand, so they held me up. I was nearly stripped. My boots were taken off. Bogle then said, "Swear by God you won't dress white "man's wounds, or I'll kill you." He made me repeat this oath, I would obey him, and then said, "Take care; mind what you use about. I will come for you in the morning." I was then carried to a druggist's house on a hill above the town, where I was attended to, and my wounds washed and bandaged by Mr. Moysten by order of Bogle. This was about 11 o'clock at night. I heard shots fired till near 12 o'clock, and then there was a complete lull. I heard drums rolling and horns dying away in the distance. I heard people in the house speaking of various people who were killed. I asked Moysten if it were likely they would return and finish me. He said, "No; you are safe "here." I inwardly prayed for a man-of-war to come. Towards morning I heard several shots, and then quiet till daylight. Stephen Cooke rushed in and said, "Can you hide me here?" and then ran off. Soon after a girl said, "I see a steamer!" I said, "Thank God!" from the bottom of my heart. I was carefully tended during the night by Mr. Moysten and his wife, and also by a black girl who used to gin cotton for me at Muirton. Towards morning I felt better, though very weak and my bones aching. I asked for a pencil and paper, as I could now see the steamer coming in. I wrote a line or two to the officer in command of troops praying him to send for me. Captain Ross did so, and I was supported down to the station, when I was kindly received by Captain Ross, of Her Majesty's 1st West India Regiment. On Thursday evening, the 12th instant, I was taken on board Her Majesty's Ship "Wolverine," Captain D'Horsey, where I shall never forget the kindness of the officers. They were indeed a noble-hearted set of men. The first lieutenant, Annesley, placed me in his own bed, and did what he could to relieve the pain I was suffering from a wound in the head. There were a number of other refugees, wounded volunteers and civilians, and all on board, officers and men, vied with one another in their kindness to those thus abruptly thrown upon their hospitality and protection. I proceeded to Kingston and purchased some clothes, having been robbed of mine by the Rebels; and, by the kind permission of Captain D'Horsey, returned the same day on board the "Wolverine" to Morant Bay, where his Excellency Governor Eyre embarked, and proceeded to Port Antonio, as it was expected that town would be attacked; and no doubt this would have been the case, save for the unequalled energy and masterly decision of Governor Eyre, aided so ably by the naval and military authorities. At Port Antonio all the respectable white and coloured inhabitants had embarked on an American vessel, the "Reunion," Captain Tracy, who had kindly given them refuge on board his vessel, and proceeded to sea for a few hours and then returned. From the deck of this vessel the crowd of refugees witnessed the conflagration of houses at Manchioneal and Mulatto River. The

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owner of the latter place was on board the "Reunion" with his wife. Thus in 48 hours 40 miles of St. Thomas-in-the-East had been subjected to the ravages of the Rebels, or rebellion was growing at the rate of about a mile per hour. Fresh bands of Rebels rose as the news spread, and had not our wise and energetic Governor acted with such astonishing promptitude, and headed this rapidly-spreading rebellion, few white men and women would have been left alive. The troops under the gallant Brigadier Nelson were quickly landed, and, at my request, I was, by Brigadier-General Nelson's orders, attached to Captain Hole's Company, of the 2nd Battalion 6th Regiment, and acted as guide to the troops across the country, from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, a distance of 22 miles. I shall never forget the hearty cheers which greeted the troops as they marched away to Manchioneal, and how thankful all appeared at their timely arrival. The first night we halted at "Castle," which had been threatened with attack that night. In the morning of the following day we marched for Muirton, Manchioneal, arriving there about noon. On the way we passed the ruins of "Mulatto River" House, and at Manchioneal we passed pillaged stores and houses. I acted as commissariat officer to Captain Hole's troops, about 140 strong, for some weeks; and when Captain Hole left for Port Antonio I was honoured by Brigadier Nelson (having been previously presented by his Excellency with a commission as a lieutenant of Volunteers) with the command of a small detachment of Her Majesty's 1st West India Regiment, which has only been lately recalled to head-quarters. I trust I was able to render Captain Hole some assistance in various ways by my knowledge of the people and of that locality. I for one shall ever feel a debt of gratitude to his Excellency Governor Eyre for the timely aid he sent to Manchioneal, and which saved the lives of my wife and infant, although I have to dread the worst consequences from their sufferings and exposure in an open boat for five days and nights in the worst weather.

ARTHUR WARMINGTON,
J.P. and Lieut. Volunteers (unattached).

MR. DAVID EWART to GOVERNOR EYRE.

THE GOVERNOR, Morant Bay, January 5, 1866.

YOUR Excellency may rely upon my giving my best and earnest attention to the instructions contained in your private note. I have forwarded to-day the depositions of the policemen and constables who went to Stoney Gut, on the 9th October last, to execute warrants against Paul Bogle and others; and I think these depositions contain very significant proof of a preconcerted insurrectionary organization, which Bogle and his followers carried into effect by riot, plunder, and blood, on Wednesday the 11th, and three days after.

I have had the pleasure of seeing a great deal of the Rev. Mr. Campbell during his stay here, and I agree with him that the impression among the black people of this parish is pretty general that the rebellion is chiefly to be ascribed to G. W. Gordon. Indeed, I had heard that conclusive and unmistakeable evidence upon this point had been given before the court-martial at Morant Bay.

I cannot help expressing here how grieved I am to perceive that a portion of the British press has indulged in exaggerated and ungenerous comments upon the measures which were adopted under your directions to suppress the bloody outbreak at Morant Bay, and to protect life and property. Every loyal person must sympathise with your Excellency. These comments are eagerly taken up by bad men in this community, and have already been perverted to revive perhaps the insurrectionary spirit which can scarcely be supposed to be yet quelled in this parish. In illustration of this I have to remark that on Saturday last a black woman stated to Mr. Lundie, in his store at Morant Bay, that the Queen had written to the authorities here that she would punish them for killing so many of the black people; that her anger was particularly directed against the Governor and Mr. Ramsay, in consequence of which the Governor had made his escape and Mr. Ramsay was hiding in the bush. This idle talk would, I believe, be pregnant with mischief, if some of the ferocious men in the district prison at Morant Bay were at large to circulate it with the adroitness which their connexion with the leaders of the rebellion has taught them to use.

I have, &c.
(Signed) D. EWART.

Governor Eyre,
&c. &c.

THE IMPERIAL COMMISSION.

Thursday, January 25, 1866.

Second Day.

(Before Commissioners his Excellency SIR H. K. STORKS, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., President; RUSSELL GURNEY, ESQ., Q.C.; and J. BLOSSET MAULE, ESQ.)

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The witness retired from the court room and Dr. Gerrard was recalled.

(*His Excellency the President.*) Dr. Gerrard, you have placed in the hands of the Commissioners a report of what occurred when you left the country to attend here to give evidence, and you say that you were threatened to be molested on the way to Kingston, will you be good enough to explain.

Dr. Gerrard said that whilst himself and friends were driving down from Albion estate, they met about 10 or 12 persons on the road, armed with cutlasses, which they brandished, saying to them (Dr. Gerrard's party), "You going to town to give evidence, I say, fellows." They made no reply, but drove on. He, Dr. Gerrard, had also received information from the clerk of the peace, Morant Bay, and magistrates, to the same effect.

His Excellency the President said, I think it right, as Governor, to announce that several reports have reached us representing an uneasy state of feeling existing in the country, and that menaces have been made by the people to waylay persons who are to come down to give evidence on this Commission. I have, therefore, to call on all loyal subjects to allay any irritation and misapprehension that may now exist, and to endeavour to instruct the people to pursue a proper course. I have also to announce that the laws must be obeyed and properly vindicated; and that I shall consider it my duty to repress any outrage, wherever and whenever it may occur.

NOTIFICATION.

IT having come to the knowledge of the Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief that threatening language is made use of in many parts of the country, tending to create alarm for personal safety and for the security of property; and it being also well known that certain reports are current, tending to mislead the labouring classes, and to create irritation and bad feeling amongst Her Majesty's subjects, his Excellency strongly reprobates the use of such threatening language and the circulation of such reports.

His Excellency's duty is to uphold and maintain the law, and to protect all Her Majesty's subjects in the pursuit of their lawful calling, and his Excellency declares that all the powers placed in his hands by Her Majesty will be freely used for these purposes.

The Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief therefore invites all persons to assist his Excellency in allaying the irritation and bad feeling which exist, and in maintaining the law and public security.

By his Excellency's command,
EDWARD JORDON, Gov. Sec.

Sub-Enclosure 7. Sub-Encl. 7.

ABSTRACT of some of the STATEMENTS showing the Parishes in which Disaffection, or seditious or threatening Language or Acts, or illegal drilling, or arming, or great apprehensions on the part of the Inhabitants, have been reported.

St. James.—Dr. Lawson, senior magistrate, reports great apprehensions were entertained by the respectable inhabitants of St. James prior to the arrival of the military, and that threatening letters and incendiary fires occurred afterwards.

The Rev. D. R. Morris, rector, reports the spirit of incendiarism is at work in the parish, one building having been consumed and another set on fire under suspicious circumstances.

R. W. Buchanan, acting stipendiary justice, reports threatening letters, cases of arson, and seditious and threatening language uttered publicly.

Magistrates at Montego Bay (see Jamaica Confidential Papers, p. 76) report to Colonel Whitfield disaffection and nightly drilling amongst the negroes of the interior, behind Montego Bay, and urge the necessity of immediately sending troops.

Trelawny.—The Hon. R. Nunes reports that the negroes are entirely deficient of the feelings of loyal subjects, and that G. W. Gordon was twice prevented from giving seditious advice and using inflammatory language in churches in the districts of Trelawny and Green Island.

Inspector Mitchell reports the use of seditious and threatening language, and assemblies for drill.

Hanover.—The Rev. A. J. Davidson, rector, believes that great disaffection prevails, and that threatening letters have been written and declarations made by the blacks, that should a rising take place they would join in it.

Mr. Lyon, acting senior magistrate, reports threatening letters having been written, and the holding of secret religious meetings.

Westmoreland.—The Hon. B. Vickers, custos, reports the repair by people of Darliston of a large number of old muskets, &c., refusal of negroes to be sworn in as special constables, illegal drilling, &c.

The Rev. C. Magnan, stipendiary curate, reports illegal drilling, and the common report among the people that after 1st January they would neither buy nor rent land, but fight for it.

The Rev. J. Cork, rector, states that it was known there had been drilling.

St. Elizabeth.—The Rev. J. Stone, rector, reports small number of persons who attended church.

Inspector Wheatle remarks that few persons attended church, the markets, or other public places.

The Rev. E. B. Key is strongly convinced that the negro population were and are in a disaffected and rebellious state.

Mr. C. B. Brown, of the Geological Survey, observed a spirit of disaffection among the people.

Manchester.—The Rev. Alexander Lindo, London missionary, reports threats to do him serious bodily injury.

The Rev. F. Swaby, Presbyterian minister, reports that assemblies of persons from St. Ann are taking place in Manchester.

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Manchester.—John Muirhead, Esq., J.P., reports seditious and threatening language.
S. J. Stone reports threats of arson and murder.

Manchester.—The Rev. Wm. Forbes, rector, reports that in all parts of the country expressions of a very suspicious nature have been uttered.
Inspector Palache observed great insolence of manner on the part of the black population.
The Rev. J. S. Hildebrand says that drilling was extensively carried on.

Clarendon.—Hon. F. Lowe reports an attempt to burn down the court-house.

Vere.—Hon. L. Mackinnon reports that this parish was in such a disaffected state that it was ready to explode at any time, and believes that nothing but the example made in St. Thomas-in-the-East and the body of troops sent down saved the parish.

St. Dorothy.—P. Harrison, Esq., senior magistrate, reports that 11 persons have been committed to be tried for illegal drilling.

St. Catherine.—Threatening notice sent to Mr. Lynch.—(See Con. Papers, p. 28.)

St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.—The Hon. S. Rennalls, custos, reports that a man threatened to burn his house and to commit several murders, and that there were three cases of cautionary letters being received.

St. Mary.—Mr. T. A. Geoghagan reports threatening letter being received.
Inspector Stewart reports threatening language used by negroes.
The Rev. Dr. Moore, rector, reports use of seditious language.

Metcalfe.—Threats of burning down Spring Garden Estate sent to the overseer.
Mr. Guscott reports a man named Francis Stewart having come from St. Thomas-in-the-East to induce St. George people to attend meetings.

Kingston.—Inspector Nairn states that there was indication of disaffection amongst the citizens of Kingston, and several anonymous letters were forwarded to the authorities threatening to burn down the city.

St. Andrew.—Inspector Downer reports seditious and threatening language uttered publicly.

St. Ann.—Hon. C. Royes, custos, reports the people in Browns Town as very turbulent, and the use of seditious and threatening language.
There are also several reports or statements in the papers marked "Confidential" printed for the use of the Cabinet on the 15th December, showing that illegal drilling was going on, and arms (sharpened hardwood pikes seven or eight feet long) being prepared, that threatening letters were being sent, and evil intentions openly expressed in several parishes widely apart from each other, as, for instance, the Browns Town district, in St. Ann, the Round Hill district, St. Elizabeth, and the central district of St. Mary.

No. 2.

No. 2.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lieut.-General Sir HENRY STORKS, G.C.B., to the Right Hon. EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.

(No. 55.)

King's House, March 9, 1866.
(Received March 31, 1866.)

SIR,

Gov. Eyre to Sir H. Storks. March 1866.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Despatch, with enclosures, which has been forwarded to me by Governor Eyre for transmission.

I beg to acquaint you that the Despatch No. 5,* a duplicate, accompanied the above communication with its enclosures, was transmitted to you on the 24th ultimo.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. K. STORKS.

Enclosure in No. 2.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor EYRE to Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B.

(No. 11.)

Flamstead, March 6, 1866.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose a duplicate copy of my Despatch No. 5,* of the 29th January, which I should be obliged by your transmitting to the Secretary of State

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* No. 5. of the 29th January will be found printed as Enclosure 4 in No. 3, page 311.

for the Colonies, accompanied by a copy of this Despatch, by the mail of the 8th instant.

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Encl. in No.

2. Owing to the very voluminous nature of the enclosures to that communication it is impossible for me to furnish duplicate copies of them also, but it would be very desirable that the large map upon tracing paper marked as Enclosure No. 9, if the Commissioners could spare it, should be sent to England with the duplicate Despatch, as Her Majesty's Government may probably think it desirable to have the map lithographed for Parliament, a process which would necessarily take up some little time.

3. I find there are two points of importance in connexion with the continuance of martial law after the amnesty was published, which I have omitted to point out in the hurried comments I was enabled to make upon the documents submitted to your Excellency in my Despatch No. 5, of 29th January.

The first is, that whilst up to the time of proclaiming the amnesty (and for long afterwards) I was continually receiving accounts which led me to believe that disturbances might at any moment occur in many other parishes than St. Thomas-in-the-East; I had no means of meeting such emergencies had they arisen. The additional troops from Barbadoes and Nassau did not arrive until the 28th October, and could not be distributed until after the amnesty, namely, on the 31st October and 1st November. It of course required some little time after this distribution had taken place to ascertain whether the disposition of the troops as then arranged would be efficacious in preserving the peace of the country or not.

The second point is, that at the time of the proclamation of the amnesty, if no other grounds (though there were many others) had existed for continuing martial law for a time, it would have been absolutely necessary to do so to preserve peace and order in the districts where the rebellion had existed, and to afford time to re-establish and re-organize the civil institutions.

4. The Custos, the Magistrates, the Clergy, and other principal inhabitants had been killed, wounded, or driven away; the Inspector of Police had been killed, and the force become disorganized and demoralized. The court-house itself was burnt to the ground.

5. It was impossible therefore to re-establish civil institutions and relations suddenly at such a juncture or without a sufficient time being allowed for reconstruction and for the return of the magistrates, clergy, and other principal inhabitants.

6. I take this opportunity of transmitting some other documents to be appended to my Despatch No. 5, of the 29th January.

Some few of these relate to G. W. Gordon. One is a statement by the Custos of St. David, showing the nature of a case of trespass brought against him by a black labourer, in which the damages said to be done to the crops on an acre of land (the rent of which is mentioned as 20*s.*) were laid first at 100*l.* and subsequently at 200*l.*, Mr. Georges being eventually obliged to compromise the action by the payment of 30*l.*, besides paying expenses to the amount of 46*l.* more.

Another is a letter by Mr. A. Lindo, a merchant of Falmouth (formerly a member of Assembly), examining Dr. Underhill's testimony on the wrongs of the negro.

One document is a copy of a Bill introduced into the Legislative Council "to preserve "the public worship of God from scandalous abuses, superstitious practices, and seditious "purposes."

7. Strong comments have been made by a portion of the English press upon the conduct of the local Government in introducing any measure for interfering, as they term it, with the worship of God or religious liberty.

8. It is true that in the pressure of the many important and anxious matters of all kinds continually before the Government a Bill was in the first instance introduced which had been hastily drawn up to correct an admitted evil, and the provisions of which were not sufficiently considered, but were rather left to be amended in the Legislature.

9. Upon objections being pointed out the first bill was at once withdrawn and the bill now sent introduced instead, under the express sanction and approval of ministers of religion representing the Wesleyan Mission, the United Presbyterian Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the United Methodist Free Church, and of course fully concurred in also by the Church of England, I would especially call attention to the preamble of this latter bill, prepared as it was by J. S. Williams, Esq., barrister-at-law and member of Assembly, in consultation with the

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ministers referred to. It indicates not only the view of these ministers as to the necessity for enacting such a measure, but their opinion of the nature, character, and causes of the rebellion itself.

10. Other documents are reports relating to the state of the country received since my Despatch No. 5 was transmitted to your Excellency.

11. I would especially call attention to the opinions expressed as to the great change for the worse which has taken place in the conduct or bearing of the negroes since the proceedings and writings of a portion of the English people in reference to the steps taken to put down the rebellion have been made known in this Colony.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir H. K. Storks, G.C.B., &c. &c. &c. (Signed) E. EYRE.

Encl. in 2.

Sub-Enclosure in No. 2.

Mr. ALLAN to HON. ROBERT NUNES.

DEAR SIR, Green Island, January 8, 1866.

I AM in receipt of yours per express post, and now send you what I know about G. W. Gordon's visit to Green Island. I think it was about the end of July, you can fix the date from a file of the County Union, that paper having announced his arrival in Mo. Bay the same week; he came to Green Island early on the Saturday morning and breakfasted with Mr. Munro, after which he proceeded on foot to Old Green Island, calling on his way at the Presbyterian Church, when the minister was holding a session meeting, at which there was six or eight present; he began to address those present, and after proceeding some time his language was so seditious that the minister, Mr. Robertson, stopped him: he then left, and having gone about 10 or 12 chains from the church he returned back and asked to be allowed to pray, which he did; he then left, first shaking all present by the hand as he had on his first leaving.

On my reading the newspapers to my head people that gave an account of Gordon's having been apprehended, one of the elders of the church who was present stopped me, and asked me if it was the same Gordon who had to do with Rock Spring, and who was in this quarter in July or August. I said yes; he then told me that Gordon was a bad man, that he had said many bad things, and on my asking him what he did say, he said that he told them that they must send the Queen's advice back to her, first having written their word on it; that they must resist the payment of their taxes, for that they were oppressed, and that they must act and let the Governor know that they were free; but the minister stopped him, and after he had gone he told them that they must not pay any attention to what Mr. Gordon had told them, as he knew Mr. Gordon to be a crack-brained man and must not think any more of him. Gordon went on to Rock Spring and returned at a little after sunset; he addressed some parties in the Baptist Church in Green Island, but I cannot learn what he said then. The kirk is situate in New Green Island.

And I am in haste, Yours truly,

Hon. Robert Nunes. (Signed) WM. ALLAN.

To the Editor of the Colonial Standard.

SIR,

THE advocates of G. W. Gordon, having thrown down the gauntlet in defiance, and in defence of his character, his antecedents are fit subjects for discussion, and it behoves these acquainted with them to accept the challenge, and expose what is really known of this *said-to-be martyr*; and all feelings of delicacy towards Gordon's family must subside, although their feelings, no doubt, are already too much scared at the atrocities of which he has been found guilty, but they must thank "Les amis des Noir" for this additional exposure.

In 1856, G. W. Gordon purchased the moiety of a thrown-up sugar estate in Clarendon, the owner having become insolvent, the other moiety was represented by trustees on behalf of an infant; the implements in the factory were perfect, and remained in their allotted places. Gordon, *unknown to the trustees*, dismantled the works, sending away, *at nights*, in the most clandestine manner, the still, coppers, and pans, with everything that was convertible into money. The trustees resided at some distance from the property, and the circumstance was brought to the notice of one of them, stating, that Gordon had sold at the wharf some of the copper, at sixpence per pound (a price far below its value), the informant wishing to ascertain if the trustees were privy to the sale. The property purloined was of the value of about 700*l.*, and when charged with this disgraceful act, Gordon had the effrontery to declare that he was not aware who represented the other moiety of the estate, having previously paid rent for a store belonging to it, to one of the trustees,—recourse to law being the only mode of enforcing a settlement. So much for the *honesty and veracity* of this pet of the Saints and Baptists, who will, perhaps, endeavour to attribute falsehood to this circumstance. Reference to the Clerk of the Court's Office, for 1856, will prove that an action had been issued against Gordon, for this fraudulent transaction—and the solicitors in the cause are alive, to add proof to this honourable traitor, G. W. Gordon's character, and this,

January 13, 1866. UNDENIABLE FACT.

STATEMENT by DAVID FLEMING and WILLIAM MACFARLANE.

ON the 2nd December 1864 we presented a letter of introduction to George W. Gordon in the House of Assembly. After the adjournment of the House we met him at the station and took seats together in the same train for Kingston. In the course of conversation we spoke on the state of the Island, the Governor, and Legislature. He was very severe with his remarks on the Governor, and called him an "ass."

Referring to the management of the train, he said all the engineers were formerly white men, showing that the black men are gradually taking the place of the white. This is destined to be a black country, he said, soon. His manner was very bitter against the legislation of the country.

At the time we were unacquainted with the politics of the country, and we did not attach any seditious meaning to the words, but no sooner had the rebellion taken place, and considering the bitter and disloyal spirit of his remarks at the time, than it occurred to us that we had now seen the sequel, and the first undersigned, writing a friend in Scotland on the 23rd October 1865, used the following words, with reference to Mr. Gordon and the rebellion:—

"Perhaps you will remember the conversation we had with him in the train from Spanish Town to Kingston.

"He told us that this Island was destined to be a black country, and that the Governor was an ass. Now comes the sequel.

"He is the chief ringleader and greatest stirrer-up of sedition among the people."

(Signed) DAVID FLEMING.

Falmouth, January 13, 1866. WILLIAM MACFARLANE.

DEPOSITION of MILLBOURNE J. GRIFFITHS.

JAMAICA, s.s., ST. ANN'S.

This deponent, Milbourne J. Griffiths, of the parish of Saint Ann, makes oath to the following effect:—

That this deponent has recently, on two different occasions, been informed by Robert Taylor (the owner of Gibraltar Pen, near Moneague, in this parish), that one Alexander Ingram, now residing at Moneague or its vicinity, did, in the early part of January of this present year, inform the said Robert Taylor as follows:—

That previous to the "Underhill meeting," which was convened in the Parish by the late George W. Gordon during last year, the said George W. Gordon did request the said Alexander Ingram to disseminate the notices of the said George W. Gordon, to read them to the people, and to excite the peasantry.

That Alexander Ingram did thereupon decline doing so, at which George Gordon expressed himself as being disappointed, and said, that had he supposed Alexander Ingram would have so acted, the matter should not have been mentioned to him.

In the communication to this deponent, the proposal to "excite the peasantry" was especially dwelt on, but deponent did not learn as to the definite object, neither can he say what was the nature of the "notices" which were to be disseminated. Twice, however, deponent has heard that the placards to the "poor people of Saint Ann's," "the destitute people of Saint Ann's," were sold secretly at the village of Epworth, in this parish. This is not known to the deponent as fact.

Deponent also swears that Robert Taylor assured him that he would certify on oath to the facts herein stated as having fallen under the notice of the said Robert Taylor.

So help me God,

Sworn before me, this 13th day of February 1866. M. J. GRIFFITHS.

SAMUEL HORLOCK, J.P.

MR. CHANDLER to GOVERNOR EYRE.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Gayle Post Office, February 20, 1866.

BEFORE I received your letter, on Tuesday last, I had written to Mr. Myers, giving him whatever information I had been able to collect from my friend Mr. Dixon, in reference to G. W. Gordon's proposal to Mr. Alexander Ingram; I have no doubt Mr. Myers has forwarded that letter to your Excellency.

I have this moment got a letter from Mr. Dixon, in which he says, "the proposal of the late Mr. G. " to Mr. Ingram was to agitate to get rid of the Governor, and eventually to bring about such a change " in the Government of the Island, in which such men as Mr. Ingram would be benefitted,—this " seems to be the substance of a conversation some time about June or July 1865."

I may here mention that Mr. Dixon has derived his information direct from Mr. Ingram himself.

Your Excellency may rest assured that any fact, connected in any way with the late rebellion, that comes to my knowledge shall be at once communicated to you.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) C. R. CHANDLER.

Mr. GRIFFITHS to Colonel HUNT.

SIR, Claremont, February 16, 1866.

I HAVE obtained the affidavit of Mr. Robert Taylor, to which I made allusion in the letter that I had the honour of addressing to his Excellency Mr. Eyre, and now enclose it for his use.

Ingram probably knows more of Gordon's incendiary acts than perhaps it may be convenient for him to divulge. Some information may possibly be obtained from him which may be of use in promoting the cause of order in the Colony.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. J. GRIFFITHS.

Colonel Hunt,
&c. &c.

I, ROBERT TAYLOR, of Gibraltar Penn, in the parish of Saint Ann, do swear that early in the month of January of the present year Alexander Ingram of Moncague, in this parish, made a communication to me to the following effect:

That previous to the late George W. Gordon holding his Underhill meeting in this parish during last year, the said George W. Gordon did ask him, Alexander Ingram, to give publicity to his notices, to read them to the people, and to excite the peasantry. This the said Alexander Ingram refused to do, on which George W. Gordon expressed himself as being disappointed, and said that had he known as much he would not have mentioned the matter to the said Alexander Ingram.

(Signed) ROBERT TAYLOR.

Sworn before me this 13th day of February 1866.
(Signed) J. W. ROBINSON, J.P.

STATEMENT by the Hon. W. P. GEORGES.

LLOYDS Estate and Norris Estate are adjoining properties, and situate in the parish of St. David. The former belongs to Mr. Isaac Levy of Spanish Town, the latter to me, and my cattle were permitted by Mr. Levy to run on Lloyd's land equally with his own.

Some time in the year 1864 I received a notice professing to come from a black man in St. David named John Dixon Clarke, a labourer about the parish, requiring me to be present at the valuation of damage alleged to have been done to his provision ground at Lloyds by my cattle. Not being able to attend myself, I asked Mr. M'Lean, the clerk of the vestry, who lives close by, to inquire into the matter, and he was about to go to the ground to survey the place, when he was informed by Mr. John Soares, the overseer at Lloyds, that there was no occasion to do so, as Clarke was never a tenant on the property, but merely a trespasser. About two months afterwards Mr. M'Lean went to the ground at my request, and found it in ruinate, which evidently had not been brought about suddenly. It looked as if it had been abandoned for some time.

In August 1864 I received a letter from Mr. Samuel Constantine Burke, a copy of which is annexed; and being called upon subsequently for an appearance to an action against me at the suit of Clarke, I placed the matter in my solicitors' hands, and in the month of October 1864 they received a huge document containing 12 charges against me, alleging six different trespasses, the first of which being that I "broke and entered a certain close, provision field, and settlement of the said plaintiff, situate, "lying, and being at Lloyds Estate, in the said parish of St. David, and then and there, with cattle, "to wit, bulls, cows, and oxen, eat up, dug up, and destroyed the yams, canes, plantain trees, bananas, "peas, and other vegetables and vines of the said plaintiff, of great value, to wit, of the value of "100*l.*" and so on. The damages of the plaintiff at the end of the action were stated to be 200*l.* The preparation of the document, apart from any settlement by counsel, could not have cost less than 20*l.*, and Clarke had not only issued the action, but he retained one of the leading counsel on his behalf.

My cattle being allowed to run on Lloyds, and Mr. Soares, the overseer, having stated that Clarke was not a tenant on the property, I endeavoured to ascertain how Clarke occupied land there, and it clearly appeared to me that if he had anything at all to do with Lloyds it could have been only in the way of assisting another man (named George Brown) in the cultivation of an acre or so, which had been rented to the latter by Mr. George M'Grath, the former proprietor, as this acre was where the trespasses were supposed to have been committed. Nowhere in the estate's books did Clarke's name appear. But even Brown's tenancy was put an end to by Mr. Levy on his purchase in April 1864. Mr. Levy then summoned all the people who appeared to be tenants, and told them that he would have no tenants, but he would permit those who had been tenants under M'Grath to remain for six months to take off their provisions from the fields, on condition that they did not interfere with any cattle on the estate. The tenants, as I am informed, assented to Mr. Levy's proposal, and they shortly afterwards took the necessary steps for abandoning their grounds, and eventually left them altogether. Brown or Clarke might not have been present on this occasion of Mr. Levy's purchase, but Brown had given over cultivating his ground and he was never seen there afterwards.

Immediately after receipt of Mr. Burke's letter I made its contents known to Mr. Soares, and he informed me that Mr. Samuel Clarke, the plaintiff's brother (who was hanged at Morant Bay during the proclamation of martial law) had a few days before offered to pay 20*s.* for one year's rent of J. D. Clarke's ground at Lloyds, but that he (Soares) refused to receive the money, as J. D. Clarke was never a tenant on the property, and further, because Mr. Levy did not want any tenants whatever. No other person had ever offered payment, and this tender by Samuel Clarke was evidently a dodge of himself or his lawyer intended to create a title in the plaintiff.

At much expense and personal trouble I got together evidence which showed how utterly groundless the complaint was, and that the action (the issuing of which I attribute to the combined malice of the plaintiff, who I had shortly before threatened to sue for money due to me, and to his brother, Samuel Clarke, a vestryman and politician of St. David, and a determined opponent not only of myself, but of all law and order) was intended, even though the plaintiff might have been unsuccessful, to harass and annoy me and mulct me in costs.

The cause was listed by the plaintiff's attorney for trial in January 1865, and I was put to the expense of bringing witnesses to Kingston Court House from St. Thomas-in-the-East, St. David, and St. Catherine, besides being obliged to be in attendance myself; but the case was not heard by reason of a press of business, and I was sent back only to have a repetition of the same expenses.

In April following Mr. Burke again listed the cause for trial, and although I was ready to proceed, and had caused my brief to be delivered to counsel, yet, to save going over the same ground of bringing witnesses to the court with a like chance of postponement as on the first occasion, and believing that I must have been a very considerable loser even though I had gained the verdict of the jury, and would have had to pay all my attorney's costs in any event, I entered into a compromise with Mr. Burke and paid him 30*l.* to discontinue the proceedings. My own law bill in the matter was 46*l.* odd, and it is impossible to say how much I spent in collecting evidence and otherwise in my defence.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, August 23, 1864.

MR. JOHN DIXON CLARKE has been to me with a statement of damages sustained by him at his provision ground rented from Lloyds Estate by the trespasses of your cattle and the destruction of his yams, plantains, canes, and peas growing therein.

From the evidence he has furnished me he has sustained considerable damage, in fact his whole field has been destroyed.

I trust you will without resort to litigation make him such amends as the case requires. With this object I write you and shall be glad to hear that the matter is settled amicably.

I am, &c.,

Hon. W. P. Georges, (Signed) S. CONSTANTINE BURKE.
St. David.

DR. UNDERHILL'S TESTIMONY on the WRONGS of the NEGRO in JAMAICA, examined in a LETTER to the Editor of the Times.

SIR, Falmouth, Jamaica, 18th January 1866.

THE late murderous outbreak of the populace in the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in this Island, has been deemed by the Anti-Slavery Society, and kindred spirits of the platform and the press, to afford fitting occasion for a renewal of the virulent, and slanderous denunciations of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, which throughout have characterized the advocacy of the black man's interests, by those who have adopted him as the special object of their solicitude. On the first intelligence of the savage butchery which took place on this occasion, it was in the quarters indicated, unhesitatingly attributed to the persistent oppression of the labouring population of the Island by the dominant classes, and was dealt with as an almost necessary consequence of, and merited retribution for, the wrongs thus inflicted. Unscrupulousness of assertion is habitual with this sect of philanthropists, so much so indeed as to create a doubt whether a regard for the Negro is not actually incompatible with a regard for truth; and their present revilings, in acrimony and contempt of veracity, are quite up to the mark of previous malevolent out-pourings. To those who simply desire to have a West Indian Planter heartily abused, it may be matter of indifference whether he is justly so or not; but recent events have created an interest in Jamaica, beyond the sphere over which the influence of the Anti-Slavery Society extends, and in that outer world, where an ardent philanthropy has not yet altogether obliterated conscienciousness, there are no doubt many not so easily satisfied, and who before accepting the Society's condemnation of them would desire to know whether the European Colonists are justly chargeable with the offences which have so freely been ascribed to them:—to aid the judgment of such inquirers is the purpose of this communication.

Dr. Underhill would seem to be the leading authority, and his "West Indies" the text book on the present occasion, of the accusers of the white man in Jamaica, as the malicious oppressor of the black. In dealing therefore with the statements made by that gentleman in his book and elsewhere, a large number of our traducers will be disposed of who have but adopted, and repeated the calumnies of which he is the author: this treatment of the subject also affords the further advantage, that Dr. Underhill having ventured on "the lie with circumstance" he can be circumstantially refuted; whereas general accusations admit mostly but of general, and therefore less satisfactory denials.

The following passages occur between pages 216 and 221 of "The West Indies" published by Dr. Underhill in 1862:—"The House of Assembly at the time of Emancipation possessed the fullest "powers to remedy any defect in that great measure, but it abused its powers. Instead of enacting "laws calculated to elevate and benefit the people it pursued the contrary course. By an ejectment "act it gave to the planter the right to turn out the enfranchised peasantry, without regard to sex "or age at a week's notice, from the homes on which they had been born and bred, to root up their "provision grounds, and to cut down the fruit trees which gave them both shelter and food; in order "that through dread of the consequences of refusal the negroes might be driven to work on the "planter's own terms. . . . Compelled to seek a freehold to secure both a livelihood and independence, the poor buyer had to pay a heavy stamp duty on the transfer and registration of the land "he purchased. In slavery times when corn food had to be provided by the owner of the slave, the "import duty was threepence per barrel; for the free man it was raised to three shillings; on rice,

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" salt fish, and pork the duty was increased two or three hundred per cent. . . . Driven from his " cabin on the estate by the harsh or unjust treatment of his former master, the free labourer had to " build a cottage for himself. Immediately the Customs on shingles for the roof to shelter him from " the seasons were more than doubled, while the duty on the staves and hoops for sugar hogsheads, " the planter's property, was greatly reduced. . . . To check the cultivation of sugar and coffee " by the new freeholders, lest their labour should be withdrawn from the estates and properties of " their former masters, an excise duty of one penny a pound on sugar, and twopence per pound on " coffee was imposed. The exported article was free. As a large capital is required for the cultiva- " tion of the staples for exportation, the enactment practically confined the foreign trade to the " planters and discouraged the small cultivators from growing the staples even for home consumption. " To sell sugar and coffee by retail a costly licence was required, which could be granted " by a majority of the Justices and Vestry of the Parish. But inasmuch as these local boards consisted " of planters and their dependants, the law left the small cultivator or retail dealer entirely at their " mercy . . . as if emphatically to mark the class on whom this check was intended to operate, " quantities of two hundred pounds of sugar and fifty pounds of coffee might be sold without any " licence at all. . . .

" But although the expenditure of the Island has of late years undergone a considerable diminu- " tion, and taxation has been more equitably levied, the public burdens are made to weigh most " heavily on the peasantry. The import tax of 12½ per cent., payable on all imports, presses unfairly " on the poor, as the largest consumers. Salt provisions, meat, fish, and farinaceous articles, con- " sumed chiefly by the lower classes, are taxed as high as 30 and 40 per cent. The planter pays no " tax on carts or wains used on the plantation, only on those that traverse the roads, the small settler " pays a tax on all the wheeled vehicles he may possess. . . . The natives are fond of horses, they " are the draft stock of the poor man, accordingly they are taxed ten shillings a head. The planter " works his estate with oxen and bullocks; but his draft stock pays no tax at all. . . Immigration " is provided for by a tax on exports. The planter pays at the rate of three shillings a hogshead. " The small settler must pay at the rate of two shillings on each barrel of coffee, sugar, ginger, and " arrowroot he exports."

The statute book of Jamaica will in vain be searched for an ejectment act, such as Dr. Underhill in the first of the above passages from his book describes. At the time of emancipation, the enfranchised labourers, occupying the houses on the estates which had previously been assigned to them, as slaves, by their masters, a less dilatory, and less costly means, than by action in the Supreme Court, the existing remedy, became necessary to enable the landlords to recover possession when they desired to do so, of these small tenements. An act (the 3 Vict., chap. 39) was accordingly passed by the legislature for that purpose. It provided that the tenant of any such premises holding them over against the landlord, after due termination of the tenancy, or after legal notice to quit, might, seven days after notice of the landlord's intention to do so having previously been given, be proceeded against before two justices of the peace of the parish, who, on being satisfied that the premises were wrongfully held over, were empowered " to issue a warrant to the constables of the parish, commanding " them within a period to be therein named, not less than 21 nor more than 30 clear days from the " date of such warrant, to enter (by force if needful) into the premises and give possession of the " same to the landlord or his agent." This act was passed sixteen months after emancipation, and if it contains any provisions of undue severity, these certainly cannot be ascribed to the malicious ingenuity of the planters; the statute being in fact, simply a transcript of an act (1 & 2 Vict. chap. 74) passed by the Imperial legislature, for facilitating the recovery by landlords in England, of the possession of tenements of small value. Nor can it be said that the circumstances of the Colony at the time of the enactment were such as to render the adoption of the statute in Jamaica unsuitable, on the ground of its operation being here attended by peculiar hardships. For whereas in England, the dispossessed tenant's only resource would in every instance probably be, to rent other premises from which he might be similarly ejected, the evicted Jamaica peasant was, it seems, on Dr. Underhill's own showing, in sufficiently prosperous circumstances to purchase a freehold, erect himself a dwelling, and so to set ejectment laws, in future, at defiance.

As this is the only summary ejectment act passed by the Island Legislature (it underwent trifling technical amendments in 1857 and 1862, and the jurisdiction of the justices under it was, on these occasions, extended to cases involving questions of title) it must be the statute to which Dr. Underhill refers—the total absence, however, of any provisions specially legalising the devasting acts he speaks of, renders it scarcely recognizable as such. The act is indeed in no respect repugnant to justice or humanity, nor one that would be deemed exceptionable in any country where the rights of property are recognized and reasonably respected. And so probably would it have been viewed by Dr. Underhill himself, had he not laboured under the erroneous impression, that Jamaica planters were its authors, and had not the race been subjected to its operation, for which those of his peculiar tenets demand, not only all the rights and privileges, but also exemption from all the obligations and responsibilities, of free men.

The reference made to the " heavy stamp duty which the poor buyer had to pay on the transfer " and registration of the land he purchased," insinuates that exceptional legislation was devised by the ever vigilantly malignant planter, to vex the intending small settler and to obstruct his acquisition of a freehold. For the sake of the negro himself, it is perhaps to be regretted that a measure restraining the free purchase of land by the recently enfranchised labourers was not, whether from malevolent or beneficent motives, enacted; for there seems but too much reason to believe that the black man's only chance of advancement in civilization in Jamaica was lost, when at the instigation of those who undertook their guidance on emancipation, the peasantry scattered themselves over the country on the small patches of land they were able but too easily to acquire in unreclaimed districts

of the Island, and became dependent on their rude and desultory cultivation of these for subsistence. They thus in large numbers, and with necessarily deteriorating effect, lost contact with the whites and were removed beyond their supervision and control, and out of the sight and influence of any examples of intelligence and industry superior so their own.

As will be inferred from these remarks, the negro desiring to become a landowner, neither at the time of emancipation met with, nor since has found himself confronted by, any special hindrances to his doing so. He has merely been subject to the laws regulating the transfer of landed property generally; no excessive stamp duties have been exacted of him, nor has he been exceptionally required to register his land; registration indeed is not, nor ever has been, obligatory on him or on any other purchasers of freehold property, but is a provision for the more effectual security of titles optionally available by the holders of them. The stamp act in force at the time of the abolition of Slavery in 1838 (5 Wm. 4. chap. 25, passed in 1834) imposed a duty of three shillings on all transfers of land of less than six hundred pounds value. In 1840 when that act expired, this rate was continued (by the 4 Vict. chap. 25) on conveyances of land of less than one hundred pounds value, but was largely increased as the value of the land exceeded that amount. The exigencies of the government in 1842, seem to have demanded a considerable augmentation of the revenue derived from stamps, and we accordingly find conveyances of land, under fifty pounds in value then taxed (6 Vict., chap. 36) at ten shillings, the scale of duties being similarly raised throughout. A reduction took place in 1845, when (9 Vict. chap. 12) five shillings was the duty levied on the scale of freeholds of a less value than fifty pounds; this rate prevailed till 1855. The fiscal requirements of the Colony have since rendered an enhancement of the stamp duties from time to time necessary, and consequently the rates on the conveyance of freeholds now stand at 6*s.* 6*d.* where the value of the premises is under ten pounds 16*s.* 6*d.* where it does not amount to twenty pounds, 26*s.* 6*d.* where it is within fifty pounds and so on. It will thus be seen, that in the year immediately succeeding the abolition of Slavery, the period to which Dr. Underhill more particularly refers, no higher rates of duty than those previously exacted were imposed on the sale of lands of small value. Nor would it appear that at any time the tax has been so high as to prove an obstacle to the purchase of freeholds by persons of limited means, or that it has been laid with the view of creating such an obstacle, or for other than revenue purposes. Indeed Dr. Underhill elsewhere in his book supplies the best of evidence that legislation on this subject either has not had in contemplation the discouragement of the sales and purchases in question, or that it has provided singularly inefficient means for the attainment of that object. At page 215 he tells us "there are from 50,000 to 60,000 freeholders in the Island." The population is something over 440,000; estimating but four persons to each household, this would give 110,000 householders, one half of whom are, it appears from Dr. Underhill's statement, freeholders; a proportion surely sufficiently large to vindicate, at least against the charge of illiberality, the laws regulating the disposal of landed property which admit of it.

On the abolition of slavery, the larger public expendition which the altered state of society rendered necessary, was in part provided for by increased duties of Customs; but that these were imposed as Dr. Underhill charges them to have been, in a spirit of hostility and spite towards the newly liberated slave, by his inexorable tormentor, his former master, is as utterly untrue as are the alleged facts adduced in support of the imputation, and which the revenue acts of the Island unequivocally contradict.

It will be seen from the subjoined tabular statement collated from the statutes—

Year.	Cornmeal per Barrel, of 196 lbs.	Pork per Barrel, of 200 lbs.	Rice, per cwt.	Cedar Shingles, per 1,000.	Cypress Shingles, per 1,000.	Wood Hoops per 1,000.	Red Oak Staves, per 1,000.	White Oak Staves, per 1,000.	Acts under which levied.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.*	*s.* *d.*	
1831	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	14 0	12 0	1 Wm. 4. c. 14.
1832	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	24 3	22 0	2 „ 4. c. 4.
1833	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	24 3	22 0	3 „ 4. c. 10.
1834									No Act in force.
1835	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	21 0	22 0	5 Wm. 4. c. 16.
1836	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	14 0	12 0	6 „ 4. c. 16.
1837	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	14 0	12 0	7 „ 4. c. 26.
1838	2 6	21 6	2 6	6 6	13 0	5 0	14 0	12 0	1 Victoria, c. 11.
1839									No Act in force.
1840	3 0	23 6	3 6	8 0	15 0	7 3	21 0	18 6	3 Victoria, c. 19–25.
1841	3 0	23 6	3 6	8 0	15 0	7 3	21 0	18 6	4 „ c. 7–38.
1842	3 0	25 6	3 6	8 0	15 0	7 3	17 0	14 6	5 „ c. 10–23.
1843	3 0	24 0	5 0	5 0	9 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	6 „ c. 25–37.
1844	3 0	15 0	4 0	4 0	8 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	7 „ c. 17.
1845	3 0	15 0	4 0	4 0	8 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	8 „ c. 14.
1846	3 0	15 0	4 0	4 0	8 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	9 „ c. 14.
1847	1 0	15 0	4 0	4 0	8 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	10 „ c. 21.
1848	1 0	20 0	4 0	4 0	8 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	11 „ c. 10.
1849	1 0	16 0	3 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	12 „ c. 3.
1850	1 0	20 0	3 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	13 „ c. 1.
1851	1 0	16 0	3 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	14 „ c. 31.
1852	1 0	20 0	3 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	15 „ c. 14–33.
1853									No Act in force.
1854	1 0	10 0	2 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	17 Victoria, c. 1,

Year.	Cornmeal per Barrel, of 196 lbs.	Pork per Barrel, of 200 lbs.	Rice, per cwt.	Cedar Shingles, per 1,000.	Cypress Shingles, per 1,000.	Wood Hoops, per 1,000.	Red Oak Staves, per 1,000.	White Oak Staves, per 1,000.	Acts under which levied.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	
1855	1 0	10 0	2 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	18 Victoria, c. 1.
1856	1 0	10 0	2 0	3 0	6 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	18 „ c. 1.
1857	1 0	10 0	2 0	3 0	4 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	20 „ c. 24.
1858	1 0	10 0	2 0	3 0	4 0	1 0	4 0	4 0	20 „ c. 24.
1859	1 3	10 3	2 2	3 8	4 8	2 0	5 0	5 0	20 Victoria, c. 24 ; 22 Victoria, c. 22–48.
1860	1 3	10 3	2 2	3 8	4 8	2 0	5 0	5 0	23 Victoria, c. 13 ; 22 Victoria, c. 48.
1861	1 3	10 3	2 2	3 8	4 8	2 0	5 0	5 0	24 Victoria, c. 15 ; 22 Victoria, c. 48.
1862	1 3	14 3	3 2	3 8	4 8	2 0	5 0	5 0	25 Victoria, c. 8–14 ; 22 Victoria, c. 48.
1863	1 3	14 3	3 2	3 8	4 8	2 0	5 0	5 0	25 Victoria, c. 14 ; 26 Victoria, c. 4 ; 22 Victoria, c. 48.
1864	1 3	14 3	3 2	3 8	4 8	2 0	5 0	5 0	25 Victoria, c. 14 ; 26 Victoria, c. 4 ; 22 Victoria, c. 48.
1865	2 3	14 3	3 8	3 8	5 8	3 0	5 0	5 0	28 Victoria, c. 10 ; 22 Victoria, c. 48.

that the duty on a barrel of cornmeal previous to emancipation (in 1838) was 2*s.* 6*d.* and that immediately thereafter the article was taxed an additional sixpence. Dr. Underhill states the duty to have been 3*d.* per barrel, "when it had to be provided by the owner of the slave, and that for the free man, "it was raised to 3*s.*," thus making the enhancement of duty 2*s.* 9*d.* whereas it actually was but 6*d.* on the barrel of 196 lbs. In like manner the duty upon salted pork, said by him to have been contemporaneously increased two or three hundred per cent. was really advanced, but 2*s.* on the previous rate of 21*s.* 6*d.* per barrel of 200 lbs. The duty on rice also asserted to have been augmented to the extent of two or three hundred per cent., will be found, at the period referred to, to have been only raised from 2*s* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.* As the pettiest of spites would be unlikely to find gratification in the wrong inflicted by an added 6*d.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*s.* to the cost of two hundred pounds weight of food, it seems reasonable to infer that the authors of the changes in the tariff in question had no other object in view in effecting those changes than to recruit the revenue, and it tends very considerably to confirm this view of the subject, that synchronously, the legislators are found not only to have also raised the duties on imported articles of their own consumption, but to have taxed themselves on their exports, imposing a duty of 5*d* per cwt. on sugar, 1*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. on coffee, 1*d.* per gallon on rum, 1*s.* per ton on dyewoods, and 1*s.* per cwt. on ginger.

Unless we are to suppose that the planter lived in a sugar hogshead, a hypothesis which his reputation for luxurious habits renders inadmissible, it is not easy to discover the point of the remark, that while the customs were more than doubled on the shingles for the roof of the cottage which the free labourer, driven from his cabin on the estate by the harsh or unjust treatment of his former master had to build for himself, the duty on the hoops and staves for sugar hogsheads, the planter's property, was greatly reduced. A comparison which contrasted disadvantageously the duties levied on the materials used in the construction of the dwelling of the labourer, and those imposed on the building requisites of the planter might, if truthful, establish that selfish considerations influenced the authors of the inequitable tariff. But that the tax on shingles, an article of consumption in the Island, was raised while the duty on the materials for hogsheads, wherein to pack produce for shipment was reduced, proves absolutely nothing. Such materials as they are, imported only to be exported in the shape of casks, might, without impropriety and without reference to the duties exacted on other imports, have been altogether exempted from taxation. Neither of the statements however on which a charge of injustice is in this instance sought to be made out against the planters is true. The duty on the shingles for the roof of the labourer's cottage was not at emancipation doubled, it was temporarily raised from 6*s.* 6*d.* per thousand to 8*s.*, the duty on the more costly shingles for the planter's dwelling, being simultaneously advanced from 13*s.* to 15*s.* The duties on wood hoops and staves were not at the same time lowered; they were on the contrary raised—on wood hoops from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 3*d.* per thousand, on red oak staves, from 14*s.* to 21*s.*, on white oak staves from 12*s.* to 18*s.* 6*d.* These exorbitant rates were, a few years after, largely reduced, as were, though not to the same extent, the duties payable on shingles.

An act passed in 1840 (4 Vict. c. 40) which taxed the consumption and sale of sugar and coffee, is next adduced in evidence of the spirit of injustice and oppression which pervaded the legislation of the period. "To check the cultivation of sugar and coffee by the new freeholders, lest their labour "should be withdrawn from the estates and properties of their former masters," is represented to have been the object of the statute. Dr. Underhill's wrath against the iniquitous planter renders him here somewhat incoherent: "As a large capital," he says, "is required for the cultivation of the

* His statement regarding the duty on salted fish cannot be similarly tested as the article seems to have paid a duty on its value, and there are no means accessible of ascertaining what was its cost at the time.

"staples for exportation, the enactment" (taxing the consumption of them) "practically confined "the foreign trade to the planter." By less fervid, but more accurate reasoners, the conclusion will probably be regarded as rather lame and inconsequential. It can scarcely be supposed that so shortly as little more than a year after emancipation, when the law in question was enacted, it was contemplated that the liberated slaves would resort, on their own accounts, to the cultivation of the staples, which was known to be costly and consequently unsuited to persons of their condition. Were the provisions of the statute therefore of a nature to have deterred them from doing so, which they certainly were not, there is, particularly in the total absence of any evidence to that effect, no reason to believe such to have been their intention. As far as the excise duty which it imposed on sugar and coffee is concerned, the ostensible may doubtless be accepted as the real and only purpose of the enactment—"to grant a further supply to Her Majesty." The object sought to be attained by forbidding the sale except by special licence of sugar and coffee was to check, not the cultivation, but the larceny of the staples, by the peasantry, which immediately after emancipation prevailed extensively and was encouraged by disreputable small shopkeepers, who freely purchased the stolen property. By limiting the sale of the articles (except in quantities too large to pass unnoticed readily from hand to hand) to persons of good repute, and who would be under observation, it was sought to arrest these formidable depredations. The act however had but an ephemeral existence. In accordance with the practice of the period regarding bills of supply, it was passed for one year only. It was replete with provisions for securing the revenue it was intended to raise, which must have been embarrassing and vexatious in the extreme to the planter, and whether from this cause or from its proving financially, and in respect of its other contemplated purpose, inefficient, it was not renewed after the year for which it was originally enacted, but then altogether disappeared from the statute book. Under these circumstances it would seem that the measure can scarcely have very disastrously affected the destinies of Dr. Underhill's protegés, supposing it to have had in view the objects he assigns to it; and if, as he alleges, it owed its origin to the malice of the planters, it must be admitted that their malice was at least on this occasion but very short lived.

It may in passing be observed that Dr. Underhill, in order to strengthen his case against the planter, asserts that while the consumption of sugar and coffee was taxed, "the exported article was "free;" this is not true; in the same session as that which subjected sugar and coffee to excise, their exportation was (4 Vict. cap. 38) also laid under contribution.

The statements and reasoning by which it is sought to establish that though in more recent times the rigorous oppression of former years has been somewhat relaxed, "the public burdens are still "made to weigh most heavily on the peasantry," are not of superior validity to those relied upon in support of the charges which have already been considered. The import duty of 12½ per cent. said to be payable on all imports, is represented to "press unfairly on the poor as the largest consumers." In the first place, the duty of 12½ per cent. is not payable on all imports, but on such only as are not specifically taxed; textile fabrics, leather and iron manufactures, &c., are the principal articles subject to this duty. Secondly, as the poor individually can scarcely be the largest consumers of these, it must be in the aggregate that Dr. Underhill means that they are so; his inference that, therefore, the tax presses unfairly upon them, betrays him to possess but confused ideas upon the subject of taxation. As the weight of an impost is proportioned not to the amount contributed by the tax-payers collectively, but to the amount exacted of each of them, it proves nothing as to the effect of a tax upon any particular class, that they by reason of their numbers are the largest consumers of the article on which it is imposed. A similar fallacy is involved in the suggestion which follows, that the duties on salt provisions, farinaceous food, &c., must be felt oppressively by the lower classes, because these duties amount to 30 and 40 per cent. on the cost of the articles on which they are levied. The statement is inaccurate, but that is here immaterial. The amount which a tax takes out of the pocket of the contributor is the measure of its oppressiveness, not the proportion which it bears to the cost of the article which happens to be selected as the means of exacting it. At the time Dr. Underhill wrote, 1*s.* 3*d.* was the duty on a barrel of corn meal. A tax of this amount on 200 pounds weight of nutritious and palatable food, cannot be regarded as exorbitant or oppressive, whatever its relation to the cost of the commodity. Indeed, in the case of a duty of fixed amount, the very reverse of that which Dr. Underhill here assumes it to be, is the rule; the higher the percentage on cost, the less inconveniently is the tax likely to be felt. When the price of corn meal is 12*s.* 6*d.* a barrel, the duty of 1*s.* 3*d.* will certainly be more easily contributed by the consumer than when he has to provide for a first cost of 25*s.*, yet in the former instance 10 per cent. is the rate of duty, while in the latter it is but 5 per cent.

In further illustration of the selfishness characteristic of the financial policy of the Colonial legislators, it is stated that while the small settler is required to pay a tax on all the wheeled vehicles he may possess, the planter pays only on such of his carts and wains as traverse the roads; that the natives being fond of horses, these are taxed 10*s.* a head, but that the planter working his estates with oxen and bullocks, pays no tax on his draft stock at all.

The Act taxing wheeled vehicles in force at the time Dr. Underhill wrote, was the 20 Vict. chap. 25; the first section imposes a tax on all carriages except those exempted by the proviso to the 10th clause. The privileged vehicles are the carts and wains used exclusively within the limits of any plantation, as well those used on the small settler's plantation, as those worked on properties of greater extent. It is true that practically the exemption is ineffective as far as the small settler is concerned. The narrow limits within which his agricultural operations are conducted, render inadmissible the use of wheeled vehicles exclusively on the land he cultivates, and he consequently possesses no carts but such as go upon the roads, and are therefore taxed. But this constitutes no reasonable ground of objection to the immunity where it is operative; the purpose of the tax being to provide a fund for the maintenance of roads, by laying under contribution those who use and wear

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them. With equal justice, where roads are supported by tolls, might exception be taken to the circumstance, that on vehicles which do not traverse them no tollage is exacted.

Though it is not to be denied that of draft stock, horse-kind alone were at this time taxed, it does not follow, as Dr. Underhill would have it inferred, that the fondness of the natives for horses caused these to be selected for duty as a means of vexing them. For the statement that the planter works his estate exclusively with oxen and bullocks, and consequently paid no tax at all on his draft stock, is incorrect. Besides horned stock, every estate uses mules or horses, or both, upon the roads, and on these the tax to which horse kind generally so used were liable, was paid. As of such beasts the planter possesses at least four to "the poor man's" one, Dr. Underhill's theory of the origin of the tax is only admissible on the scarcely probable supposition, that in order to gratify a causeless and senseless animosity to the negroes, the planters enacted a measure, which in taxing the objects of their hatred, imposed upon themselves the obligation of providing a far more considerable contribution to the revenue. If, however, it *was* a wrong to omit draft horned stock from taxation, the wrong was speedily condoned. The year after that distinguished by the visit of Dr. Underhill to Jamaica, a tax of 6*d.* a head was laid upon *the whole* of the estates' herd of working stock, however used, except the horse kind which went upon the roads, and which continued to be taxed as formerly (25 Vict. chap. 39).

As Dr. Underhill admits that the rude manufacture of the small settler is unfit for exportation, his mis-statements regarding the apportionment of the taxes on exports seem altogether gratuitous—giving him the benefit of accepting them as authentic, they under the circumstances fail to establish the existence of any grievance. As, however, they do *not* fail to establish, further than has already been done, his utter untrustworthiness when dealing with matters of fact, the contradiction of them may as well here be supplied. He says, "Immigration is provided for by a tax on exports. The "planter pays at the rate of 3*s.* a hogshead. The small settler must pay at the rate of 2*s.* a barrel "on each barrel of coffee, sugar, ginger, and arrowroot he exports. Thus he pays in a far greater "ratio than the planter, for the introduction of labourers solely for the planters' use." The Act taxing the exports referred to is the 24 Vict. chap. 16. It makes no distinction whatever between the produce of the large and that of the small settlement, but upon all alike imposes a duty of 3*s.* on each hogshead of sugar, 4*s.* on each tierce of coffee, and 1*s.* on each hundredweight of ginger and arrowroot exported. These rates seem to have been adjusted so as at least approximately to assess the articles taxed proportionately to their respective values. The 17th section directs that in levying the duty on barrels of sugar, eight of them "shall be taken to be," as they actually are, "equivalent "to a hogshead;" and that "coffee exported in packages other than tierces shall be charged with "duty in the proportion of seven hundredweight," the average weight of a tierce of coffee, "to the "tierce." As the eighth of 3*s.* is certainly not 2*s.*, though for the purpose of making out a case of injustice against Jamaica planters it may be convenient to consider that it is so, and as the several articles named are taxed neither in the way nor in the proportions which Dr. Underhill alleges, the statute affords no justification whatever for the charge of inequitable legislation, which he bases exclusively on a misrepresentation of its provisions.

No accusation can indeed with less justice be urged against the fiscal policy of the colonial legislature, than that of its having been conceived in a spirit of hostility to the peasantry, and shaped so as to cast upon them an undue share of the public burdens. The few articles of first necessity for which the labourer is dependent upon supplies from abroad, the tariff visits, as has been here in some measure illustrated, with a duty almost nominal, while the articles of import not of actual sustenance, of which he is the principal consumer, are taxed as moderately, as consistently with not exempting him from contribution altogether, they may be. Yielding to the representations of the distress the collection of the tax on freeholds, to which as a landowner he had become subject, was said to occasion him, the Assembly in 1858 abolished the tax. The parochial expenditures of which the relief of the poor, constituted the largest item, were provided for out of the funds the impost thus abandoned supplied, and the lost revenue had therefore from other sources to be made good. The substituted taxes were a duty on exports, a tax upon houses of a rental of 20*l.* and upwards, a tax on breeding stock and additional customs duties, upon ale, beer, composition, and sperm candles, soap, brandy, gin, wine, tea, tobacco, cigars, and matches. In thus raising the required revenue, by means which left nearly untouched, the labourer and small settler, the ruling classes assumed almost the whole burden of the parochial expenditures; though at least the peasant proprietor relieved of the rating on his freehold, might reasonably have been called upon to furnish his proportionate quota. In like manner throughout, the legislation stigmatised as selfish, inequitable, and oppressive, will on candid and impartial investigation be found to have effectively recognised the negro's legitimate claims to consideration, and to have dealt with him not only justly but liberally.

Next to the wrongs the colonial schemes of revenue are said, with what justice has been shown, to have inflicted on the liberated peasantry, the refusal of political privileges to them, and more particularly of the franchise is instanced by the numerous writers and speakers on the subject which the occasion has called forth, in proof of the intolerant and overbearing treatment to which they have been subjected.

No one who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the nature of the political institutions of the Colony since the abolition of slavery, and none others are justified in commenting upon them would be likely, however disingenuously disposed, to venture so utterly untruthful an assertion, as that the emancipated negroes have been denied any political rights to which they may be considered justly entitled. With respect to electoral privileges it is on the contrary indisputable, that these have very censurably been conceded with an indiscriminating liberality which, altogether ignoring the actual social condition of the Colony, has virtually placed the seats in the Legislature and at the parochial boards at the disposal of ignorance, cupidity, and incapacity, by the free admission to the

exercise of the franchise of persons immeasurably inferior in education and intelligence to those in Great Britain, to whom such privileges are still judiciously denied. The election law in operation at the time of emancipation conferred the right of voting on every possessor of a freehold of the clear annual value of 6*l.* Very immediately after their freedom, as has already been observed, the enfranchised labourers, induced thereto by the Baptist ministers, who were both their religious teachers and political leaders, became the owners, to a large extent, of small parcels of land all over the country, and under the same direction and influence, claimed and were admitted to record as electors in respect of these small freeholds. The law does not seem to have required proof to be tendered that the freehold on which the claim to the franchise was based was of the prescribed annual value. It would appear to have left this very much to the honour or conscience of the claimant of political rights: a very inadequate security against misrepresentation as is proved, notwithstanding the guidance under which the new candidates for political power acted; since the fee simple did not in many, perhaps in most instances, amount to the alleged annual value of the premises, the ownership of which constituted the voter's qualification. Under a system so lax, and with land to be bought so cheap, the voting lists were to an overwhelming extent crowded with the names of these small freeholders; persons whose recent emancipation from slavery forbade the possibility of their being qualified to be thus entrusted with preponderating political influence. In some measure to check the gross frauds which the imperfections of the law permitted, and which were notoriously practised, an Act in 1852 was passed which required that taxes on an annual value of 6*l.* should be be paid by the elector, who claimed to vote upon his freehold. This did not, however, very materially alter the character of the constituencies, as the voter was still under no obligation to establish his freehold to be of the value required by law, but if it was assessed below this was permitted to have it considered for the purposes of the franchise of the requisite value on paying upon it a corresponding amount of taxes Such was the state of the law regulating the franchise up to 1858. In that year principally, as was alleged, in consideration of the hardship its collection inflicted on the small freeholder, the tax on hereditaments, as has previously been stated, was abolished. The feeble restraint which the payment of this tax provided against the abuse of electoral privileges referred to being thus removed, the election law consequently again came under the review of the Legislature. It is much to be regretted that the opportunity thus afforded was not availed of to deal effectually and comprehensively with the subject. Antecedent legislation, it was very generally admitted, had erred on the side of over liberality; what was felt to be needed in order to substitute intelligence and education for prevalent illiterate ignorance on the voting lists was, among other things, a higher freehold qualification, and adequate provision for ensuring that the requirements of the law in this respect were duly satisfied. The imposition of a tax of 10*s.* per annum on all claims to vote, which constituted the principal feature of the new enactment was, as a means of promoting the desired improvement of the constituencies inefficient; the payment of 10*s.* by the voter neither establishes that he is actually possessed of a freehold of the requisite annual value, nor that he is otherwise a fit person to be entrusted with the franchise. The exaction therefore was certainly to be condemned as superadding to qualifications, which the law professed to hold sufficient, a pecuniary mulct on the exercise of electoral privileges without any recognizable legitimate purpose.

It is true that since the passing of this Act but few small freeholders have recorded their claims to vote; this however is probably rather the result of the calm which has for some years and until very lately prevailed in our political atmosphere, than to the restrictive effect of the tax; Dr. Underhill admits the negroes themselves to take but a lukewarm interest in politics. No doubt, should representive institutions be maintained in the Colony, the names of the 6*l.* freeholders will re-appear upon the voting lists on the recurrence of more agitated times, when the investment of 10*s.* in the purchase of a right to vote may be calculated to bring in to its possessor on each occasion of its exercise, the customary hat, jacket, or pair of boots. Where the franchise is not otherwise valued than for what it will thus realize it is only when votes are marketable that the privilege of voting is likely to be claimed and paid for.

By an Act of the session of 1864 the 10*s.* tax is remitted on the claims to vote of freeholders who otherwise pay direct taxes to the amount of 20*s.* As stock and wheeled vehicles are almost exclusively the objects of direct taxation, a special political privilege is thus, with no very obvious reason, accorded to the freeholder whose avocations happen to render these necessary to him. Our legislation on the subject of the franchise can certainly not be defended as faultless. It has no doubt erred, not however as charged, in having unjustifiably withheld electoral rights, but in having too freely and carelessly conceded them.

After having dwelt with pained attention on Dr. Underhill's recital of the contumely, oppression, and injustice of all kinds to which since emancipation the black man in Jamaica has been subjected, it must be as cheering as unexpected to his friends to learn, on the assurance of the same competent authority, that "the growing intelligence, independence, and wealth of the negro population must "ere many years elapse give them the preponderance in the" Island "Legislature."* Intelligence, independence, and wealth are not commonly the growth of the long continued tyrannous oppression and injustice of rulers. That in Jamaica these usually depressing influences have produced such unaccustomed fruits is no doubt capable of explanation, not indeed by an ordinary disputant who, convicted of statements so violently in contradiction, would probably find the situation perplexing and discomfiting. But it would be doing injustice to the ingenuity and hardihood which distinguish controversialists of the sort that are, and justly, the pride of the Anti-Slavery Society and the delight of Exeter Hall to suppose that the emergency would find them dismayed or unprepared with a solution of the social enigma, which to sympathizing partisans at least should prove amply satisfactory. One might indeed

* "The West Indies," p. 223.

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venture to anticipate the coming explanation. The superior mental capacity, industry, and energy of the negro have enabled him thus triumphantly to overcome obstacles to his progress such as prove fatally obstructive to the advancement of less highly endowed races. And doubtless this method of reconciling the anomaly, by a statement at once absurdly untruthful and extravagantly flattering to the prejudices of the hearers, would, as an inspiration, be accepted with rapturous acclamations by the frenzied assemblages whose ignorant but not therefore the less violently maintained misconceptions on the subject of the negro, his rights and his wrongs, are ministered unto by such men as Mr. Chamerovzow and Mr. Jacob Bright, and whose most cordially welcomed and applauded orators are those who most audaciously and systematically ignore facts. In the minds however of those earnestly desirous of information on the subjects which just now engross so large a share of public attention the startling inconsistency into which he has here been betrayed will but tend to strengthen the conviction, at which antecedent disclosures of his inaccuracy of statement will doubtless have occasioned them to arrive, that on the condition of things in Jamaica Dr. Underhill cannot safely be accepted as a guide, though with a self-confidence the grounds for which are not very discernible, he offers himself in that capacity to the world in general in his book and speeches, and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in particular in the letter which fortuitously has attained to so much notoriety.

When a community is untruthfully charged with offences of the gravest character, it perhaps matters little, as far as the guilt of the traducer is concerned, whether it is so on a wilful perversion of facts or upon data recklessly adopted. But even to that slight mitigation of censure which in the latter case might charitably be accorded to the calumniator, Dr. Underhill can scarcely be held entitled, for where a number of consecutive statements, as those of his which have been here reviewed, are uniformly untrue, it seems impossible to acquit the author of them of misrepresentation by design. Moreover, his own character cannot otherwise than suffer in public estimation from the taint of the reputation of those with whom he is found in intimate association; and there is abundant and conclusive evidence that the Anti-Slavery Society at least, in *their* deviations from veracity, err not ignorantly. In illustration an instance of pretty recent occurrence, and which elucidates further than has already been done the description of material out of which negro grievances are manufactured, may be cited. Two measures passed by the Assembly last year were selected for adverse criticism and as the subject of remonstrance with the Colonial Secretary, by the self-constituted "Black Pro-"tectors." The one was an Act to punish with whipping persons convicted a second time of the larceny of growing produce. The other authorized the apprenticing, in lieu of punishment, of vagrant children found guilty of that offence. By means of the first-mentioned enactment the planter, the spirit of the slaveowner being still strong within him, was represented, in protection of his cane fields, which it was next to contended the poor negro possessed a prescriptive right to plunder, to have resorted to "the symbol" of the "accursed institution" with inexcusable disregard of the painful reminiscences it was calculated to recal to the mind of the sensitive thief subjected to its discipline. There would really seem nothing very incongruous in visiting the vice of the slave with the punishment of the slave; but it was perfectly notorious that cane stealing was not the mischief the Legislature had it in contemplation to remedy in providing for the larceny of growing produce a penalty of increased severity. The planters had so far become accustomed to be despoiled as to regard the subject in something the same light as the Anti-Slavery Society, and to accept these depredations as a sort of established institution; at any rate so long as they alone were the victims they did not consider the offence one which called for the special interposition of the Legislature. But when the negroes commenced robbing extensively from each other, the community was menaced by a danger of far greater magnitude than was to be apprehended from the pilfering of the cane fields of the estates. In many districts the cultivation of the esculent roots, which constitute the chief food of the peasantry, was abandoned by the industrious and well-disposed who had been engaged in that branch of agriculture, in consequence of the daily increasing uncertainty of their being permitted by their indolent and dissolute neighbours to reap the fruits of their labour. The growing indisposition on the part of those, by whom the food wants of the population had been principally supplied, to continue the ungrateful task of planting crops, of which at maturity they would most probably be defrauded, was viewed throughout the Island with alarm as threatening the land with famine, and the Government was appealed to to avert by measures of adequate rigour the impending calamity. The law in question was the result: its necessity, expediency, and propriety were fully concurred in by all sects, classes, and colours, inclusive of Baptist ministers and others in direct and constant communication with the Anti-Slavery Society, who therefore could not but be aware, on authority which even they would recognize as trustworthy, of the history and object of the enactment, however it might suit their purpose to ignore the information with which they had thus been supplied in order to vilify the objects of their unceasing persecution and abuse.

The other Act referred to (28 Vict. chap 19) consists of but three clauses. The first directs that where children under 16 years of age, and who are "proven to be leading an idle and vagrant life, "not attending any school and not sufficiently under the control of their parents, are convicted of the "larceny of agricultural produce, the justices, instead of committing, may apprentice them to "any trade or handicraft, or to any estate or pen, or as domestic servants to any family willing to "take them." The second clause provides that the masters and apprentices under the Act, shall be subject to the existing statutes, regulating the apprenticeship of minors by their natural guardians. The third requires that the master shall "during a part of one day in each week" provide the apprentice "with moral and religious instruction." This is the statute, breathing nothing but a spirit of humanity and mercy towards the young castaways with whom it proposes to deal, which professional philanthropists in England think it honest and becoming to stigmatize, as designed for the purpose of "reviving involuntary servitude or slavery" in Jamaica. The writer of the leading article on the subject, in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," and the framers and supporters of the

memorial presented to the Colonial Secretary with reference to it, afford in that article and in that memorial evidence that they possess at least a tolerably intimate acquaintance with the English language, and it may, unhesitatingly, be pronounced impossible that any person to that extent accomplished could so far mis-read the enactment in question as conscientiously to believe that it was intended to promote, in the remotest way, the object which the "Anti-Slavery Reporter" and the memorialists pretended it to have been specially devised to attain. The degree of eagerness with which its provisions have been availed of by the planter would afford the means, were others wanting of judging whether the statute really owes its existence to the motives alleged. Since its enactment, about a twelvemonth ago, it has been but once invoked in the parish of Trelawny in which this is written, and which is the largest sugar producing parish in the Island. On that occasion the youthful delinquent who had been detected, not for the first time, robbing a provision ground was apprenticed —not to a planter, but to a carpenter. The latest accounts of him are such as will probably fill the saints with disgust; he was progressing favourably, was assiduous at his trade, and bid fair to become a useful member instead of a pest of society. And this is probably throughout the Island the only instance, a circumstance to be much regretted, of an apprenticing under the new law for "reviving "involuntary servitude or slavery" in Jamaica.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. LINDO.

P.S.—The speech of the Honourable E. Lynch Stanley at a meeting held at Alderley on the 3rd December, for the purpose of promoting Anti-Slavery objects, affords a remarkable example of the singular fatality which seems to attend the most conscientious efforts to qualify themselves for the function of those who aspire to instruct the public mind in England on Jamaica affairs. Mr. Stanley undertook the vindication of Dr. Underhill on this occasion, and especially he undertook to defend that gentleman's statements regarding our franchise law; and he claimed to speak with authority on the subject, for, as he was at the pains of informing his auditors, he spake from book, and on a matter of this kind from the best of books—the Blue Book; and thereupon, with a supreme unconsciousness of how completely he had failed to apprehend the valuable compendium which he was misquoting, he proceeded to inform his hearers that the qualification of the voter in Jamaica consisted in the receipt by him of an annual income of 150*l.*, 200*l.*, or 300*l.*, according to the source whence the income was derived, or in payment of 10*l.* in direct taxes; whereas one or other of these is the qualification which the law requires, not the elector, as he had it, but the elected to possess. Then, after the manner of his kind, he goes on liberally to condemn the illiberality which he has so satisfactorily established of the Jamaica laws regulating the franchise. Again we find a controversy going on between a correspondent of "Public Opinion," signing himself A. A., and a Mr. Wilton De Wilton, who considers a long and recent residence in Jamaica entitles him to be heard; and the subject of contention is, whether the taxes on land are felt most oppressively by the negro or the planter, neither disputant being aware that there are, and since 1858 there have been, no taxes on land except the quit-rent of one penny per acre, which can scarcely be the tax respecting which they differ.

A. L.

BILL introduced into the COUNCIL.

A BILL to preserve the PUBLIC WORSHIP of GOD from SCANDALOUS ABUSES, SUPERSTITIOUS PRACTICES, and SEDITIOUS PURPOSES.

WHEREAS numbers of persons of immoral lives and gross ignorance have taken upon themselves the title of preachers of God's word, and without authority from or connexion with any recognized body of Christians assumed to themselves the functions of the ministry, and have, under the guise of religion, misled their followers into acts of insubordination, treason, and rebellion: And whereas the recent outbreaks arose in a locality where their influence was felt, and many of these false teachers and preachers were found to have been ringleaders in active rebellion, and to have been previously preaching discontent and sedition: And whereas such false teachings and pretended religious services are a great scandal to the Christian religion, and subversive of the moral and spiritual welfare of society, and dangerous to the public peace, and it is necessary to prevent in future the causes which led to the late rebellion, so far as they can be ascertained, and to repress them where they may still exist, but yet so as not to curb or restrain true religious liberty: Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Legislative Council, and Assembly of this Island as follows:

1st. That nothing in this Act contained shall affect any duly ordained and recognized minister of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, or the Jewish Faith, nor shall in any way effect the people usually called Quakers, or those called Plymouth Brethren, nor shall it affect any places hitherto, now, or hereafter to be used by such persons as places of public religious worship in this Island.

2nd. That nothing in this Act shall prejudicially affect any minister or ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, or the United Methodist Free Church Missions of England, the United Presbyterian Missionary Society of Scotland, the Moravian Churches, or the American Missionary Association, either sent out or recognized by any such society, or ordained as a minister by any duly registered minister, in accordance with the usages of such society: Provided, that a certificate and declaration according to Form A. be made and signed before some justice of the peace for this Island, and forwarded to the Island Secretary for registration.

3rd. That nothing in this Act contained shall prejudicially affect any lay-preacher, deacon or leader, Sunday school teacher, or member of any congregation or assembly presided over or under the charge of any minister exempted from the operation of this Act, or of a duly registered minister, who

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shall act under the directions or appointment of such minister for the time being, in the conducting of religious worship or Sabbath schools: Provided, that such direction and appointment shall be given in writing, and subscribed by such minister, but that such authority shall be revocable by such minister or minister at any time, as he shall see fit; and should any person presume to act upon such authority after it has been revoked, he shall be subject to the pains and penalties provided in this act for unauthorized preachers and teachers.

4th. That nothing in this Act contained shall prejudicially affect, for the space of [*six*] months after his arrival in this Island, any visitor to this Island, who shall be introduced or recommended to any congregation by any minister so exempted as aforesaid, or by any registered minister as aforesaid.

5th. That nothing in this Act contained shall prejudicially affect any place heretofore or now used or hereafter to be used as a place of public religious worship by any such duly registered minister as aforesaid: Provided, that any such place of worship shall be duly registered according to the Form B. to this Act annexed.

6th. That this Act shall not affect persons assembling in any house for the purposes of family prayer or domestic religious worship, at which there shall not be more than persons besides the immediate family and servants of the person residing in the said house or premises in which such meeting shall be held: Provided, that such meeting shall be *bonâ fide* for the purposes of family prayer or domestic religious worship, and no other.

7th. That any person who shall, in violation of the purposes of this Act, give, or produce for registration or cause to be registered any false or revoked certificate, qualification, credential, direction, or appointment, or make any false declaration for any purpose required by this Act, shall, upon conviction of the same before one or more justices of the peace, be punishable by fine of not more than [*fifty*] pounds, and not less than [*ten*] pounds, or in default of payment to imprisonment for a period of not less than [*six*] months or more than [*two*] years, with or without hard labour.

8th. That it shall not be lawful for any person not excepted from the operation of this Act, or duly registered in accordance with this Act, to hold himself out as or pretend to be a minister of the gospel, or to assume, or pretend to assume, the office of any of the functions of a minister of the gospel, or to receive any money as such; and any such person who shall thus hold himself out, or pretend to, or assume, or pretend to assume such functions as aforesaid shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding [*fifty*] pounds nor less than [*ten*] pounds, to be recovered before any two justices of the peace, or any other competent court in this Island, or in default thereof to imprisonment for any period not exceeding [*two*] years nor less than [*six*] months, with or without hard labour; and if any such person shall, so holding himself out as or pretending to be such minister, or assuming or pretending to assume or exercise such functions as aforesaid, make any collection or receive any money as such minister, he shall for such offence be deemed and held to have obtained money by means of false pretences, and be punished accordingly.

9th. That it shall be lawful for any minister duly recognized by this Act, on the conclusion of Divine worship by him, to desire the congregation peaceably to separate and depart; and any person or persons refusing or neglecting so to depart within a period of 20 minutes shall, on complaint thereof before any justice of the peace, be liable to a penalty of [*ten*] pounds and not less than [*one*] pound, or not exceeding [*two*] years, and not less than [*three*] months imprisonment, with or without hard labour.

10th. That any congregation or meeting of persons not excepted from the operation of this Act, and not under the care of some church society, mission church, association, or other body duly registered by this Act, and not presided over by some duly registered minister or other person also exempted from the operation of this Act, and all congregations or meetings for the purpose of holding wakes over the dead, or other superstitious practices, shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly; and it shall be lawful, on the complaint of any householder, for any policeman or constable, and they are hereby required, to disperse such meeting; and if the persons so assembled shall, on being required to do so, not thereupon separate and depart, they, or any of them, shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding [*twenty*] pounds and not less than [*one*] pound, to be recovered before any justice of the peace or any criminal court, or in default thereof to imprisonment for a period of not exceeding [*two*] years and not less than [*three*] months, with or without hard labour.

11th. That it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace or peace officer to demand of any person preaching, conducting, or presiding at any meeting of public religious worship, and not being a minister of the gospel within the meaning of this Act, the name of the minister by whom he has been authorized to act; and if such person shall not give any such name, or shall not truly state such name, he shall be punishable by fine of not less than [*ten*] pounds and not exceeding [*fifty*] pounds, to be recoverable summarily before any two justices of the peace, or in default thereof to not exceeding [*two*] years and not less than [*six*] months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, and thereafter on conviction be debarred from again exercising any such functions.

12th. That it shall be the duty of the Island Secretary, and he is hereby required, on the production, of any certificate, credential, or declaration verified as required by this Act, or upon the production of a declaration made before any justice of the peace for this Island, to register, free of all charge, in a book to be kept for that purpose, the names of all such persons so claiming to be registered as ministers of the gospel, as provided by this Act, according to the form in Schedule A. hereunto annexed; and also in like manner and free of charge to register, in a book to be kept for that purpose, the places, chapels, and other buildings represented by such ministers to be places of religious worship or intended to be used as such by or on behalf of any such society of Christians, according to the form in Schedule B. hereunto annexed; and that the Island Secretary shall be entitled to receive from the Island Treasury payment to be made to him at the same rate and in the same manner and at the same time as he is now entitled to receive payment for the registration of marriages by dissenting ministers.

13th. That upon such registration the Island Secretary shall make out and give to the person so registered a certificate of the registration of such minister or the place or places of religious worship so registered, as the case may be, in the Forms C. and D. annexed, all which certificates shall be in lieu of receipts, and shall be exempt from stamp duty.

14th. That it shall be the duty of the Island Secretary to publish in the "Gazette by Authority," in the months of January and July in each year after the passing of this Act, a copy of the register of such minister and places.

15th. That any breach or omission of duty contrary to this Act for which no special penalty or punishment has been provided shall be punishable summarily before any two justices of the peace or circuit court or summarily before any two justices of the peace.

16th. That all offences under this Act shall be deemed to be misdemeanors and shall be prosecuted within six months after such offences, and one moiety of all fines imposed by this Act shall be paid to the informer or prosecutor, who shall be a competent witness, and the other moiety thereof to Her Majesty for the use of the Government of this Island.

17th. That this Act shall not come into operation until it has received the sanction of Her Majesty and has been published for a period of not less than one in the several newspapers of this Island or in the "Jamaica Gazette."

SCHEDULE of FORMS under this ACT.

A.

Name of Minister.	Title of Society by whom recognized, or Minister by whom ordained.	Time of Appointment, or Recognition, or Ordination.	Signature of Applicant.	Date of Registration.

I, do solemnly and sincerely declare that the above form contains a just and true statement of the matters therein set forth, and that I am still recognized by such society as a minister of the gospel.

C. D., Justice of the Peace.

B.

Name of Chapel.	Parish and District.	Name of Society to which it belongs.	Date of Claim for Registration.	Signature of Minister.	Date of Registration.

I, do solemnly and sincerely declare that the above form contains a just and true statement of the matters therein contained, and that the place above referred to is still used as a place of religious worship in connexion with such society.

A. B.

C. D., Justice of the Peace.

C.

I hereby certify, on this day of 18 , that A. B., of the parish of , was duly registered as a minister of the gospel in connexion with and now recognized by the Society [or ordained by , a duly registered minister of the gospel, as the case may be].

Signed this day of 186 .

A. B., Island Secretary.

D.

I hereby certify that chapel, in the parish of , was this day registered as a place of public religious worship now in connexion with Society.

Signed this day of 186 .

A. B., Island Secretary.

JAMAICA.

MINISTERS of RELIGION to MR. WILLIAMS.

To J. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

WE have carefully examined all the provisions of the proposed bill, and are satisfied that they will effectively meet the requirements derived by it; we are satisfied that it should become law, and that its enactments are in accordance with liberty of conscience. We hope, therefore, that this bill or one formed upon its principles will receive the approbation of the Hon. House of Assembly, the Government, and Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and we do so because we consider such a bill is called for by the exigencies of the country.

We have, &c.

(Signed) JON. EDMONDSON,
Genl. Supt. Wes. Mission and Schools.
JAMES WATSON,
United Presbyterian Society.
SAMUEL OUGHTON,
Baptist Missionary Society.
WILLIAM JAMES GARDNER,
London Missionary Society.
WILLIAM HOLDSWORTH,
Wesleyan Minister.
WILLIAM GRIFFITHS,
United Methodist Free Church.
JOHN ATKINS,
Wesleyan Minister.

A petition of certain ministers of the gospel resident in Kingston, expressing satisfaction with the bill entitled "An Act to preserve the Public Worship of God from scandalous abuses, superstitious "practices, and seditious purposes," and hoping it might become law, was received and read, and ordered to be printed on the minutes, and the said petition is as follows:—

To the Honourable CHARLES HAMILTON JACKSON, Speaker, and others, Members of the Honourable House of Assembly.

The Humble PETITION of the undersigned MINISTERS of the GOSPEL resident in Kingston,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners have regarded with feelings of the deepest sorrow and regret the late rebellious outbreak in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, with its awful and murderous concomitants, and are grieved to have learned that some persons, called native preachers, and their congregations, were active parties in plotting and conducting that lawless and bloody catastrophe.

That your petitioners observed in his Excellency's opening address to your Honourable House allusion to said persons, and the absolute necessity of some legislative enactments to prevent the recurrence of similar outrages; and that in consequence a bill has been introduced to "preserve "the Public Worship of God from scandalous abuses, superstitious practices, and seditious purposes."

That your petitioners have carefully perused the said bill, to ascertain whether it encroaches on the civil or religious liberties of themselves, the congregations under their care, or any other duly recognized or acknowledged body or bodies of Christians, and are persuaded that the said rights and privileges have been carefully preserved and respected.

Your petitioners therefore would express their satisfaction with the bill, and hope that it may become law.

(Signed) JON. EDMONDSON.
JAMES WATSON.
SAMUEL OUGHTON.
W. J. GARDNER.
WILLIAM GRIFFITHS.

DEPOSITION of JOSEPH ALVARENGA.

Joseph Alvarenga, of the parish of St. David, clerk to church, duly sworn, saith:—About three weeks ago Samuel Clarke of St. David came into my school-house at Yallah's Bay, in St. David. He addressed the boys in the school, saying, "You must learn well, because in short the Island will "belong to 'we,' as there are very few white and coloured people in the Island, and we will be the "rulers of it." I said, "That is nonsense, Clarke; the black people may obtain a high position in "the Island." He answered, "You don't know anything. If I even die I have nine children, and "my name will never die." I believe from his conduct and conversations in general we are not safe in the parish of St. David or St. Thomas-in-the-East.

(Signed) JOSEPH ALVARENGA.

Sworn to before me, at Kingston, this 19th day of October 1865.

HENRY J. BICKNELL, P.M.

DEPOSITION of WILLIAM DIXON.

I, WILLIAM DIXON, sawyer, residing at Mavis Bank, Port Royal Mountains, do declare that on Friday, the 13th day of October last, that whilst passing Monklands market, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I observed a very large crowd about Mr. Paterson's shop. A small party of them stopped me, asking where I was going. I said to my provision grounds at Jones Pen, in the same parish. One of them said that nobody was looking after grounds now, that they had been fighting since Wednesday, and that I must join them, or they would kill me. I then said, "Let me go to my "grounds and dig some provisions for my children, and I will return," to which the party agreed. I observed they were very excited and were armed with guns and cutlasses. At the time I was leaving I overheard one of them ordering two others to go up to Jones Pen to the hut of one M'Farlane and request him to deliver them the two guns he had in possession, and that if he refused they were to break his two legs and leave him there. On reaching a quieter part of the road I arranged with my family to return home by another road. On the following week I joined the Port Royal Mountain Volunteers as one of Her Majesty's loyal subjects. I beg to express how deeply I am indebted to Governor E. J. Eyre for his decision and humanity in suppressing the late rebellion.

his
(Signed) WILLIAM × DIXON.
mark

Declared to before me at Robertsfield, Port Royal Mountains, having been first fully read and explained to deponent, this 19th day of January 1866. (Signed) RICHD. M'ENERY, J.P.

RECTOR COOKE to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Rectory, Morant Bay, January 18, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular of the 28th ultimo, No. 2,295, and to express my regret at not having been able to do so before.

To your question as to my opinion of the past and present disposition of the black population generally with reference to the late rebellion, and whether I consider the seditious spirit of that disturbance was local or general, I answer, that many months prior to the rebellion those marks of respect the labouring population were in the constant habit of paying to the upper classes were entirely or almost altogether omitted. The men invariably were to be seen coming to market armed with sticks, and I have constantly seen them, even young boys as they went along the high road passing my house, going through a sham fight, evidently training for the real fight when the time arrived. At the present moment the state of feeling is even far worse than before the late outbreak. Then it was only a sullen indifference, now it is defiant and insolent.

There can be no doubt but this evil change is attributable to the course pursued in England by the Anti-Slavery party. If the troops were withdrawn from Morant Bay and the naval protection we now enjoy I would at once remove myself and family from the parish, I would not remain here a day.

The seditious spirit which manifested itself on the 11th of October I regard as only the first act of a most bloody tragedy, which, had it proved successful, would have been followed by a general rising of the black population throughout the Island.

Their avowed object was to murder every white person, then the coloured races, which having accomplished, they were to have proclaimed a republican form of government similar to that of Hayti.

They complained of no political or other grievances. They had been taught to believe by the arch-traitor Gordon the land of right belonged to them, and it has been given in evidence that Gordon told them if they could not get it any other way they must rise and fight for it.

A rebellious rising having for its object murder and robbery extending over upwards of 70 miles of country could scarcely be designated as a mere local riot by the most perverted imagination.

At all the public meetings held by Gordon in various parishes of the Island the subject of all his addresses was the oppression they (the people) laboured under. His object was to create discontent, then resistance, and how that resistance and the means of freeing themselves from the tyrannic white man lay with themselves. He bid them look to Hayti and do as they had done. Then came his infamous proclamation, which was distributed throughout this parish, whilst the Queen's proclamation with Mr. Cardwell's letter was torn down and declared to be all a lie, an invention of the Governor.

With regard to the attendance of the people at church, there had been for many months a marked falling off; so much so I was obliged to notice it from the pulpit. Finding this had not the effect desired, I threatened to have the names of the communicants called every Sunday, and excommunicated all who failed to attend less than three Sundays in the month where good cause could not be shown for such absence. But the most remarkable change exhibited by the male portion of the congregation towards myself was on my admonishing them two Sundays prior to the meeting held by G. W. Gordon in the Market square at Morant Bay, on I think the 11th of August, not on any account to attend that meeting or to have in any way anything to do with that wicked man, they suddenly rose up and left the church. This occurred just before I was about to dismiss the people, after the catechizing of the classes, which takes place between the morning and evening services.

With respect to the attendance at Holy Communion, the attendance had fallen off to more than half. Of marriages for the whole parish in 1864 was only 38. Of baptisms for that year the number was 640, of which 489 were illegitimate. For the year just passed the baptisms were only 335, of which 201 were illegitimate. This needs no comment.

I shall but add, had the arrival of the "Wolverine" at Morant Bay been delayed four hours longer the work of ruthless unprovoked murder and rapine commenced on the 11th would have been fully consummated on the 12th. The hour fixed on for the return of the Rebel army to complete the work of destruction was 11 o'clock, when it was determined every white man and every coloured man of respectability should be put to death, and the demon of lust would have been let loose, and our wives and daughters brutally violated. From this dreadful fate under God we were rescued by the promptitude, energy, courage, and wisdom of his Excellency the Governor. On this firmness and decision not only our safety depended, but that of the whole Island, for which he will live in the grateful remembrance of every right-thinking man in the Colony.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary, &c. (Signed) S. H. Cooke, Rector.

The Reverend T. Brain to Mr. Myers.

Parsonage, St. Christopher's, St. Andrew's,

Sir, January 27, 1866.

In accordance with the request contained in your letter I now send you my opinion on the late rebellion.

As regards the black population generally I decline offering any opinion, as it must rest, not on my own knowledge, but the word of others; I shall therefore in my remarks confine myself to those under my charge in this district.

Before the outbreak I believe my people were perfectly ignorant of any such intention.

During the actual time of the rebellion their feelings were astonishment and horror at the murderous proceedings of their fellow blacks; this was especially the case at the news of the cruel death of the late Baron, who was known to many of my people, and whose leniency as a landlord was spoken of repeatedly.

They said there was no cause for all this rebellion and murder, that the attempt was a mad one, and could not succeed, that the punishment they were receiving was a just one, that if they came here they would resist their progress, and that as regards myself, as their clergyman, no harm that they could avert should come near me; this latter feeling was made manifest by a nightly guard of *honour* round my house. It is due to some of the local Baptists in this district to say that they joined in these sentiments.

While candour compels me to make these facts known, the same feeling constrains me to state that my opinion is that these sentiments were the fruits of what I must always consider as Governor Eyre's *merciful severity* on the Rebels in Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

As regards their present feeling a great change has taken place. Now they say that the white people commenced the murder, that the negroes have been most cruelly murdered, even innocent men and women in their houses, young children, women in advanced pregnancy, and that the Maroons were hired to shoot them; they charge the Governor with extreme cruelty, they declare that the cause of the rebellion was a question of wages, and there is no justice for the black man; that the Queen has sent for Sir H. Storks to take their part and bring the Governor to trial, and their feeling towards his Excellency and the Executive ineffable contempt.

I quite endorse the sentiments of the *English* Baptist in this district who says, if the soldiers are withdrawn we shall have another rebellion, and then I fear you will have no need to inquire, "*whether general or local.*" I trace this great change to English newspapers, the speeches of "pseudo-Negrophobists," and to the negro mind the present humiliated position of his Excellency Governor Eyre.

The only rite which the mass of the people in this district respect is baptism.

I cannot end my letter without urging on the Government the importance of a proclamation such as Mr. Mayhew refers to, as I find it impossible to make any impression on my people, even the best of them.

I am, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., (Signed) Geo. T. Brain,
Secretary, Executive Committee, Island Curate.
Spanish Town.

Mr. Justice Ker to Mr. Myers.

Sir, Strawberry Hill, near Gordon Town, January 27, 1866.

In answer to your communication of the 1st January, but only received on the 23rd, I have to state that I have no doubt but that a conspiracy existed among the negroes of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and the adjoining parts of St. David's, to destroy the white and brown population and take possession of their property. I am of opinion, however, that the organization was *local* only, not extending beyond the limits indicated. But had any considerable success attended the outbreak it seems to me not to admit of question that the flame of rebellion would have immediately spread with consequences almost too dreadful for utterance.

I have arrived at this conclusion because (from whatever cause or causes) disaffection is so largely prevalent among the black population at present as to be fairly described as all but universal.

I am in exclusive possession, however, of no fact or circumstance tending to elucidate the recent lamentable occurrences of sufficient importance to be laid before Governor Eyre

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq. (Signed) Alan Ker, J.

STATEMENT by MR. B. FITZHERBERT.

ON Sunday evening, January 21st, I was riding in Vere, near a place called Exeter, about sundown. I was riding on my own side of the road to the edge, leaving the rest of road vacant for persons to pass. Three negroes came riding rapidly behind; two of them brushed close past me on their wrong side. I turned my horse round to prevent the third doing the same, whereupon the two in front turned round and said, "You think you are going to jockey nigger; you are in a nice "place for us now." I said I was quite ready for them, and showed my revolver, whereupon they went quietly on.

January 30, 1866. (Signed) B. FITZHERBERT.

REVEREND DAVIDSON to MR. MYERS.

SIR, Spring Valley, Salt Gut, P.O., February 5, 1866.

I REGRET that in the confusion attendant upon a change of abode your circular of the 4th ult. was mislaid, and hence remained unanswered until now.

I am clearly of opinion that the seditious spirit which broke out into rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East was by no means confined to that locality, but on the contrary was very widely diffused.

Nothing has come under my personal observation to warrant the conclusion that a set purpose was entertained to rise in general rebellion; but I cannot doubt that if bands of Rebels had appeared in this neighbourhood in any other position than that of refugees, many would have been attracted to them, and that such of the black population as held back from complicity would have desired to maintain an attitude of neutrality and expectancy.

Immediately after a "distress meeting," held at Port Maria about the middle of last year, I observed unwonted indications that the negroes in this quarter conceived themselves to be ill used, and had adopted the notion that they ought to have the use of land upon much easier terms than it had ever yet been accorded to them.

While the late disturbance was in action, and the like was threatened in other quarters, the conviction was expressed that "plenty of land" was what the people wanted; and a feeling seems to have prevailed that this desire for abundance of land was likely in some way or other to be soon gratified.

The attendance of negroes at church and at Holy Communion fell off in a very marked manner from about the middle of last year up to the period of the disturbance. It has since to some extent improved.

I solemnized more marriages in the course of last year than during either of the two preceding years.

The number of children brought to me for baptism last year was about the same as usual.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN A. M. DAVIDSON,
Island Curate of Retreat, in the
Parish of St. Mary.

COLONEL MANN to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Garden House, Gordon Town, Jamaica, February 8, 1866.

IN compliance with your Excellency's desire, communicated to me by direction of his Excellency the Lieut.-General commanding, I beg leave to submit my opinion as to the disposition of the black population of this Island generally with reference to the late rebellion.

When the rebellion broke out I was on passage from Honduras to Jamaica, where I arrived on the 17th October, but at that time, and subsequently to the suppression of the rebellion, I found the altered manner and bearing of the negroes everywhere marked and threatening.

My opinion, based upon my own observations in various parts of the Island, but more especially in the parish of St. Andrew's, is that the feeling of disaffection towards the whites was strong and almost universal; and it is my conviction that had the judicious measures of the Government not been quickly successful the consequences would have been most terrible.

The changeable bearing of the negroes, according as reports seemed to favour or to discourage their cause, was and is impressive and convincing, even though not in all cases accompanied by open threats or acts of violence.

The above opinions are founded on personal observation uninfluenced by public reports.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. R. MANN, Lieut.-Colonel,
His Excellency Governor Eyre. and commanding Royal Engineers.

MR. FYFE to MR. MYERS.

SIR, St. David, Kingston, February 9, 1866.

I HAD the honour to receive on the 27th your letter of the 1st ultimo, having reference to the late rebellion, and I have been prevented from sooner attending to the request it conveyed by my inability hitherto to obtain access to a confidential communication on the same subject which I had addressed to his Excellency Governor Eyre, and of which I had omitted to retain a copy.

AMAICA.

I. In replying to your first query, I have to express my opinion that the outbreak at Morant Bay was "a predetermined and deliberate movement though, perhaps, prematurely developed." My reasons for thinking so are the following:—

1. The black population are scattered over the Island in the proportion of about 50 to 1 of the white. It is impossible therefore to suppose that a section of the former would rise in any single locality with the avowed object of massacreing all the males of the latter and reserving the women for ulterior purposes without the prospect of general support, either through sympathy (in their own words "skin for skin") or preconcerted co-operation. The idea of a single independent parish under black rule with the rest of the island *in statu quo*, would have been sheer madness.

2. The occurrence on the 7th of October, to which the outbreak has been by some attributed, must have been the pretext and not the cause, for it was not of a nature to excite one race against the other, inasmuch as it arose out of a decision of the sitting justices in a case in which two black persons were alone concerned.

3. The outrage on the authorities which followed was not continuous or in hot blood, but was the result of cool deliberation and previous planning. The first disturbance at the court-house, occurred on the 7th, the outbreak on the 11th. The meeting of the vestry on the latter day had no more connexion with the proceedings before the justices on the former than a meeting of the London Corporation on a Wednesday would have with a decision of the Bow Street magistrate on the previous Saturday.

4. I have the best authority for stating that on the 7th Cameron, one of the leaders, assembled his men at his own house at Nutt's River and marched them down to Stony Gut to meet Bogle. On Tuesday, the 10th, Cameron and Bogle met at Staunton cross road near Nutt's River with their two gangs. Part of Cameron's gang returned on Tuesday to Nutt's River to get cutlasses and returned to Morant Bay, where they remained.

5. On the morning after the massacre, that is on the 12th, the parties plundering Bath and carrying death and terror along the Plaintain Garden River district stated openly that they had a "Fort" at Tonington (Thornton), where they were "ready for the maroons or any one that might come up," and when they could (to use their own words) "kill 100, one at a time." I was told this on arriving at Bath on the evening of the 20th, and deviating in consequence (under a discretion allowed me) from my instructions marched the maroons up to Thornton on the following morning, spreading the men out so as to discover the reported fort or ascertain the point of resistance.

On reaching the summit of the hills the party on the left were fired on, and one maroon wounded. Nine of the insurgents were killed. This be it remembered was ten days after the massacre at Morant Bay. The trees were here carefully trimmed so as to open out the Plantain Garden River district. I came some days after on what they termed their fort. It was formed by felling large trees across a narrow road running round one side of a wooded and precipitous gorge, rising from the Clark or York River. It was no doubt intended to guard the communication between Stony Gut and Thornton, the two chief nests of the insurgents. The above facts, coupled with the outrages on the 12th and subsequent days in distant parts of the parish ranging from 30 to 40 miles, tended to show premeditation and that a train previously laid had ignited.

II. I believe that the seditious feeling extended to other parishes of the Island. The newspapers were constantly reporting the existence of such feeling, and that the Governor had more than once to despatch ships of war to special places indicated as exhibiting it. The inflammatory language too of a portion of the public press, the party spirit, the personal animosity, the intimidating language, the wanton obstruction of public business in the House of Assembly by those setting themselves up as the friends of the people (tending to keep up excitement abroad), the public meetings and seditious speeches on Dr. Underhill's letter, the drillings of bodies of men, and secret assemblings in different parts of the Island, and a general conviction that a rising would take place at Christmas, all combined to prove that disaffection was general, and that the outbreak at Morant Bay was precipitated by the appointed presence in the court-house on the 11th of all those who had been denounced and doomed to destruction.

Further, if it be borne in mind that the expected rising at Christmas would naturally put the authorities on their guard, a bold leader might hope by an earlier attack to forestal preparation, trusting to the appalling nature of his first blow for enabling him to carry the torch to other parishes, and thus to arouse immediate and general action.

III. As regards Mr. G. W. Gordon, on taking a calm retrospect of his political career both in and out of the Assembly for years, coupled with his proceedings for some months prior to the outbreak, I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that the disaffection which existed was stimulated by the whole tenor of his conduct. Besides being the recognized head of the black party, he was constantly going from parish to parish either holding forth as a self-ordained Baptist preacher, or getting up or presiding at mass meetings of the black population, and whenever his speeches were reported they were of a most inflammatory character.

I have no knowledge except from report of his proceedings in St. Thomas-in-the-East, save as to his illegal interference with the prison at Mount Bay when I was inspector of prisons, but so satisfied was I of the probable effect of his proceedings generally that after a meeting in Vere at which he was present, I wrote a private note to Mr. Hosack, a member of the Executive Committee, stating that it was time for the law officers of the Crown to interfere, that we had virtually no police, that a conspiracy might be hatched next door to a police station without the Government being made aware of it, that they were sleeping on a volcano, and that the Governor, to use an Americanism, did not appear to "realize the situation."

IV. As regards the state of St. David's prior to the outbreak, beyond the excitement caused by the "Underhill meeting" as it was termed, there was no apparent cause for alarm. Irrespectively,

however, of the general tone of the resolutions, there was an assertion which, coupled with prior and subsequent circumstances, convinced me that there was a desire to create disaffection here and to mislead the public mind in England.

One resolution asserted that injustice was rampant in their courts. Now, as I was stipendiary magistrate for the parish, and had some years before received a most confiding address, signed by the chairman and some of the very parties who had passed the resolution, I wrote to the clerk of the magistrates expressing my determination to retire at once from the public service.

On this, Samuel Clarke the chairman and W. E. Menard the secretary, both assured me that the resolution was meant to apply generally, and not to St. David, and a letter signed "W. E. M." to the same effect, appeared soon after in one or more of the public papers, an assurance quite inconsistent with the wording of the resolution.

As regards the state of the parish subsequent to the outbreak I am unable to speak, as I accompanied Governor Eyre to Morant Bay and Port Antonio. The parish was, however, under martial law, and soon occupied by troops.

It is impossible to impute evil intent to the Anti-Slavery Society, but I cannot help declaring my conviction that so long as that Society exists the negro will never settle down into a sense of his real position or contentment with his lot in life. He does not appreciate and will not acknowledge the justice of those social laws under which men acquire property and rise to position through industry and ability. He knows only that he is black, and that as a general fact the blacks are in an inferior position and possess less property than the whites. He is therefore dissatisfied with a lot which he ascribes entirely to colour, and as more pains are taken to inflame than to undeceive him, he is constantly building castles in the air instead of putting his shoulder to the wheel.

A sense of duty compels me to add that, however subdued the feeling of disaffection may have been after the occurrences in St. Thomas-in-the-East, it is now more openly avowed than ever, and that in my humble opinion it never will be extinguished except under a form of government which, whilst giving security and confidence to all parties, will, by being entirely Imperial in its elements, not only disarm morally the Anti-Slavery Society, but also their emissaries in this country.

Although slavery has been abolished in Jamaica for the past 32 years, the same agencies against which Lord Balcarres had to contend in 1795, during the Maroon war, are still in operation. They are thus described by Bryant Edwards in his "History of Jamaica":—

"The situation of the slaves under prevailing circumstances required the most serious attention. With the recent occurrences before them of the dreadful insurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accustomed for the preceding seven years to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce and his efforts to serve them in Great Britain. Means of information was not wanting. Instructors were constantly found amongst the black servants constantly arriving from England, and I have not the smallest doubt that the negroes on every plantation were taught to believe that their masters were generally considered in the mother country a set of odious and abominable miscreants, whom it would be laudable to massacre."

This is simply proved by the facts that the late atrocities on the white race have not met with condemnation from certain parties in England, and that the negro believes their perpetration to be perfectly consistent with loyalty to the Crown.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) A. G. Fyfe.
Colonel of the Maroons.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to the Executive Committee.

The Rev. Mr. Douet to Governor Eyre.

Sir, Bath, February 23, 1866.

I have the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's letter of the 12th inst., and beg to state that in my official report made in December of last year I gave what I then considered to be the state of the negroes before the news of the feeling in England had reached them, and before they had any idea that a Commission had been appointed.

My statement was to the effect that they were quiet and well-disposed, and did not appear to show any sympathy with those who had taken part in the rebellion; and I yet firmly believe that had the policy of the Government here been approved of in England, we should have had no ground for alarm or apprehension.

Since, however, I wrote officially, many things have occurred which have caused me to change my opinion, though I must say at the same time that personally I have no cause of complaint as far as insolence is concerned; this, however, may be easily accounted for. I am a perfect stranger in the district, and am quite unknown to all but those composing my own church.

My opinion has changed chiefly on account of the complaints that have been brought to me by those negroes who remained loyal during the insurrection, who constantly say that they have every reason to be alarmed by the threats and insolence of their neighbours.

Many of the members of my church have come to me, asking me to explain the real state of things at present, and their questions are evidently sincere, for they pay great attention to my explanations, and frequently ask me to repeat any statement that they do not at first understand; the reason they give for asking these questions is in order that they may answer the taunts and the sneers of those around them.

Now I consider this important, for it does not emanate from the class which acted on the defensive —the white class—but from those who remained neutral, and who, because of their neutrality, are now pointed at for not having joined the black party.

JAMAICA.

A man of good character, and one upon whom I can depend, told me the other day that the common saying is, the Governor is to be hanged, and the soldiers and Maroons are to be severely punished. He further stated, that if he happened to be overtaken by darkness on his way home from his work, he made a point of stopping where he was until the following morning, for he feared an attack from his enemies.

Many others have told me the same.

In addition to this insolent conduct, they are kept on the tiptoe of excitement and suspense by certain ignorant or mischievous persons, who tell them that the Queen has sent out money for those Rebels whose property was destroyed. A woman came to me the other day with an account which she asked me to examine and correct for her, saying at the same time she meant to present it in order to get money for her losses.

Your Excellency will see that I have observed a decided change in the conduct of the negroes towards those of their own class, and in seeking an answer to the question, To what cause must their change be attributed? I again beg to bring in the evidence of the negroes themselves.

Whenever they come to me with questions such as I have called attention to above, I ask them, How do these people know all this, and where do they get their information from? The answer invariably is, They go to Kingston and hear that people in England say they were quite right to act as they did, and that the Queen has sent gentlemen out here to take care of them.

I have no doubt myself that this means they have heard of the operations of the Anti-Slavery Society, and of those who call themselves the friends of the negro, for one of them told me yesterday that the gentleman with the strange name which she had never been able to pronounce (meaning Mr. Chamerovzow) was making the people dissatisfied, and doing the negroes a great deal of harm.

It is impossible to make them understand the nature of the Royal Commission, and therefore many erroneous opinions have been formed from their ignorance on this subject.

Many other idle stories are afloat tending to cause dissatisfaction, but I have given above only those I know to be true.

I have, &c.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, (Signed) C. F. DOUET.
Governor of Jamaica, Flamstead.

No. 3.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lieutenant-General Sir H. K. STORKS, G.C.B., to the Right Hon. EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.

No. 68.

(No. 68.)

SIR, King's House, March 23, 1866.
(Received April 12, 1866.)

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a letter from Governor Eyre giving cover to a despatch with enclosures relative to circumstances connected with the late disturbances in this Island, and to acquaint you that the delay in forwarding the same has arisen from its having been submitted, in accordance with Mr. Eyre's request, to the Royal Commissioners, who have retained it until the present moment to assist them in their inquiry.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. (Signed) H. K. STORKS.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosures in No. 3.

Governor EYRE to Sir H. K. STORKS.

(No. 3.)

SIR, Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

HAVING been called upon by the Secretary of State for the Colonies prior to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry relative to the late rebellion in Jamaica to furnish information in reference to the capture, trial, and execution of Mr. G. W. Gordon, I was engaged in and had nearly completed my report when your Excellency arrived, and by susperseding me in the government relieved me from the necessity of replying to the inquiries which had been addressed to me.

I have therefore thought it right in furtherance of the object of your mission to transmit to you, to be laid before the Royal Commission, the report and documents which otherwise would have been forwarded to the Secretary of State, and I would respectfully request that all these papers may be transmitted to Her Majesty's Government, to be laid before Parliament as part of the evidence submitted to the Commissioners.

There is one point which I wish to place before the Commissioners in the strongest manner possible.

It is this, that as Governor of the Colony in a time of great emergency, and when there were grounds for believing that the lives and property of the colonists were in imminent peril throughout the entire Island, I was called upon to take such steps as to the best of my judgment appeared necessary and best calculated to protect those placed under my care. In doing so I had to form my opinion from circumstances of the moment. I claim

for that opinion the value which attaches to personal presence, a knowledge of the country and the people, and a full opportunity of learning all that was transpiring, and I maintain that no other person not circumstanced exactly as I was can properly impugn the propriety of the course taken. It was not so much a question of what was strictly legal, but of what the pressure of events made necessary to save the country from impending ruin.

Had I taken less decisive steps, and the rebellion become general, what would have been said of my conduct? but because the course taken was successful, it is now stated to have been unnecessary.

I have only to add that I shall be happy myself to give any further information or explanation in my power, and I believe most of the parties whose testimony is appended to my report are equally accessible.

On the more general subject of the nature and extent of the rebellion I shall do myself the honour to lay before the Commissioners a separate communication.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry Storks, G.C.B. (Signed) E. EYRE.
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-Enclosures in No. 3.

Sub-Encl. in No. 3.

[*Extract.*]

Governor EYRE to the Right Hon. EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.

SIR, King's House, January 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 344,* of the 23rd November, calling upon me to furnish information upon various points connected with the capture, trial, and execution of G. W. Gordon.

2. The circumstances under which Mr. Gordon was taken are these. Having, whilst engaged in the disturbed districts, had good reason to believe that Mr. Gordon was the proximate cause of the rebellion, and being called upon by the custos, magistrates, and other principal inhabitants of Kingston to return at once to that city to proclaim martial law over it, in order that Mr. Gordon (who was there equally believed to be the occasion of the insurrection) and some other well-known seditious characters might be taken into custody, and that summary means might be available for the punishment of any attempt to disturb the public peace (of which great apprehensions were entertained at Kingston), I returned to Kingston on the morning of the 17th of October.

3. Great fears were entertained that if Mr. Gordon was apprehended without the proclamation of martial law, an immediate outbreak would ensue. I did not share in this feeling, but I did share in the belief that if Mr. Gordon was not at once captured and sent for trial there would be little prospect of preventing the insurrection from breaking out in other districts. Evil-disposed persons were in various places indulging in seditious language or writings, and it was necessary for the safety of the Colony that it should at once be shown that such proceedings would be promptly put down by a strong hand.

4. Being called upon to proclaim martial law, and with the members at hand necessary to constitute a council of war, it would have been only a matter of some half-hour to have adopted that course, and thereby have rendered perfectly legal any steps taken with regard to Mr. Gordon or others; but the imposition of martial law upon the capital and chief commercial city of the Colony would have entailed inconveniences and evils of no ordinary kind, and the magnitude of which could only be estimated by those who know what martial law was. Believing that I could obviate this serious infliction by putting myself in the gap, and assuming the sole responsibility of arresting Mr. Gordon without establishing martial law, I preferred taking this course, and trusting to an act of indemnity (which has been passed) being afterwards enacted to cover any deviation from a strictly legal course if there was such a deviation. But there were these further considerations. Mr. Gordon's offence had been committed in the martial law district, and he also resided in a district where martial law prevailed (Cherry Garden, in St. Andrew). It was to this latter place I sent to capture him in the first instance, but he had deserted his own home and taken refuge in Kingston. Whether under the circumstances it was not justifiable to take Mr. Gordon up upon an affidavit of an offence committed in the martial law district, and then, having him in custody, take him off to that district, is a question of law which I am not competent to decide. I did not consult the Attorney-General, who on landing had arranged to go over to Spanish Town, and there was no time to lose, for it was necessary for me to return to the disturbed districts.

5. Supposing, however, that I had come to the conclusion that I could not and ought not to make the arrest under the circumstances above stated, Mr. Gordon's position and subsequent fate would have been in no respect different, for I should at once have proclaimed martial law to legalize his capture, so important did I consider it to have Mr. Gordon at once seized, and the case against him promptly investigated by a summary trial.

6. That Mr. Gordon gave himself up at the house of General O'Connor is quite true, but it is equally so that he knew he was being searched for, and that there was no chance of his long eluding the vigilance of those who were on the look out for him, consequently his capture would have been very shortly effected had he not voluntarily surrendered.

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* *Vide* Papers presented February 1866, Part I., page 241.

7. Having delivered Mr. Gordon over to the military authorities at Morant Bay, he was tried by a court-martial, condemned, and sentenced to be executed.

8. Before the sentence was carried out the proceedings and evidence were submitted to Major-General O'Connor, and by him to the Executive Committee, who were in Kingston at the time, and subsequently to myself at Spanish Town. Copy of these proceedings is enclosed.

9. I had no doubt of Mr. Gordon's guilt, and I believed it necessary for the preservation of life and property, and the prevention of further rebellion, that an immediate and signal example should be made.

10. I know that the Executive Committee entertained the same views, and the Major-General states, in a letter dated 30th December (herewith attached), "After carefully considering the proceedings of "the court-martial, the conviction, finding, and sentence, I was of opinion the position in which "Brigadier-General Nelson had been placed, and the then state of the Colony, called for prompt and "immediate action."

11. Abundant proof could be supplied that prior to Mr. Gordon's arrest, trial, and execution the evil-disposed and seditious were continuing to indulge in language or writings calculated to stir up rebellion, but that after these events this course was checked, and a wholesome dread of consequences restrained them. I may mention that the use of inflammatory language was not confined to the lower or uneducated classes. Another member of Assembly, Mr. D. P. Nathan (the coloured son of a Jew), was arrested for expressing sympathy with the Rebels, and stating his opinion that the white people murdered at Morant Bay deserved their fate. So was also a Dr. Bruce, a white man, and coroner for the parish of Vere, for using similar language, as well as for being mixed up with Mr. Gordon in the agitation which had stimulated the people to rebel. So also was Mr. Levien, a Jew, editor of the "County Union" newspaper, for publishing articles in his paper tending to agitate and stir up the people, and for conspiring with Dr. Bruce and others to shield them by writings in his newspaper from the charge of creating anarchy and tumult, which he admits he was aware their proceedings must soon necessarily lead to. Mr. Nathan was eventually released, as there was not sufficient evidence to prosecute upon; but Dr. Bruce and Mr. Levien, and several others of less note, are about to be prosecuted at a court to be held in a few days under a special commission issued for that purpose.

12. The effect produced by the steps taken with regard to Mr. Gordon may be seen by contrasting two articles herewith attached published by Mr. Levien in the "County Union" newspaper, one before those steps were taken, and the other afterwards.

That the evil-disposed generally were intimidated and restrained by the punishment of Mr. Gordon there can be no doubt whatever, and I regard it as the one crowning act which enabled the Government to cope successfully with the spirit of disaffection and sedition which was so general and so wide-spread through the land.

13. The circumstances which led me in the first instance to a conviction that Mr. Gordon was the occasion of the rebellion were various facts and statements which I learnt whilst in the disturbed districts, but of which I made no record at the time, such as his dissemination of seditious placards, his intimate and close association with all the chief Rebels, the assertion of men concerned in the rebellion that he was the occasion of it, it was all Gordon's doings, &c., &c.

14. Colonel Hobbs, who was operating in an entirely different part of the country, and in no way in correspondence with me, arrived at the same conclusions from independent evidence, but of which he states that, finding that Mr. Gordon was taken to another district, tried, and executed, he kept no record.

15. The truth is, that those who were present in the field had so many opportunities of forming an opinion that Gordon was the prime instigator of the whole, that no doubt whatever was felt on the subject, and no expectation was entertained that any evidence to this effect (beyond the proceedings of the court-martial) would be required, consequently no records were made at the time of the particular circumstances or statements which had impressed us all so strongly.

16. Since the receipt of your despatch, however, I have collected various documents bearing on this subject, and which in the aggregate will, I think, convince the most sceptical that Mr. Gordon was the immediate and almost sole occasion of the outbreak at Morant Bay, and of the frightful atrocities which were there perpetrated.

17. Personally, Mr. Gordon conceived that he had many grievances; he was always complaining that the Governor, the custos, the magistrates, and the clergy were leagued against him, and that he suffered wrongs for which redress was to be obtained or retribution was to follow in some way or other.

18. I append a series of his letters in which this appears to be the prevailing thought, though cloaked under the guise of religious ideas and Scripture phraseology. Read by themselves, and without a knowledge of Mr. Gordon's real character and conduct, these letters would seem to be written by a religious enthusiast or a fanatic; but Mr. Gordon was neither, he was simply a hypocrite using the garb of religion to conceal his villany, but much too shrewd and worldly to let his religion interfere with his personal or political objects. Indeed all his letters are a singular mixture of religion, politics, and pecuniary considerations.

19. I attach a paper containing selected extracts from some of these letters, showing the animus which constantly influenced his writings with regard to most of the unfortunate victims who were sacrificed at the cruel massacre on the 11th of October. Such incessant intimations and solemn warnings to a man like his overseer at the Rhine (Laurence), and to others to whom they were no doubt communicated, could not well fail ultimately to secure the accomplishment of the predictions made.

This is singularly illustrated by letters from Laurence himself.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Gordon, dated 8th August 1865, Laurence distinctly speaks of "the "day of retribution drawing nigh" for Mr. Georges and Mr. Danvers.

This is an unmistakeable exposition of the view taken by Laurence of Mr. Gordon's frequent denouncements of the fate which was shortly to overtake his enemies, whilst the meaning of the term "retribution" is explained in its full and terrible import in another note from Laurence to Mrs. Major, written on the very day of the massacre at Morant Bay, but hours before it took place, and at a distance of 17 miles from the scene. Dr. Major was an intimate friend of Mr. Gordon, and as such was not intended to be slaughtered with the other white or coloured residents. Accordingly on the morning of the day when the massacre was to take place, Laurence personally warned the Doctor not to go to Morant Bay that day. Dr. Major persisted in going, and then it was that Laurence, in order to allay his wife's apprehensions, wrote to Mrs. Major (who lived on Mr. Gordon's estate, the Rhine, where Laurence was overseer), expressing his opinion that the Doctor was safe, as the negroes know "full well who fit for retribution." Subsequently he further explained himself in a conversation with Mrs. Major's servant, Dorothy Johnson, to whom he stated (as shown by the sworn testimony attached), "I hope the Doctor will be safe, but the Baron and Mr. Herschell will be dead."

20. In order to form any just estimate of Mr. Gordon's actions, writings, or speeches, it is necessary to know what were his real character and conduct in every-day life. That he was skilful, circumspect, and cunning, and that in all he did he was careful to preserve appearances or to cloak his real objects or feelings under the guise of religion or a pretence of serving the black race, are facts that are well known in Jamaica.

It is also well known out here that Mr. Gordon was almost universally regarded as a bad man in every sense of the word. Reputed to be grossly immoral, and an adulterer, a liar, a swindler, dishonest, cruel, vindictive, and a hypocrite. Such are the terms applied to the late G. W. Gordon, and I believe abundant proof might be adduced of all these traits.

21. I append a few documents illustrating some of them. One, a case in which he was cruelly treating his own father, and when interfered with by a magistrate, threatened to raise the peasantry to aid him, and subsequently, at an investigation of the matter before the magistrates, when the old man shed tears at having to give an account of his son's undutiful conduct, sarcastically remarked, "Oh! it's all for effect." Another, a case in which, having induced the Waterloo Life Assurance Company of London to employ him as their agent in Jamaica, he obtained premiums to the amount of 700*l.*, but made no remittances. Another, a statement of a case in which, having issued promissory ten shilling notes, he failed to provide for their being met, and the party making the statement avers that he lost 100*l.* by receiving these notes from the peasantry to whom they had been issued, and from whom he took them in payment for purchases. Another, a case in which, having represented to the small settlers in Westmoreland that they were cheated by the merchants and storekeepers, and did not get a proper price for their ginger, he induced them to send it to him, but for which, as may readily be supposed, they never could obtain any satisfactory or final settlement, one small settler alone stating that at the time of his death G. W. Gordon was indebted to him 50*l.* on account of ginger sent for sale in the early part of last year. Another is a case in which Mr. Gordon is alleged to have received a bribe of 100*l.* to support Mr. David Smith in the Tramway matter in the House of Assembly, after having previously taken the strongest and most active part against that undertaking.

I also append an extract from the "Times," giving two well-known anecdotes illustrative of Mr. Gordon's hypocrisy.

With regard to Mr. Gordon's pecuniary transactions generally, it may be stated that his estates (of comparatively little real value) were heavily mortgaged, and that there are seven judgments standing on record against him for sums amounting in the aggregate to 39,907*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* The wonder is how such a man was enabled to find so many dupes; certainly a sanctimonious bearing and a brown skin were turned to good account.

22. An attempt has been made in England to get up a maudlin sympathy on behalf of Mr. Gordon, as having been an exemplary religious man, of whom the Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society does not hesitate to assert that "the more that is known of his character the higher it will stand."

* * * * * *

25. It is, perhaps, only necessary to add further, that all the political prisoners having had ample time, after knowing they were suspected, to make away with any of their papers before they were captured, there is no difficulty in accounting for the fact that so few papers of importance were obtained possession of.

26. I append various documents tending to connect Gordon with the rebellion, and to show the animus, feelings, or impressions which he entertained or expressed on various occasions. Many of these are very remarkable, and require a careful and thoughtful consideration.

In a letter addressed to me by Mr. Harrison, the attorney for Hordley estate, that gentleman states that about June or July last Mr. Gordon was staying at his house, and then informed him that he had been asked to head a rebellion. Mr. Harrison affirms that the late Mr. Hire mentioned to him that Mr. Gordon had also made the same statement to him (Mr. Hire). During the same evening (spent at Mr. Harrison's) Mr. Gordon subsequently warned Mr. Harrison most earnestly, "Take all "your family off the country, start before the rainy seasons set in, and don't be back until after "Christmas, or you will repent it. Your life and that of your family is above every other consider-"ation"—a warning which, Mr. Harrison says, he "thought nothing of at the time, but recent events "fix a terrible import on his words."

27. To show the tenor and bent of Mr. Gordon's thoughts, and that they have long taken one direction, I quote the following extracts from the published debates of the Assembly of Jamaica, 1863, pp. 149–208:—

Mr. Geo. W. Gordon: "I come here as the avowed representative of the people. I come here "strictly in the capacity of the negro, and if you permit me to claim that position you will not "withhold from me those rights of which we have for years been deprived. * * * In St. "Thomas-in-the-East people are desirous of coming down here in a body to demand redress; but I "have told them that would not do, because they would not be heard at the bar. * * * * The "old aristocratic feeling is passing away, and those who rule must rule in a manner to suit the wants "and wishes of the people. * * * * You must make up your minds to the future, for "'Coming events cast their shadows before.' If you look at the census, you will find 350,000 black "inhabitants, about 81,000 coloured, and 13,000 whites. You will also find that the white popu- "lation is diminishing, while the others are increasing; and the consequence is, that in course of "time the black people must get their proper position in the country."

28. Mr. Sawkins, the Director of the West India Geological Survey, in a letter to the Secretary of the Executive Committee, dated 2nd January 1866, states that prior to August "I had frequently "crossed the track of Geo. W. Gordon, who seldom travelled except by night, and heard of his "preaching and praying, or building a new 'Tabernacle' similar to those common about the pro- "perties held in his name, which, in an agricultural point of view, and the dilapidated state I had "generally seen them, gave positive proof of their being under his superintendence; and, as I once "told him, no man appeared to hold more properties and leave them to the elements of destruction "than he. On my asking him why he did this, his reply was, 'That he was waiting until the negro "'population was larger, which, by the emigration from Barbadoes, he hoped would soon be, his "'conviction being that the white man would not be found in Jamaica in 1872.' These were the "ideas of Mr. G. W. Gordon."

29. I append an extract from a local newspaper, quoting a passage from one of G. W. Gordon's letters published in the "Sentinel," in April 1865, in which Mr. Gordon refers to the revolutions of England and France, and asks, "How long may good order be expected to continue here?"

30. I also append sworn depositions as to the tenor of various speeches (taken by a shorthand reporter) made at the Underhill meeting in Kingston, at which Mr. Gordon was chairman. These are of the most inflammatory and rebellious character. Whilst Mr. Gordon himself is reported to have made speeches quite as much so. It is deposed by two parties, at Mr. Gordon's trial, that he told the people in Vere "to do as the Haytians had done," though he denied this, and remarked, if he had said so, it was in another parish.

But Mr. Gordon's evil influence and system of agitation were not confined to St. Thomas-in-the-East, or Vere, or Kingston. There is abundant evidence that in July and August last year he travelled round the Island, holding meetings and stirring up sedition wherever he could. The custos of Trelawney reports that in August last Mr. Gordon obtained an opportunity of addressing the congregation of the Baptist Chapel in Falmouth; but "in consequence of the seditious advice "and inflammatory language indulged in by him, he was stopped in his harangue, and was prevented "by the Rev. Mr. Lea (the minister attached to the chapel) for continuing his improper course," and that he pursued the same course "in the Presbyterian Kirk at Green Island, where he was also, "for the like reason, checked and compelled to discontinue his address."

Mr. Trench, Inspector of Revenues, met him during the months of July and August travelling in different parishes, and learnt from himself that he had been addressing the people.

Mr. Trench adds, "From the character of the resolutions passed at these meetings, I have little "doubt that sedition was abundantly inculcated in the minds of the people by the inflammatory "harangues of Mr. Gordon and others who addressed them, for indeed there was no occasion or "subject upon which Mr. Gordon addressed an audience that he did not level the most scurrilous "invective against the Governor, the Executive Committee, and all authority, whether ecclesiastical "or official."

31. There is also a very singular statement, which has only recently come to the knowledge of the Government, showing that about the end of June or July (just about the time the Government was expecting an outbreak near Black River) Mr. Gordon was attempting to purchase a Confederate schooner, with arms and ammunition, for the purpose, as it is alleged by Lieut. Edenburgh, the commander of the schooner, of landing Haytians, arms, and ammunition at Black River, and Mr. Gordon spoke of "a new West Indian Republic."

This evidence is altogether independent and irrespective of that which the Government previously possessed incriminating Mr. Gordon.

32. In Mr. Gordon's last letter to his wife he states that he knew nothing of the Bogles. I enclose a variety of letters between him and Paul Bogle, showing that at least for some years there had been great intimacy, and that he was mixed up in all the affairs of Paul Bogle, whether personal, political, or religious, and that he had always addressed him as "Dear Bogle."

33. I also forward some papers showing the connexion between Mr. Gordon, Dr. Bruce of Vere, Mr. Levien (editor of the "County Union" of Montego Bay), evidencing that all were engaged in combination to agitate the people and keep up the agitation. Alexander Phillips of Vere, a Maroon, but repudiated by his people, was also another of the principal agitators, but I need not enter upon his case. It was in Vere that Mr. Gordon recommended the people to do as the Haytians had done.

Dr. Bruce is sworn to have stated in August last that he "could swear that in less than five years "there would not be a white man in Jamaica; that the black men would not hurt the white ladies, "but have them as their wives, and just do with them as they did in Hayti;" and subsequently to the rebellion he is sworn to have stated that the blacks "took the wrong way to do it, they should "have set the fire stick;" that they were "damned fools for attempting to destroy the white and

" coloured people in the way they were doing; the better way would be for them to agree through-
" out the Island, and in one night massacre them; that the blacks should go to each estate in parties,
" when they might easily murder them all;" and Mr. Levien's own letter to Dr. Bruce (11th Sept. 1865) states that he was writing editorial articles in his paper " to second the noble exertions of the " Vere people. What I desire is to shield you and them from the charge of anarchy and tumult, " that in a short time must follow these powerful demonstrations."

Amongst Alexander Phillips' papers were found lists of names of about 120 persons in Vere, and the lists were headed " Names of persons enlisted for the Volunteers."

This had no connexion with any Volunteers enrolled by or known to the Government. Similar lists of persons in St. Thomas-in-the-East were found amongst Mr. Gordon's papers, but without the heading affixed,—that was left blank.

34. There is evidence to show that in St. Thomas-in-the-East many captains were appointed, and about 50 men told off for each. I append a copy of a statement by Henry Theophilus Bogle, nephew of Paul Bogle, showing this.

35. I also transmit a copy of a letter from the Rev. D. H. Campbell, the rector of Kingston, who, immediately after the rebellion was subdued, obtained leave of absence from his own church, and in the most praiseworthy manner went up to Morant Bay to take the place and the duties of the clergymen who had been murdered or driven away, with a view to doing all the good he could amongst the misguided people so lately in rebellion.

After a residence of some weeks, and a constant and free intercourse with the black people, Mr. Campbell writes:—

" My conviction, which is as strong as my own existence, of Gordon's complicity in the late rebel-
" lion is founded mainly on the fact that out of *great numbers* of the black people residing in the
" districts adjoining Morant Bay and surrounding Stony Gut, to whom the principal Rebels were
" known, and who have spoken freely and unreservedly to me on the subject of the rebellion, almost
" all of them have stated that the thing could not have happened except for Mr. Gordon, and not a
" single man or woman has expressed as much as a doubt to the contrary. I am quite sure that
" *hundreds* of intelligent loyal black persons could easily be got to state on oath their belief that he
" was the adviser of the rebellion."

36. Mr. Campbell thinks that one of the immediate causes of the rebellion was the desire of the black people to obtain what they call the back lands (that is, lands that are not in cultivation by the owners) for themselves without buying or renting, and that Mr. Gordon had undoubtedly encouraged and advised them to adopt this course.

37. It is impossible to say what Mr. Gordon's real views or ultimate intentions were, but that his proceedings and the advice he gave to the people led to the outbreak there can be no question whatever; and it is equally clear that the manner in which he singled out and indicated by name the poor Baron, the Rev. Mr. Cook, the Rev. Mr. Herschell, and others, in his proclamation headed " State " of the Island," in his letters to Laurence and others, and in other documents and in his public speeches, led to the murder or attempt to murder every one of the individuals so pointed out.

In Mr. Gordon's defence at his trial he asserts:—" I emphatically declare that I never made any " disrespectful allusions about his Excellency the Governor, or said he was a bad man."

The sworn evidence contradicts this declaration, and Mr. Gordon's own letters and speeches, and the placards that he had printed and published, unmistakeably indicate that his usual habit was constantly to traduce the Governor in the strongest language. Numerous letters or speeches of Mr. Gordon could be produced to this effect.

Mr. Gordon asserted at the trial that the late Baron Ketelholdt was an old familiar friend, and though they had political differences, he did not wish him any personal harm. How can this be reconciled with the constant allusions in his letters to Laurence of the fate which was to overtake the Baron and the other persons to whom he was hostile, or with the language he addressed with regard to the Baron and the others to an ignorant, savage, and excitable people in his placard headed " State " of the Island." This document was proved at the trial to have been circulated in St. Thomas-in-the-East by Mr. Gordon himself. It has since been proved to have been written by him, and the original manuscript in his own handwriting from which the placard was printed is now in the hands of the law officers of the Crown.

38. I also append a letter from Mr. Walcott, a barrister-at-law, to Colonel Hunt, detailing the circumstances of an interview with Mr. Gordon in Spanish Town on Friday the 13th October. The expressions used at this conversation with regard to the poor Baron are that " he was not astonished " that those two in particular (the Baron and the Rev. Mr. Herschell) were murdered, as they were " most tyrannical, overbearing, and unjust in their dealings with the people." But who led the people to this impression? Let the placard headed " State of the Island " answer.

Nor was there one single expression of pity or regret for the loss of one who was an ornament to his adopted country, and who Gordon himself stated at the trial had once been an " old familiar " friend."

At this interview Mr. Gordon accounts for his absence from Morant Bay at the vestry on the 11th October by saying he had some case before the Petty Sessions, but he gave a different statement at the trial, when he declared it was owing to ill health. This latter assersion would scarcely have served him with Mr. Walcott, for it would have been contradicted by the fact of his being in Spanish Town and able to attend to business. It is a singular and well-known fact that Mr. Gordon systematically attended all vestries at St. Thomas-in-the-East, except the one when the murders were to take place, and the circumstance has been universally regarded as most significant.

It is also a very remarkable fact that from the very first moment the outbreak was known, Mr.

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Gordon became apprehensive of his personal safety, and seemed convinced that he would be regarded as implicated in it.

39. Taking all the testimony bearing on this subject into consideration (and much more of a similar nature might readily be procured), and keeping in view the character, tone of mind, supposed grievances, and general course of action, which have already been adverted to, I think no reasonable mind can doubt but that G. W. Gordon was the occasion of the rebellion and of the ruthless massacre of the individuals whom he had so often denounced by name.

40. In another despatch I purpose forwarding documents showing the nature, character, and extent of the rebellion, the state of feeling amongst the negro population in other districts, and the permanent necessity of the promptest and most decisive action being taken to suppress the existing outbreak and prevent further risings in other parishes.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. (Signed) E. EYRE.
&c. &c. &c.

(Copy.)

AT a court-martial assembled by order of Brigadier-General Nelson at Morant Bay on the 21st day of October 1865—Present: Lieut. Herbert C. A. Brand, R.N., President; Lieut. Errington, R.N., member; Ensign P. Kelly, 4th W. I. Reg., member—proceeded to try G. W. Gordon, charged with, "For that before the time of the insurrection at Morant Bay, on the 12th day of October 1865, when "the Rebels massacred the custos, the Baron Von Ketterhodt, and divers other persons, being "justices of the peace or other occupations, assembled in vestry on such day, the said George "William Gordon did, in furtherance of the said massacre, at divers periods previous to the same, "incite and advise with certain of the insurgents, thereby by his influence tending to cause the riot, "whereby many of Her most Gracious Majesty's subjects lost their lives when assembled in lawful "consideration of parochial and other matters, the said George William Gordon is arraigned—

"1st. On the charge of high treason against Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

"2nd. With having complicity with certain parties who were engaged in the rebellion, riot, or "insurrection at Morant Bay on the 13th day of October 1865."

The Court having been duly sworn,

Prisoner pleaded Not Guilty.

JOHN ANDERSON sworn:—

The last time the prisoner went up to Stony Gut he came to the Chapel Highland Castle at Stony Gut, he says to Paul Bogle, They are going to hold a public meeting, we must get up some men for to go to Morant Bay to seek about the back land, and if we don't get the back land, all the buckra, they will be die; and after that Paul Bogle asked me if I would join them, I tell him no I would not join it, because when all buckra dead, how we going to manage; and he said if I don't join it they will shot you. I was forced to travel away to Leith hall Barracks. Paul Bogle got McClaren to go up the mountain to look for hands and to come to Morant Bay.

By the Prisoner.—(*Q.*) On what day did you see me at Stony Gut?—(*A.*) Sunday.

(*Q.*) In what month and in what year?—(*A.*) This year I know, June or July I believe, but I did not date it down.

(*Q.*) Was there any other person there besides Bogle and myself?—(*A.*) Plenty more.

(*Q.*) Did I say that publicly in the presence of all?—(*A.*) Yes.

(*Q.*) What time of day was it?—(*A.*) After chapel was over, about this time, 3 p.m.

(*Q.*) You know me?—(*A.*) Yes.

JAMES GORDON sworn, states:—

Mr. Gordon sent that all the people must gather up money and send it to him that he might pay it for the letter to go home to the Queen; and if the letter won't go, he will go himself to see the Queen face to face; and when we tell the man we not able to do that, if it is the Queen sent we will do so; and he said we must try, endeavour, and if we got the money we must send it in a letter, and send it to a post office and direct G W. Gordon at the back, and he will receive it anywhere at all.

(Written documents here produced and read in court, marked A. and attached.)

By the Prisoner.—(*Q.*) How do you know the letter came from me?—(*A.*) Because it was signed Geo. W. Gordon.

(*Q.*) Do you know my signature?—(*A.*) No.

GORDON RAMSAY being duly sworn:—

I produce a deposition of Thomas Johnston, made on his death-bed; he is since dead.

By the Court.—(*Q.*) Did the dying man say that they were Mr. Gordon's friends at Stony Gut, or did he mean to say he heard they were.—(*A.*) He said Gordon's friends—Gordon teach them.

(Here was read document C., then D., then E., then F., one of G. W. Gordon's papers found in his portmanteau.)

Mrs. GOUGH, postmistress of Morant Bay, sworn, states:—

There was a correspondence between Mr. Gordon and certain parties, Geo. McIntosh, Wm. Grant the saddler, Wm. Chisholm, James McClaren. I have seen a letter for Paul Bogle from the prisoner.

By the Court.—(*Q.*) You can swear to the handwriting?—(*A.*) Yes, I know his handwriting well.

(*Q.*) Look at that, and tell me if you know it?—(*A.*) That came in two packages, one to Chisholm and one to Paul Bogle, addressed by Mr. Gordon in his writing I'll swear.

(Here was shown a placard headed "State of the Island.")

(*Q.*) Are those in Gordon's handwriting (Chisholm's letter too)?—(*A.*) They are.

(*Q.*) Was it not customary for the prisoner to attend all vestry meetings?—(*A.*) Yes.

(*Q.*) And was it not an exceptional instance his missing the very day of the slaughter?—(*A.*) It was, everybody thought it very strange.

(*Q.*) Have you seen or heard the meetings here?—(*A.*) I never heard of them.

(*Q.*) Were they kept secret?—(*A.*) I don't know.

By the Prisoner.—(*Q.*) Are you aware that I have been corresponding for years with Bogle?—(*A.*) I only remember one letter about some sugar.

(*Q.*) When was my last letter to Bogle?—(*A.*) Can't say.

(*Q.*) Was it more or less than two months?—(*A.*) I cannot remember the exact time.

(*Q.*) Are you not aware that Chisholm is an old servant of mine, and that I have always been in correspondence with him more or less?—(*A.*) I was not aware he was ever a servant of yours.

(*Q.*) Then I will make it friend?—(*A.*) When prisoner comes late into the Bay he always says he will get his grass from Chisholm, that is all I know.

(*Q.*) Did a letter come through the post for McIntosh lately?—(*A.*) There was a paper with a penny stamp on it for McIntosh.

(*Q.*) What induced you to take that placard out of the cover or wrapper?—(*A.*) It was a habit at the post office to take out papers, read them, and return them.

(*Q.*) Was the seal off, or how did you get it out?—(*A.*) A book post parcel with the ends clear.

(*Q.*) Did you know I was suffering from indisposition?—(*A.*) I never heard.

JAMES MCCLAREN sworn, states:—

I knew Mr. Gordon was a member of the House of Assembly.

By the Court.—Do you know Mr. Gordon has something to do with the rebellion?—(*A.*) That I don't know of.

(*Q.*) Did you ever hear of Mr. Gordon being connected with Paul Bogle?—(*A.*) Paul Bogle always vote for him.

(*Q.*) Do you know James Gordon?—(*A.*) I know several James Gordons.

By the Prisoner.—(*Q.*) Did I ever send you up the mountain to raise money, or in any way to tell the people not to pay for land, or anything improper?—(*A.*) No.

Mr. Ramsay here produced another letter from prisoner to E. Smith, marked private, checked I. The prisoner admitted that letter to be his writing.

THEODORE FESTARD, shopkeeper at White Horses, sworn:—

(*Q.*) Did you call at Kingston and find me sick some two weeks ago?—(*A.*) I called for a Mr. Mesquita, and finding he was gone to Mr. Gordon's I went there. I saw Mr. Gordon on the sofa, but I could not say if he was sick; he was dressed. Mr. Mesquita and I left together.

I have to state that I was not taken up, but gave myself up at Kingston. When I heard there were some rumours about me, feeling myself quite innocent, I called on the General in company of Dr. Fiddes, and told his Excellency if I was required about the disturbances here I was at command; he told me he had no authority at all, and I was about taking leave of him when his Excellency the Governor came in with Dr. Bowerbank, and I was about to state the same thing to his Excellency, when he told me he had come for me, and would take me on board the "Wolverine"; and Dr. Bowerbank escorted me to my lodgings, and took me to the wharf for passage off.

I have been brought up with Europeans, and all my dearest, best, and most confidential friends at this moment are of that class. I have never had any other feeling for them but love and affection.

I have imported European labourers myself in the hopes they would be beneficial to the country, and able to instruct the negroes, and I have always desired to see Europeans introduced into the country as a blessing to it; instead of driving them out I should like to see them more numerously located here, and then the extensive possessions of land which I have, would, I think, be a sufficient guarantee for my wishing the safety of property, and therefore rebellion would be the last thing I should wish to see. I have always recommended the people, who have frequently complained to me, to patience and perseverance, and as a proof of that, I have endeavoured to have their votes recorded, so as to maintain legitimate position, and I solemnly before my Maker and this Court declare that I never knew from Paul Bogle, or any other person of the insurrection of this parish. If I die I shall die triumphant, and that I knew nothing of it until informed by a policeman in Kingston. I then went to the police station, next to my friend Mr. Airry to inquire if he had heard of it. I never heard from one of the parties of their movements or intentions in the least degree.

I admit that the circumstantial evidence is suspicious, but I can't help that.

Paul Bogle is certainly my political friend, and it was his duty by his profession to have practised peace and good will. I was astonished to hear that he was at the head of the rebellion. I regret it, but I can't control it.

McLaren I have only lately known, chiefly since the last meeting here. My reason for not attending the vestry was solely from ill health. I caught a severe cough which shook my whole frame, and Dr Major called on me the end of September, and regretted my inability to attend vestry. Then I saw Dr. Fiddes, and could not possibly come up. I also mentioned to Mr. Airry that my knees were so weak I could hardly stand, and he said I was better away. This will, I hope, satisfactorily answer the suspicions about my not being at the vestry.

The late custos and myself were old and familiar friends, and although we have had political differences fought upon their own merits, I should never have done or wished him any personal

JAMAICA.

harm. The proof is this. At the last election there was a slight disturbance, and I went to the Baron, and told him "that although we were not on speaking terms, I hoped he would let things go "on quietly," and I advised the people to be quiet towards him, and generally.

The evidence of the two men, Anderson and Gordon, are not correct. Gordon seems to be upon hearsay, and Anderson seems to be a volunteer witness; it is not correct, I solemnly declare. I have only seen Stony Gut Chapel once, and then it was on the Sabbath evening, where we only held a religious service, so he must have supposed I said what he states.

The statement of the man at York seems to be a general one. I don't know him, and I deny what he attributes to me. The words attributed to me with reference to Hayti are incorrect. I solemnly declare I never thought of Hayti when I was at Vere, and those words, if spoken, were spoken in another parish, and I emphatically declare that I never made any disrespectful allusion about his Excellency the Governor, or said he was a bad man. On that occasion I was a most chastened spirit.

I deny the statement of Mr. Cherannes. Revenge is not in my heart.

With reference to Bogle and Chisholm's letters, I have been in correspondence with them for some time on general business, and sometimes political matters, and I have no letter that I should not like seen by this Court and the world.

I hope it may be the pleasure of the Court to take, if necessary, further information, and as no charge is made against me for being concerned in any rebellion here, I had expected that any crime or misdemeanor charged to me should have been tried at Kingston, as I was not taken up in a rebellious act or martial law district.

The Court having heard the prisoner's defence, also the witness he called in his defence, consider the charges proved most fully, and do therefore adjudge the prisoner Geo. Wm. Gordon to be hung by the neck until he be dead, at what time and place the Brigadier-General may direct.

(Signed) H. Brand, President,
Lieutenant, Royal Navy.

Morant Bay, October 21, 1865.

Approved and confirmed.

Moreover I fully concur in the sentence awarded, such being fully borne out by the evidence. The prisoner to be hung on Monday next, the 23rd October 1865, to-morrow the 22nd being Sunday, and the state of this part of the country not rendering it necessary to inflict the punishment on the Sabbath day.

(Signed) A. A. Nelson, Brigadier-General,
Commanding Field Force.

Morant Bay, 21st October 1865, 8 p.m.

"Copy" A.

October 21.

John Anderson.

Paul Bogle ask me to join him, but not join the buckras. I know Mr. Espent. I saw Geo. Gordon go to Stony Gut and said he intended holding a meeting, that the black should kill all the whites; this was at Stony Gut Chapel, Island Castle, christened by G. W. Gordon, Paul Bogle, Wm. Bogle, Wm. Bun.

James Bun said if all the black would join him he would take his stick and go to Morant Bay and make work.

his
John × Anderson.
mark.

James Gordon.

Mr. G. W. Gordon sent a letter up to the valley to say that there will be a war, and the whole of the people must be prepared for it. James McLaren carried the letter up the valley, and he also said that the people will get land free. I was sent up from St. David's by Mr. Chas. McLean to give evidence.

(Signed) James Gordon.

These men voluntarily came from St. David's, and were warned that their evidence must not be from fear, reward, or any promise, and were cautioned in the presence of all the prisoners not to state anything from fear.

Witness,
(Signed) R. Mackesson.
his
(Signed) Sligo × Campbell.
mark.
(Signed) John Codrington.

(Signed) D. W. W. Kenzie, J.P.,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

"Copy" B.

Morant Bay, October 17, 1865.

I, Thomas Johnson, now considering myself on my deathbed, but in my perfect senses, make this statement without fear or malice, trusting in God.

I never attended a meeting, though asked by George William Gordon, of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, Member of Assembly: he twice asked me, but I would not agree, to throw up quatties and fippences as much as your hand can reach. I asked him, when I do that, for what Queen give me free already. He said, who like for eat, he eat, but bye-and-bye what that quattie and fippence will come to. I must do it to send the money home. I said all the outside land we can get for nothing. Gordon said (every man must him give 10*s.*) a year, so that when taxes come in he can pay for taxes. Gordon had two meetings; our houses are near, I mean his chapel is near my house. JAM.

He sent a ticket to all the people to meet at certain hours, for what he had to tell them he would tell them; I did not go, but I heard what he said, "People will the ticket keep," that was Friday meeting (no prayers). Second meeting prayers; my wife came from it, she told I was not to go to Baptist meeting, they have no good for tell me. I must go to Mr. Panton, Port Morant. My wife said also Mr. Gordon told her, "White men keep all the money, and make the people work for "nothing."

I was in Mr. Grant's, the saddler's shop, when the court-house was burnt. Mr. Grant said I must be shut up with another boy. When Jno. Grant heard the beating outside, Mr. Grant was attending to me the whole night and gave me water. Mr. Gordon's people make disturbance and Mr. Gordon teach them.

All is Gordon's friends at Stony Gut do it.

Taken before us, this 17th day of October 1865. his THOMAS × JOHNSON. mark

(Signed) JOHN S. GERRARD, Surgeon, &c.

(Signed) P. KELLY, Ensign, 4th W. I. Regiment.

(Signed) GODFREY GOODMAN, Assistant Surgeon, R.A.

Signed) H. W. JONES, Lt. R.A.

"Copy" C.

JAMAICA, S.S. VERE. Vere, October 19, 1865.

PERSONALLY appeared before me, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish of Vere, William Robinson Peart and James Fyfe Humber, who being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith that on the fourth day of September they were present at the meeting held at the "Alley," when Geo. W. Gordon addressed the people in the following inflammatory language:—

"My friends, I am here to-day to discuss the merits of Doctor 'Underhill's' letter. We applied to the custos for the use of the court-house, but he refused, saying, that no magistrate or vestryman signed the application. We petitioned the Governor; he is a bad man my friends, what did he do but sent over the petition to the Attorney-General for his advice, who, I firmly believe, my dear friends, is not sound, and he gave it as his opinion that the custos did right to refuse the court-house and had it in his power to do so. Let me inform you that the magistrates and vestrymen are your trustees for the court-house. Who elects the vestrymen?—a voice—'The planters.' It is your right and privilege, you pay taxes and your money purchases the court-house.

"The Governor is a bad man, he sanctions everything done by the higher class to the oppression of the poor negroes.

"Now, my friends, a few words as to the rates of wages and how you are treated by your employers. The monies that is said to go for the cultivation of the properties goes in other ways that you ought to perceive. My people gets 9*s.* per week; what do you get? Several voices—'2*s.* 6*d.*, 1*s.*, and 9*d.* 'per week, sometimes none at all.' (Mr. G.) 'What is the price of rice at the "Alley"'?—a voice—'7½*d.* for seven gills.'

(Mr. G.) "In England it is 1½*d.* to 2*d.* per quart, showing that the peasantry of England are better off than those of Jamaica. Look at your clothes, half of you are naked, your children and yourselves can't go to church for want of clothes. This is a serious question.

"The people of this parish ought to be paid 12*l.* per year; the coolies get rich because they get work continually, but you do not. A voice—'The planters alter the bargains, crush us down, and 'give us one half.' (Mr. G.) They report to the Queen that you are thieves. The notice that is said to be the Queen's advice is all trash, it is no advice of the Queen at all. I am glad to say that there are a few men in Vere who are loyal and serve their God. The people in Vere are in a very low state and very much oppressed. Educate your children, and in time they will be able to take the leading parts in their country.

"Mr. Price and a few others that I could name are worthy men, these gentlemen love their people, but the gentlemen in Vere won't speak to you. I have been told by a great many of you that the planters work on Sundays distilling rum. Why you are putting fire to your own souls, others of you who stickle at the price offered are ordered to leave the property. Sabbath breaking is bringing down the curse of heaven on Vere. What is to become of you as a people, and what is to become of your children? I will write to the Secretary of State and Lord 'Brougham' that I had been in Vere and state the distress of the people. I was told by some of you that your overseer said that if any of you attended this meeting, he would tear down your houses; tell them that I, 'George William

MAICA. 'Gordon,' say they daren't do it. It is tyranny. You must do what 'Hayti' does; you have a bad name now, but you will have a worse then."

(Signed) JAMES FYFE HUMBER.
(Signed) WM. ROBINSON PEART.

Sworn before me this 19th day of October 1865.
(Signed) JAMESON GIBB, J. P.

"Copy" D.

DEAR CHISHOLM, Kn. September 11, 1865.

I HOPE you are well; I have much to say to you, but I shall not write, hoping to see you in a few days hence, when I go up to pay taxes.

Please to tell Messrs. McIntosh, Clark, and Bogle to inquire at P.O. for papers.

I have been in Vere, where the poor people are very wretched and positively starving. I never saw anything so bad. We need pray to God for help and deliverance.

Remember me to all friends,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

I have been so busy that you must excuse haste.—G.W.G.

"Copy" E.

CHARLES CHEVANNES, sworn, states.

SHORTLY after the first trial of the action, Gordon *v.* Ketterholdt, I met Mr. George William Gordon, and expressed to him my regret at his defeat. He said never mind, I hope yet to get my revenge, and if I don't get it, my people will.

(Signed) C. CHEVANNES.

Sworn before me this 19th day of October 1865,
at the city and parish of Kingston.
(Signed) HENRY J. BICKWELL, P.M.

"Copy" F.

I, George Thomas, residing at York, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, do solemnly swear—These three weeks they begin on it (Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle); they sent to call me and several others; when I went they swore me and told me the appointed day I would see what was done. The day appointed was Wednesday, the 11th October 1865; they (Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle) told me I was entitled to 4*s.* a day, and I never got it.

Mr. Gordon never came there, but Mr. Bogle got his, Mr. Gordon's handwriting, and he Mr. Gordon was the person who told Mr. Bogle the land was going to be free, and he Mr. Gordon put up Mr. Bogle to do all this rebellion.

Paul and Moses Bogle said to me, that if I did not swear they would kill me.

Tuesday night last, the 10th October 1865, was the last meeting we had. I heard them say they were not to trouble Mr. Georges, because he is a friend of Mr. Gordon's.

I repeat that Mr. G. W. Gordon is the head of the rebellion. He put up the Bogles to do it. I heard Paul Bogle say, on Wednesday the 11th of October 1865 on the parade, "Good God, we can't get no fire, look at the white men killing all the black people." He, Paul Bogle, called for the fire. I have heard Mr. G. W. Gordon advising the people not to pay for their lands, and they must seek for the white people first. Monday the 9th October 1865, four policemen came to Paul Bogle's yard, namely, William Fuller, Lake, and the other a Maroon young man, and Leckay with two constables. I knew one of the constable's name to be Liston Davis and the other to be Betty.

I have seen at the meetings at Church Corner, James Davis, Mr. Bogle, and the other Bogle that works Mr. Marchallick's logwood dray; MacLaren of Church Corner, and a man named Grant at Stanton Land used to write at the meetings, and I have seen a small man, from town, I hear he is a family to Geo. Clarke, at Paul Bogle house, and he all times write at Paul Bogle's.

Geo. Clarke and his father-in-law, Paul Bogle, got out, and the Clarke has nothing to do with this row. I have never seen him at the meetings.

his
GEORGE × THOMAS.
mark

Taken and sworn to before me this 18th day of October 1865.
(Signed) DANIEL MACHELLICK, J.P. for the Parish of
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

"Copy" G.

PUBLIC MEETING.

A Public Meeting will be held at , on , the
day of , for the purpose of
Chair to be taken at o'clock, by .

"Copy" H.

Seized at Post Office, Morant Bay,
October 16, 1865,
(Signed) GEO. D. RAMSAY.

STATE OF THE ISLAND.

Public Meetings!

St. Thomas in the East and St. Ann's Bay.

A requisition, numerously signed, for a public meeting to consider the condition of the people, having been presented to the custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East, his Honor has, we learn, appointed the meeting for that purpose at Morant Bay. We trust that there will be a good meeting, and that the people will not on that day allow themselves to be interfered with by any of those who have already written to their disparagement and made statements without proper foundation, which has so misled Her Majesty's Government as to cause the very indiscreet Despatch which the Right Hon. Mr. Cardwell, Secretary of State, was induced to send to Mr. Eyre in reply to the St. Ann's Memorial. This document ought to be well handled in a loyal spirit. We know that our beloved Queen is too noble-hearted to say anything unkind, even to Her most noble subjects, and we believe that Mr. Cardwell and Her Majesty's ministers are gentlemen too honourable and honest in their intentions wilfully to wound the feelings of Her Majesty's Colonial subjects; but we fear they have been deceived and misled, and the consequence is a serious grievance to our people, but we advise them to be prudent, yet firm in their remonstrances, and we have no doubt that truth will ultimately prevail.

People of St. Ann's! Poor people of St. Ann's! Starving people of St. Ann's! Naked people of St. Ann's! You have no sugar estates to work on, nor can find other employment. We call on you to come forth; come, if you be naked; come forth and protest against the unjust representations made against you by Mr. Governor Eyre and his band of custodes. You don't require custodes to tell your woes, but you want men free of Government influence. You want honest men. You want men with a sense of right and wrong, and who can appreciate you. Call on your ministers to reveal your true condition, and then call on Heaven to witness, and have mercy.

People of St. Thomas-in-the-East, you have been ground down too long already; shake off your sloth and speak like honourable and free men at your meeting. Let not a crafty jesuitical priesthood deceive you. Prepare for your duty. Remember the destitution in the midst of your families, and your forlorn condition. The Government have taxed you to defend your own rights against the enormities of an unscrupulous and oppressive foreigner, Mr. Custos Ketelholdt. You feel this; it is no wonder that you do. You have been dared in this provoking act, and it is sufficient to extinguish your long patience. This is not the time when such deeds should be perpetrated; but as they have been, it is your duty to speak out and to act too! We advise you to be up and doing, and to maintain your cause. You must be united in your efforts. The causes of your distress are many, and now is your time to review them. Your custos, we learn, read at the last vestry the Despatch from Mr. Cardwell, which he seemed to think should quiet you; but how can men with a sense of wrong in their bosoms be content to be quiet under such a reproachful Despatch.

Remember that "he only is free whom the truth makes free." You are no longer slaves, but free men. Then as free men act your part at the meeting. If the conduct of the custos in wishing the Despatch to silence you be not an act of imprudence, it certainly is an attempt to stifle your free expression of opinions. Will you suffer this! Are you so shortsighted that you cannot discern the occult designs of Mr. Custos Ketelholdt. Do you see how at every vestry he puts off the cause of the poor until the Board breaks up, and nothing is done for them. Do you remember how he has kept the small-pox money, and otherwise mis-distributed it, so that many of the people died in want and misery while he withheld the relief. How that he gave the money to his own friends and kept it himself instead of distributing it to the doctors and ministers of religion for the poor. Do you perceive how he shields Messrs. Hershel and Cooke in all their improper acts. You do know how deaf he is to some occasions and how quick of hearing on others. Do you remember his attempting tyrannical proceedings at the elections! But can you and the inhabitants of St. Thomas-in-the-East longer bear to be afflicted by this enemy to your peace, a custos whose feelings are foreign to yours! Do your duty at the meeting to be held. Try to help yourselves, and heaven will help you.

More anon!

PROCLAMATION.

STATE OF THE ISLAND.

Taken at the post office by P. M. G. Ramsay on Monday, 16th October 1865, in the presence of,
(Signed) R. HUTCHINGS,
Lieut.-Col. Commanding.

"Copy" I.

(Private.)

MY DEAR SIR, Kingston, October 14, 1865.

I THANK you for yours of the 12th, only just to hand, and shall attend to the two cheques; but since yesterday the door to money transactions seems closed, and will, I fear, get worse, till some order be restored.

I lament deeply the report that my good friend Mr. Hire is amongst the slain. What a sad, sad work—superinduced by the imprudent and arbitrary conduct of the poor Baron. What an appointment for the Governor to have made, and what a result! I truly deplore all that has occurred.

I always advised peace and patience to the fullest extent, but I fear the sending away of Jackson, and the conduct of the C. P. and Justices caused the people to lose all confidence and hope in anything like justice.

In my opinion, this is the true cause of immediate discontent, and how easily could it have been avoided!

I feel much for many who have suffered in this sad scene.

Believe me, &c.

E. C. Smith, Esq. (Signed) Geo. W. Gordon.

I am weak and unwell.

"Copy."

Let enclosed be delivered,

G. W. G.

Dear Chisholm, Kingston, June 19, 1865.

I shall be up, D.V., by the end of this week, and hope to find all right.

See enclosed—we must not lose heart, but persevere in the good.

Yours, &c.

Mr. Wm. Chisholm. (Signed) Geo. W. Gordon.

At Mr. Chisholm's house,
Seized by Geo. W. Ramsay,
October 16, 1865.

"Copy."

Elizabeth Jane Gough, widow, now staying in the city of Kingston, being sworn, saith:—

I am postmistress at Morant Bay. For some time past, since the appearance of Dr. Underhill's letter, Mr. George William Gordon has been carrying on a regular correspondence through my post office, with George Mackintosh, William Chisholm, and William Grant and James McCaren. He wrote McLaren, about two posts, I think, before the breaking out last Wednesday at Morant Bay. I have also seen letters pass through the post office from him to Paul Bogle, but not very often. The bag that arrived on Thursday night, after the murders, has not been opened. This bag is in Kingston post office, not opened, so I think Mr. Brymer told me. The last one to James McLaren was very thick, not a single letter. From McLaren's last words I think there must have been letters in it for other persons. I have received a packet of printed papers addressed in Mr. Gordon's handwriting to Paul Bogle, and another to William Chisholm. They came by the same post shortly after the publication of the Queen's advice. Paul Bogle has always been sending for letters, though he don't say from whom he expected them. Mackintosh also, the post before the outbreak, was asking for letters—he did not say from whom. I have seen letters from him addressed to Mr. Gordon; these letters were posted by him, and, being late, he (*sic*) to forward them. I read one of the printed papers out of the packet addressed to Paul Bogle. I gave it to Mr. Richard Cooke. I had one in the post office, Morant Bay, at the time of the outbreak. I had it in the 3 hole. The heading of it was, "To the people of St. Ann's and St. Thomas-in-the-East." It called on the people to be up and doing. It contradicted what was stated in the Queen's advice, but I can't exactly tell you the words. It was not signed, but the wrappers on both packets to Bogle and Chisholm were in Mr. Gordon's handwriting. I know that Mr. Gordon and Bogle are intimate; every one in that district know this.

(Signed) E. J. Gough.

Sworn before me, this 17th day of October 1865,

(Signed) L. Q. Bowerbank, J. P.

Lieut. Brand to Sir J. Hope.

Sir, H.M. Gunboat "Delight," Morant Bay, January 2, 1865.

In answer to the queries sent by his Excellency the Governor, I have the honour to state that the word "that" in Query 1, refers to a placard headed "State of the Island." Two packages of them arrived at the post office addressed to Chisholm and Paul Bogle in Gordon's own hand. Asked Mrs. Gough how she knew those two packages contained those placards, and Mrs. Gough replied that being curious she abstracted one and read it.

In Query 2, the word "those" refers to Gordon's letter to Chisholm; other letters were shown her at the same time, when the prisoner said he did write them, but they were private.

If his Excellency should require any more questions answered, I should be much obliged for a copy of the proceedings to refresh my memory.

I have, &c.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. Hope, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief. (Signed) H. Brand, Lieutenant.

Examination of Mrs. Gough on the 21st October at the trial of G. W. Gordon by Court-martial.

Extract.

Queries.

To what does the word "that" refer in question numbered 2; does it mean the placards, one of which is immediately afterwards stated to have been shown?

To what does the word "those" refer in question numbered 3; was it a letter or letters from Gordon to Chisholm, or to others?

By the Court.—1. (*Q.*) You can swear to the handwriting?—(*A.*) Yes, I know his handwriting well.

2. (*Q.*) Look at that and tell me if you know it?—(Here was shown a placard headed "State of the Island.")—(*A.*) That came in two packages, one to Chisholm, and one to Paul Bogle, addressed by Mr. Gordon in his handwriting, I'll swear.

3. (*Q.*) Are those in Gordon's handwriting (Chisholm's, letter to)?—(*A.*) There are.

Major-General O'Connor to Governor Eyre.

"Jamaica Command."

Sir, Head-quarters, Kingston, December 30, 1865.

Your Excellency having called upon me, in a letter dated "Flamstead, December 26, 1865," to furnish for Her Majesty's Government,

"A report of my own views and grounds of action so far as the trial, evidence, and carrying "out of the sentence are concerned in the case of G. W. Gordon,"

I now do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies,

That with regard to the arrest, taking to Morant Bay, assembling of court-martial, charges preferred, trial, approval, and confirming of the proceedings, "carrying out the sentence," and execution of G. W. Gordon, I had nought to do, nor was I aware a court-martial had been assembled until I received a letter from Brigadier-General Nelson, dated "Morant Bay, October 21, "1865, 8 o'clock, p.m.," with the proceedings of the Court, and "a report dated 'Morant Bay, "'October 23, 1865, 7.15 o'clock, a.m.,' of his having just returned from the execution of G. W. "Gordon," which documents were duly forwarded by me for perusal by Governor Eyre.

After carefully considering the proceedings of the court-martial, the conviction, finding, and sentence, I was of opinion the position in which Brigadier-General Nelson had been placed, and the then state of the Colony, called for prompt and immediate action.

As regards the paragraph, "Why Gordon was arrested in Kingston, to which martial law did not "extend, and taken to Morant Bay for trial under martial law?"

Had I been consulted at the council of war assembled at Head-quarter House, 13th October, I would have advised the county of Surrey placed under martial law; Kingston should not have been made an exception, and as Governor Eyre very correctly states in his letter to me, "Flamstead, "December 26, 1865," thereby fully legalizing every act of his Excellency.

I would suggest that Lieut.-Col. Nelson, being now in England, and copies of the several documents connected with the recent rebellion forwarded to him by the Mail, 10th December, he is available to afford valuable information, especially "as to whether many of the prisoners before "execution admitted in distinct, though general terms, that they had been brought to their death "by Gordon."

I have, &c.

His Excellency Governor Eyre, King's House, &c. &c. &c. (Signed) L. Smythe O'Connor, Major-General, Commanding the Troops.

Extracts of Letters from G. W. Gordon to H. J. Lawrence.

Letter dated July 18, 1864.

Let *all parties know* the wrongs of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and that Rector Cooke and Victor will do anything.

Letter dated March 6, 1865.

I note what you say in Re Oxford and Walker and Ketelhodt. The parish will be well rid of Walker, but the evil will be doubled in Baron, and I quite agree with your *sentiments*; we must wait and see what the end will be of all these evil-doers.

AICA. What an unreliable set they all are; I am disgusted with them, and must try to keep aloof and above them. The Ex. Com., Govr., and Bishop, what a set! can any reliance be placed on them, and can matters go on with such men *at the helm?*

* * * * * *

I do not discourage or damp your feelings, but I must urge on, and I am not aided equal to the means at command. We must make an extra effort.

Hershell, Baron, Cooke, and a lot of others are against me, and some few nasty ignorant coloured men, who won't value their own position, countenance such proceedings. Do you not see that I have good reason to complain and be on the alert.

Letter dated April 21, 1865.

I was expelled from the vestry board to-day by the police, by order of the Custos. Six policemen and the serjeant *operated.* What a glorious result for the Rector! The vestry got up to leave, but afterwards cowardly took their seats. The Baron stated he would fine them all, and serve them as he had done me; but see the mean spirit now exhibited, and who will ever they find to serve *them as I have done?* I feel much the ingratitude of these men, but I shall say little about it. I am not resident in the parish, and there is a want of fidelity which is truly deplorable. It will all RECOIL yet on them. The day of reckoning will come.

Letter dated April 27, 1865.

The case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt was a great triumph to Baron and all the Cookes, for in spite of everything which was clearly in my favour they got a jury of five to give a verdict for defendant. What a fresh victory is this for them all; how well it looks, and how diminished is my head! but wait, it is not yet all over!

* * * * * *

A more inconsistent, shameful thing has seldom occurred. The Attorney-General disgraced himself by low conduct. Sneddie proved a traitor, and McKenzie a MOST *worthless, lying* fellow. Have nothing to do with this man, he is a *great villain.*

* * * * * *

I believe that even in this there is mercy and wisdom, and it is all for some *wise purpose!* I have sent you a "Sentinel" newspaper, and shall always send you a paper each post. Your surmises about my being busy and surrounded by treachery are *precise,* but *fret not!*

Letter dated April 29, 1865.

Deny Mr. Hershell's pretensions and keep your possession faithfully; do not be sceptical or dismayed, *but stand up boldly* and let us wait till this rage be overpast. I have no doubt there are dual actions and strong under-currents against me, but wait and see the end of it. *Be not cast down,* the Lord is at hand.

* * * * * *

There is a sort of present exultation in the Baron, Hershell, Cooke, &c., all *their* points being *carried!* Why are you careful about the law proceedings? it is all right, yet there is *needs to fear all that has occurred!* There is much to expose and *uproot in our system,* and there must be a medium; *have faith,* then, be as bold as a lion. There must be a trial of faith, but the Lord is able to do mighty things, and all things will work *together for good.*

* * * * * *

I note the great and glorious gathering at Rhine House. This is very beautiful. Messrs. Warmington and Henry Seymour Kennedy are now J.P.s for St. Thomas-in-the-East, and some few more are expecting! All very *beautiful* great concerns for great men. Keep you quiet and see the end of it all.

Letter dated May 4, 1865.

I know the inveterate dislike of Hershell and all his confreres. They will soon all find their level, and go like chaff against the wind.

Letter dated January 30, 1865.

BARON and Hershell are busy publishing lies against me in Spanish Town, so as to get the grant of money, 262*l.* I shall be obliged to speak in very plain terms on the subject. Can you send me *nibs* on the subject? which may help me—they are a very wicked *band,* and the Lord will yet reward *them all.* Your promises to me in the way of remittance from all quarters are getting in arrears, but I must seek from their being redeemed; it won't do to put off noting, for my own necessities seem to increase, and the hope I had of relief is *not realized.*

I note what you say of ———, he is a sort of friend who altho' chastised has remained hardened. We can afford to spare him, and perhaps England will better agree with him. Mark, the reign of others will also soon be cut short.

I am glad you appreciate the papers. If I had three firm supporters in the House it would be a great matter, but I have to contend single-handed in the midst of very artful foes.

Pray stir up matters and see what can be done. Sugars are very low.

Letter (no date).

The Wesleyans in Kingston and Vere have joined the Governor in his "Queen's Advice." What a pretty *kettle* of fish. The people are worthless, and don't know their own rights, or they would soon not who are their friends. I do pity them! It is said that Mr. Edmondson has commissioned his leaders to read to their classes the "Queen's Advice." Pretty, eh!

I am very weak and worthless to-day. It may please the Lord to raise me up again, but it may be his pleasure to withdraw me from the evil to come. He has allowed me to WATCH and warn.

Letter dated August 10, 1865.

The Baron has taken upon himself to postpone the public meeting until *further notice*. This is *improper*. It is not *his* meeting, but theirs, and he has not the power of postponing. I am getting quite tired of it, and must now bring the business to a close, and if the Baron won't do what is right we must do so for him.

* * * * * *

I trust the public meeting will come off on Saturday, and let me have done with it. I am sure that soon a great change must take place.

Letter dated August 23, 1865.

The prejudices are *very strong* against me, but it shall not rest there. These multiplications of wrong are only the gathering up of future troubles.

Letter dated Sept. 14, 1865.

I believe the Governor and his nest of custodes are capable of anything, but the Lord will soon scatter them as the chaff before the wind.

* * * * * *

I do not know why there is such a spirit against truth and mercy, and combination against common mercy. *It will all rebound.*

"Anguis in herba." I fancy you know what this means. The character you refer to, and I have apprehension that your opinion may be correct, let it all *go on!* I wait to see the result.

* * * * * *

I wish to see about the votes to be recorded. This may be the last time I shall do so. It is not impossible there may be a dissolution if members will be only faithful to their duty.

Letter dated September 18, 1865.

Are the people really going to continue to submit to the present system? Mr. Davis is a humbug, I fear. I have not heard further from him.

The enemies now exult, and justice is silenced for the time, but it will raise its head.

After a close review of Dr. Major's conduct, I put him down as Mr. Expediency, worthy of no further consideration.

The Lord will soon pluck his hand out of his bosom, and so confound the whole band of oppressors. I believe this to be about one of their last *flickers*. Let us wait and see.

Letter dated September 21, 1865.

The oppression still continues rife in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and there appears to be every effort put forth to exasperate the poor people! Their plan is to pray to God for deliverance. You may laugh at this and call it cant, but I assure you it is the most effectual plan. If you knew the number of ways in which God can, and often does destroy the evil doer, you would agree.

Cooke and Hershell have sent a statement charging Mr. Jackson with being DRUNK at the vestry—look at this!—and nine magistrates have also sent in false statements against him, all of which Mr. Eyre believes, and it is not unlikely that he will *endeavour* to get Mr. Jackson superseded, as *S. J.*; think of this!

The state of matters gets worse. The Jews and Buckras it is thought by some will coalesce and do business. The coloured men are divided and unprincipled—self-seeking—and there it is.

Letter dated September 28, 1865.

This man, Mr. Eyre, is an arch liar, and he supports all his *emissaries*. We shall have to go before Parliament with a strong petition, and attack the whole colonial system.

The wicked shall be destroyed. This is decreed. God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

JAMAICA.

Letter dated October 12, 1865.

I learn terrible things are doing at Morant Bay. I know nothing of the proceedings or the particulars, but here I am blamed for it all.

* * * * * *

I feel for the poor people of Morant Bay. A steamer with detachment of troops has gone up. I wonder how it will all end. The Lord have mercy. I regret the people have acted unadvisedly.

I HAVE written to Lieut.-Governor about the Baron's conduct, and also to Executive Committee. I also wrote to Mr. Freeman, collector, and got a very satisfactory reply. Brooks Cook had no *right to vote,* and has been written to for explanation.

18/7/64. (Signed) G. W. G.

Let *all parties know* the wrongs of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and that Rector Cooke and Victor will do anything.

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) G. W. G.

Kingston, March 6, 1865.

MY eyes have been so bad that I could not reply to your last post fully. I am somewhat better, but with inflammation of the eyes.

I wish you had been at Portland. An anonymous correspondent states that Kinlock and your son are making ducks and drakes. Mr. Anderson advises me to come and look after *my property.* What becomes of all the rent?

I note what you say in *re* Oxford and Walker and Ketelhodt. The parish will be well rid of Walker; but the evil will be doubled in Baron, and I quite agree with your *sentiments.* We must wait and see what the end will be of all those evil doers!

I note that you sold the broken-horn steer for 8*l.* Approved, and thank you for remarks on others, also for statement of St. Ann's stock. What will be got for the bull, to close?

They will, in all, fetch *how much?*

Thanks, also, for arranging with Kirkland. I shall treat him as he merits. What an unreliable set they all are. I am disgusted with them, and must try to keep aloof and above them. The Ex. Com. Governor and Bishop, what a set! Can any reliance be placed on them? and can matters go on with such men *at the helm?*

* Sic. Let me know what you hear of * they may be worth what I am to give for them, but I can't tell you just now.

* Sic. In * Hall I have written to Mr. Grant at Morant Bay, and hope he will send or show you a copy of the correspondence. He began to take possession before himself making an agreement with me. I have agreed to his offer of 12*l.* on his signing the agreement, and then you can put him in charge on my behalf. It was about two years ago since I got a letter about it, and I requested you then to see to it for me. Grant will hold under my possession, and if the tenants won't pay, he must, after *a time,* give them notice to quit; but he can't sue or levy in the absence of a *special agreement.* Perhaps he does not understand this.

In *re* Bamboos, Mr. Davidson is to make me an offer, and seems very anxious about it.

The Bamboos, no doubt, revived the crops of Hordly and our friend, Mr. Harrison.

If you have any stamps left make them available, by recording anything in to me to go to Morant Bay in time by to-morrow night, do so.

I do not discourage or damp your feelings; but I must urge on, and I am not aided equal to the means at command. We must make an extra effort.

Hershell, Baron, Cooke, and a lot of others are against me, and some few nasty, ignorant coloured men, who won't value their own position, countenance such proceedings.

Do you not see that I have good reason to complain, and be on the *alert.*

See well to the cedars and other mattear. I must get the cedar beams.

I understand that you have more than what was sent me sawn. This matter is pressing on me.

Yours truly, &c.

Mr. H. Lawrence. (Signed) G. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Morant Bay, April 21, 1865.

I find that in consequence of the arrival of the packet, and the P.M. day falling on Sunday, I am obliged to be in Kingston on Saturday, and if I go to *Bath I shall not be able to do so, do my pkt. business still,* therefore please to let my boy return, walking as far as here where he will find Missionary to-morrow and ride on at Chisholms on the Bay which he can carry with him. "Nimble" will be left to pick up until I return, and I have left the mules "Piggy," "Wiggy," for Mr. Warren to ride down and I hope he will take good care of her, and I beg you to let Garibaldi and Hesekiah be in good order.

I particularly require money, and shall expect from you the 11*l.* for the "stag," and any other sum you may have by Saturday's post. Don't fail me in this.

I was expelled from the Vestry Board to-day by the police by order of the Custos, six policemen and the sergeant *operated,* what a glorious result for the Rector, the Vestry got up to leave but afterwards cowardly took their seats, the Baron stated he would fine them all and serve them as he had done me; but see the mean spirit now exhibited, and who will ever they find to serve *them as I have*

done. I feel much the ingratitute of these men, but I shall say little about it, I am not resident in the parish, and there is a want of fidelity which is truly deplorable. It will all RECOIL yet on them. The day of reckoning will come. Be very particular about my boy H., and write me by return of post save to Kingston P.O. I hope you are getting on well with the houses, I shall endeavour to send up Williamson. Yours very truly,

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

JAMAI

I find the Vestrymen sitting down and allowing Baron and Rector Cooke to do as they like, all the Curates are mad to act as Almoners and Churchwardens and Victor again rules at Bath in the midst of the paupers.

(Signed) G. W. G.

Let me know about the title and Drysdale, I shall write you about the election of the 11 May, put Mr. Harrison's note under envelope to go to him. Let Mr. Kirkland have his.

(Signed) G. W. G.

I beg you to see the men in from Spring, and have them examined before Mr. Hitchins in the case of cattle destruction by "John Jackson." Spring case, be particular *in this.*

Mr. H. J. Lawrence.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, April 27, 1865.

Your letter of the 25th instant is to hand.

The case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt was a great triumph to Baron and all the Cookes, for in spite of everything which was clearly in my favor, they got a jury of five to give a verdict for Defendant. What a fresh victory is this for them all, how well it looks and how diminished is my head ! but wait it is not yet all over! The Judge in his charge repudiated Cargill's opinion which the first day he had admitted and clearly put them before the Jury for the Plaintiff, but the Jury led on by *Henry Mais* were four of them blind to everything, and they got another weak man over and so carried their Verdict. A more inconsistent shameful thing has seldom occurred, the Attorney-General disgraced himself by low conduct. Sneddie proved a traitor and McKenzie a MOST *worthless lying fellow.* Have nothing to do with this man, he is a *great villain ;* however we came out brilliant and with the sympathy of the whole community, the case for all its purposes was *well put* and the barristers on my side did everything that was necessary, and I am satisfied. I believe that Hy. Mais influenced McGill and Campbell and De Cordova and Nethersole were influenced by *other parties,* so that these five men disregarded their oath to return a *verdict* according to the weight of *evidence,* and so it is, it shows the true state of the country and the very small amt of proper feeling which exists at present. The Jury was an unfortunate selection, yet I believe that even in this there is mercy and wisdom and that it is all for some *wise purpose!* I have sent you a "Sentinel" newspaper, and shall always send you a paper each post. Your surmises about my being busy and surrounded by treachery are *precise,* but *fret not!* Pray enforce the rents of Sunning Hill either by "suing;" or distraining !" I know nothing of Mr. Hershel having any right to sell land at "Sunning Hill" and he and all other parties will be TRESSPASSERS until you hear from me to the contrary *treat* them *all* as *such ; do not fail* in this! I wonder what next! Mr. Georges is not the Attorney of Messrs. Grant and Kenshead, and Messrs. G. & K. have no title for Sunning Hill, but I will explain more if necessary in due season, it is too bad to be thus used, and Georges I fear is not so confiding in my behalf as he *ought to be* for he knows Hershells *dislike to me* if he can get a good sum *put down* for Sunning Hill for Messrs. Grant and Kemshead *let him do so* and I will agree but not otherwise. The Rhine land cannot be touched, and do you not mind the idle stories which you hear, the Governor is upholding all rascality with reference to Herschell and all others ! I am glad to find you have had showers in Re * next post. I am still busy, I wish some remittance could come forward. * Sic.

Yours, &c.

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) G. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, April 29, 1865.

Your favour of yesterday in "*re* Sunning Hill" is before me. Mr. Georges, you say, went past and did not look in !

I enclose you a copy of correspondence with him when he spoke to me, I thought he did so as Mr. Kemshead's friend, but he has no power *from* Mr. Kemshead, nor have I any right to know him at all "*legally*" about S. H., but it makes good what you suspect; however you are not to regard either Mr. Georges or anybody else until you hear from me, and if anyone comes on the property treat him as a trespasser. You see I have *not* given Mr. Georges any authority, and you will please wait my instructions. Mr. Kemshead has no title for the property, and I can give none that is valid, and he is not even in possession, but as he has a claim on it I have always given him some consideration : but if I am even looked on as a tenant I should require the notice to quit, and that from a * party, that party would be Mr. Robert Cargill, who is insolvent, and the equity of redemption is in him and the official assignee, then a first mortgage held by an old London house would come in, and there would not be anyone to *eject* me, so that I stand even better here than at Rhine in point of possession, unless I willingly give up, and this I shall not do unless Mr. Hershell will pay down 600*l.*, and take such a title as *Mr. Kemshead can give him,* but this must be subject to my convenience in point of removal, &c. I fear that Mr. Georges will find that he has acted *too hastily.* Now you know exactly how matters stand, and that my possession *cannot be disturbed* but by my voluntary consent. I am to see Mr. Airey before the post closes on Monday; in the meantime hold up * , deny Mr. Herschell's pretensions, and keep your possession faithfully; do not be sceptical or dismayed, *but stand up boldly* and let *us wait till this rage be overpast.* I have no doubt there are dual actions and * Sic. * Sic.

JAMAICA.

strong under-currents against me, but wait and see the end of it; *be not cast down*, the Lord is at hand.

I do not think that Mr. Airey approves of all Mr. Georges proceedings.

There is a sort of present exultation in the Baron, Herschell, Cooke, &c., all *their* points *being carried!*

Why are you careful about the law proceedings? It is all right, yet there is *needs to fear all that has occurred!* There is much to expose and *uproot in our system*, and there must be a medium; *have faith*, then be bold as a lion. There must be a trial of faith, but the Lord is able to do mighty things, and all things will work *together for good.*

Dr. Major will have to build his stables *or budge.* On this point *I shall be firm.*

The Spring rents do not come in as they ought. I thank you for 1*l.* remitted.

Chisholm has no right to interfere with cocoa-nut trees at "*Spring*"—note this! I am glad that you have.

I note what you say in *re* Estate McKay. How can the Rev. Mr. Mundy expect me to give him free pasturage?

Sullivan must do what is *reasonable*, and pay pasturage; his practice will well afford this, and his horses will improve.

I note the great and glorious gathering at Rhine House. This is very beautiful. Messrs. Warmington and Henry Seymour Kennedy are now J. P.'s for St. Thomas-in-the-East, and some few more are expecting! All very *beautiful*—great concerns for great men.

Keep you quiet, and see the end of it all.

Yours, &c.

Mr. H. J Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, May 4, 1865.

YOUR letter of the 2nd instant is now before me, with copy of your Despatch to Mr. Shortridge.

* Sic. Of this I approve, and want his reply. Mr. Airey and I have * in *re* Sunning Hill, and determined to let matters remain till next packet, when Mr. Georges is expected!

I note your remarks in *re* Dr. Major, and do not wonder at the influences. "*Evil communications corrupt good manners.*"

Your quotations are *suitable.* We have to endure the contradictions of men, even of our friends—vide "GEORGES"—who held common cause with Baron and Herschell *all a* Major, "but we are *not* to *fret* ourselves *because of evil* doers."

* Sic. I am glad that you guard * , and you do right to look to No. 1. Some persons think of this only for themselves, and consider that *others* are obliged to work for them.

Chisholm fibs if he said I put the C. Walk at his command, and you must take a *right* stand in this matter. I shall again write to Chisholm. I regret I have so long delayed going up, *but I can't help it!*

I shall send you some papers containing detail a/c. of trial, Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt, which *must still go on!* In Bogg matters I feel that *more ought to be realised*, and this without delay.

Dr. Major has no right to the use of the barracks, and if I must build him a shed I shall raise the rent, or give him notice to quit.

I know the inveterate dislike of Herschell and all his *confreres*, they will soon all find their level and go like chaff against the wind.

Remember if anyone attempts to interfere with you at Sunning Hill treat him as a trespasser, and bring him up. I am again almost late for post. Say what stock I can sell to realize upon early if required—haste.

Yours, &c.

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

I am very busy between town and Cherry Garden.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, January 30, 1865.

YOUR letter of the 27th instant is to hand, and note your delivery of stock to Mr. Duffus all right.

I note statement of stock from C. Walker, these with the previous lot you will please keep distinct and in particular ac. I hope these stock will soon improve.

I beg you to assist me to do things properly in the matter of the cedar trees, they must be felled and in your possession on the spot before it will be a good sale. Is it so, and will you make it so if not, and also see the trees, and send me the particulars of them, *your purchase*, value, and your *private* estimation? Do all this in good humour and good feeling, and with *business thrift*, then I shall send you cheque on the Colonial Bank, and you can draw on me. And we must make the best of the lumber. This is, I hope, a venture which will yield some profit, if not, it is not worth doing, so see to it, and if Mr. Birch is a proper man he will see to the reasonableness of this arrangement. I am, I beg to assure you, most anxious to have the curing house shingled and put in order, D.V., and this is a subject to which pray address your attentive and kind consideration in my aid and relief.

You urge me to pay Mr. Birch at *once* for the trees, this rests with you, do what is required, and the matter is done. The trees may be felled in a few days, and you can report to me within the *same time.* See well to this, one likes to know a little what he is doing.

BARON and Hershell are busy publishing lies against me in Spanish Town, so as to get the grant of money, 262*l.* I shall be obliged to speak in very plain terms on the subject. Can you send me *nibs* on the subject, which may help me? They are a very wicked *band*, and the Lord will yet reward *them all.* Your promises to me in the way of remittance from all quarters are getting in

arrears, but I must seek from their being redeemed, it won't do to put off, noting for my own necessities seem to increase, and the hope I had of relief *is not realised.*

I note what you say of * , he is a sort of friend, who although chastised has remained hardened. We can afford to spare him, and perhaps England will better agree with him. Mark the reign of others will also soon be cut short.

* Sic.

I am glad you appreciated the papers. If I had *three* firm supporters in the House it would be a great matter, but I have to contend single-handed in the midst of very artful foes.

Pray stir up matters and see what can be done. Sugars are low.

Yours truly,

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

Thanks for your prescription, the cough is still on. Our friend the Hon. W. P. G. is also a great card at head-quarters. I wonder he did not shield his friend T. W. J., and make peace with him.

We live in queer times. The Wesleyans in Kingston and Vere have joined the Governor in his "Queen's Advice." What a pretty "*kettle* of fish," the people are worthless and don't know their own rights, or they would seen not who are their friends. I do pity them! It is said that Mr. Edmondson has commissioned his leaders to read to their classes the "Queen's Advice." Pretty, eh!

I am very weak and worthless to-day, it may please the Lord to raise me up again, but it may be his pleasure to withdraw me from the evil to come. He has allowed me to WATCH and warn.

Yours, &c.,

(Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

I don't think the doctors will make much of their meeting. They are unjust in some things, and would be rich too soon.

(Signed) G. W. G.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, August 10, 1865.

I AM just returned from the Northside, and find none of your letters. I had expected one with some money, of which I now stand very greatly in need, but I must go to the East, and start this morning for Morant Bay, hoping to be there early to-morrow, and be at the Rhine by SATURDAY *some time.* The Baron has taken upon himself to postpone the public meeting until *further notice.* This is *improper.* It is not *his* meeting, but theirs, and he has not the power of postponing. I am getting quite tired of it, and must now bring the business to a close, and if the Baron won't do what is right, we must do so for him.

I have another anonymous letter from the *Bogg,* and do feel the imperious necessity of being there. There is a statement of logwood being cut; *this is really* too *bad.* Can't you see, at *least* see to this trespass being stopt and punished. I really require cheerful help in these matters.

I trust the public meeting will come off on Saturday and let me be done with it. I am sure that soon a great change must take place.

Yours, &c.

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, August 23, 1865.

I GOT your letter last night p. William, who reported having safely conveyed down Mrs. Lawrence, horse and vehicle sound, save one shoe off.

The case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt terminated yesterday, again for defendant. It seemed foredetermined. I was greatly prepared for it from what I perceived early in the day. More anon on this subject. The prejudices are *very strong* against me, but it shall not rest there. These multiplications of wrong are only the gatherings up of future troubles.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, Sept. 11, 1865.

THE above was mislaid, but I now send it. It is reported that the Governor, in deference to the CUSTOS, has removed Mr. Jackson from St. Thomas-in-the-East, and that more complaints have been made against Mr. Jackson than ALL the other stipendiary magistrates in the Island. The fact is, St. Thomas-in-the-East is about the *very worst* parish in the Island, and now the Governor has given *another* cheer to magisterial oppression, as if it were forcing matters to a point. Verily the Governor is an evil doer. The Lord will plenteously reward him. Again and again the Baron and the Cookes are *gratified.* I see some one grinding at me to-day in the "Guardian." Thank God I have no commissions to lose; indeed it appears a providential arrangement that the commissions were taken away in the manner they were. Jordon and Bowerbank helps to keep the Governor here; the former is in very broken health, and the latter no better, and much worse in reputation, vide the Coroner's inquest, verdict, and Dr. Fiddes's letter. Yet the Governor holds on with Messrs. Bowerbank and Anderson. Matters are in a very strange way. The House of Assembly is so damaged that I fear very little good from any compact party can be expected.

We must patiently wait to see the end of all these matters if we are spared.

Yours, &c.

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, Sept. 14, 1865.

YOUR favour of the 12th is to hand. I fear we cannot mend public matters in St. Thomas-in-the-East, so we had better look to our individual circumstances more closely. I believe the

AMAICA. Governor and his nest of custodes are capable of anything, but the Lord will soon scatter them as the chaff before the wind. A man named Boswell, from Manchioneal came to me complaining of an illegal levy on their horse *for taxes*, which had been paid, and I packed them off to Spanish Town to the Executive Committee, who have taken up the matter and written to W. P. K. for full particulars, and also to Mr. Inspector Alberga. I have no doubt this will startle W. P. K. a little. There is clearly a good action against him, but look at the difficulty of law.

I begin to feel weary of Dr. Major's conduct, and must consider what is best to be done. He will Sic. have to go, I presume, or come to reasonable terms. I do not approve of your epd. for the coach-house.

I understand from Mr. Davis that he could do better with his land. I have offered him the two horses; is he willing still to take them. He wrote to me about cattle, which I have no idea of. I do not care what he says, and have no reason to place any dependence on the sincerity of any of the parties you mention. I do not know why there is such a spirit against truth and mercy, and combination against common mercy. *It will all rebound.*

As to Mr. Sullivan, I hope he may be faithful to his professions, but we must prove all things, and let patience have the perfect work. There is just now great exultation, a second verdict against me, and Jackson removed to satisfy the Baron!

I thank you for visit to Spring, but the report is very discouraging, and it seems that my presence is *necessary*, tho' I hope to give the end of this month when I go up. I have told Chisholm as plainly as I can speak not to interfere with Boyd, but there is something wrong, I fear, more than I know in many ways.

The rents must be paid. I strictly forbid Stewart to go to Spring, or to have anything to do with the ground, which he had no right to make. Chisholm has not been doing well, and I have been reluctant to quarrel with him.

At Bogg matters must be doing very badly when I got no remittances! *really too bad.*

I have been *fully expecting some* money from you, and feel great disappointment. I am sucked dry at present.

"Anguis in herba." I fancy you know what this means. The character you refer to, and I have apprehension that your opinion may be correct—let it all *go on!* I wait to see the result.

Messrs. "Tribune" and "Guardian" have given it to *me well.* I send you the "County Union," which return to me after perusal. I do not think we were ever in more dismal times than at present in Jamaica. The Governor succours wrong and oppression to the fullest extent in every quarter. Now let us for a season apply closely to business, and direct our thoughts accordingly. I wish to see about the votes to be recorded. This may be the last time I shall do so. It is not impossible there may be a dissolution if members will be only faithful and do their duty.

Yours, &c.

GEO. W. GORDON.

The manner and death of Charles Stern distressed me.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, September 18, 1865.

YOUR letter of the 15th instant is before me. The case of Rosewell will surely bring some parties to account. I should think that there is so much rascality and want of common honesty against the people, even with the Executive Committee, that there is no accounting for anything.

The volunteer is a burlesque, and the money here wasted would do a substantial amount of good. Are the people really going to continue to submit to the present system? Mr. Davis is a *humbug*, I fear. I have not heard further from him.

The enemies now exult, and justice is silenced for the time, but it will raise its head. After a close review of Dr. Major's conduct, I put him down as Mr. Expediency, worthy of no further consideration.

The Lord will soon pluck his hand out of his bosom, and so confound the whole band of oppressors. I believe this to be about one of their last *flickers*. Let us wait and see. All my sources of supply fail, while I continue being drawn on. I expected something from Bogg and do. from SPRING, and hope at Rhine you will have something to assist me with taxes. Bogg concerns are now too bad. I regret to learn that you are unwell. I am very much so: the *cough* on me becomes severe, and I do fear that I am really going to break up, unless I get change and rest (domestic and business). I have not got the "County Union" said to be returned by you.

Write a reply, and send money, if you have any. Thanks for license.

I have, &c.,

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, September 21, 1865.

I AM in receipt of your favour of the 19th; but I am very sick and very WEAK to-day. I must get change and rest, or else I shall break up; so it seems to me.

The oppression still continues rife in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and there appears to be every effort put forth to exasperate the poor people! Their plan is to pray to God for deliverance. You may laugh at this and call it cant; but I assure you it is the most effectual plan, if you knew the number of ways in which God can and often does destroy the evil doer, you would agree. Cooke and Hershell have sent a statement, charging Mr. Jackson with being DRUNK at the vestry—look at this! and nine magistrates have also sent in false statements against him, all of which Mr. Eyre believes, and it is not unlikely that he will *endeavour* to get Mr. Jackson superseded as *S.J.*; think of this! The state of matters gets worse. The Jews and Buckras, it is thought by some will coalesce and do business. The coloured men are divided and unprincipled—self-seeking—and there it is.

Colonel Hunt must feel in his mind that the volunteers are a *burlesque;* and here, too, we find worthless *brown men* scraping their feet! The St. Thomas-in-the-East Morant Bay concern must have been grand. Who was the serjeant that colonel addressed? His name should have been stated. *Go it ye cripples!*

The colonel was, no doubt, a great card about Bath. I am glad that the weather has been so FAVOURABLE. Mrs. Major would do the agreeable *extremely* well.

We are all suffering from fever and the want of money. Send me some, if perchance there be any, to help me out by Saturday, for I am hardly able to move.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, September 28, 1865.

I AM in receipt of your favour of the 22nd instant. I fear I may not be able to go to Bath by Friday next, unless I feel much better than I do now, and the serious matter of the taxes arises. Now I left you a list and requested you to send me a copy, but you have not done so.

Pray do so by return of post, and if I find I cannot go up, I must send an express messenger, and get you to do the best. See to this, it is important. It will depend on how I feel for the next two or three days.

Poor "*Jackson*" was in the midst of conspiracy. "Rector Cooke" could get up a charge against any one over whom the Governor has power, and get him dismissed. This man, Mr. Eyre, is an arch liar, and he supports all his *emissaries.* We shall have to go before Parliament with a strong petition, and attack the whole colonial system.

The wicked shall be destroyed. This is decreed. God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

I regret to find that you are suffering from a cold; be careful, and I trust you will soon be better.

I shall try and get some of it prepared. I *wheeze a great* deal.

The taxes at Spring are only the cattle, and about Rhine see memo. I note that you are without money, and that the weather is heavy. This is a rather bad state to be in. Can we raise nothing in aid of the taxes. This is also a serious question.

I learn that Dr. McPherson is in town; but he does *not* call on me. He is pretty snugg now between the two offices.

I note what you state in matter of Portland—bad. I must try soon to go up. I don't know what to say about the bamboos; they ought long ago to have been cut. It would be better, at all events, to clear out those from the coco-nut trees. I get no cattle, no rent, no anything, and yet this is the best property in Portland. I fear that my substance here has been much *wasted.*

I long for some relief. Mrs. Gordon wants a supply of coco nuts; when will these be coming forward? Surely some should, ere this, be at hand.

See well to this matter, and I shall be much obliged.

I promised Mr. Anderson to go up, but I am not yet able.

Now, will you think a little of these things, in a good spirit for me.

I hope your health will better. I have no doubt the estates are pressing on down the river. I had no idea that Messrs. Harrison and Hire were taking.

Good—they yet require to come our way. I presume our bamboos are springing largely. We must try to be on good terms with our *neighbours.*

Now, consider the matter of the taxes, and write to me fully, and it will be a great matter. How is Burke, the butcher. Best wishes.

I have, &c.

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, October 12, 1865.

THE last post brought me no letter from you. I wrote to you but it was in torrents of rain, and I believed the man who took the letter to the P. O. put it in the wrong box so that you are still at Rhine, you will get it to-day. The two cheques have been paid 5*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*, 5*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* I wish I could have got some assistance from you in paying the taxes, I hope a refresher will soon come forward I enclose you renewal of dft. of 140*l.* against your acceptance for 160*l.* (*the other was never used* and I cannot lay my hand on it) so you see the 90 days and m * have not sold *any of the stock,* but however they are there and I hope improving; in the meantime if you can send me 10*l.* to 20*l.* by Tuesday's post it will be a great help. I learn terrible things are doing at Morant Bay, I know nothing of the proceedings or the particulars, but here I am blamed for it all. * Sic.

I believe they will attempt to shake the votes we have recorded, and we may expect annoyance, the Law is *against them,* so I think I have always done so. Mr. Cushnie says it is done every time of recording.

I feel for the poor people of Morant Bay. A steamer with detachment of troops has gone up, I wonder how it will all end. The Lord have mercy. I regret that the people have acted unadvisedly.

This is sad matter to contemplate. I regret to say that I am still very weak, I hope you are better. You did not write me by post.

Yours truly,

Mr. H. J. Lawrence. (Signed) GEO. GORDON.

Statement on oath of GEORGE FOUCHÉ.

I, George Fouché, on my oath say, I am reporter for the Guardian newspaper, published in Kingston; on or about the 3rd of May last I was reporter for the Sentinel. In my capacity of reporter

JAMAICA. for that paper I attended a meeting at the Court House on the evening of the 3rd May. It was convened for purpose of taking into consideration Mr. Underhill's letter.

George William Gordon took the chair.

Kelly Smith was secretary. The Rev. Edwin Palmer first addressed the meeting. Rev. James Roach, Rev. J. H. Crole, a tall black man named O'Brien, Thomas Hurry, Joseph Emanual Goldson, Robert Miller a shoemaker, Samuel Clarke, also a man named Cary were there.

Rev. Edwin Palmer said the people were poor and destitute, the planters robbed them of their wages, that they were trampled under foot, the Government was oppressive, that the merchants in Kingston would employ none but white or colored men in their stores which was a disgrace and a shame, that the time would soon come when they would be compelled to do it. The flogging bill was only a mark of the introduction of slavery, and was intended only for the black man. William Kelly Smith did not say much, but he handed to each speaker there solutions which were in his handwriting. The Sentinel afterwards published those resolutions in Kelly Smith's handwriting.

The Rev. J. H. Crole said, the Governor oppressed the people in taxation, they were taxed for their religion, that the newspapers said the Governor's morality proclamation was all a farce for immoral men were employed in public situations, and that the Gospel declared that we were not to obey a Government that was immoral. That if the negro were fat enough he believed the white man would eat him up, that he had sucked him, that he was a beast of burthen.

Samuel Clarke (next whom I was sitting, said) the white man looked down upon the negro as nothing better than a beast, but you cannot keep down negroes, and although you wont give us education we will show them that we shall yet have a position in the country. As for that flogging bill it must be put down. It never shall be law. We must cry against it. It was only intended for the black man not for the white or colored man. I said, No, if I break the law they would flog me; he said, No, the white men never flog you. The magistrates will act unjustly and send up a poor negro for stealing a piece of cane to be flogged. Not as long as I live shall the white man trample me under foot. Look at that fellow Georges I have made him know himself. What think you I have done? Hear me, negroes! Tell it to every black man that the Hon. W. P. Georges, Custos of St. Davids, committed a most wicked act on the poor negroes. (He never would have done such a thing to a white man). He took down their tombs, took the bricks to build up his coppers, planted canes upon God's land over the graves of these poor black people; but the canes were so bloody that when they where cut, they could not make sugar. Ins't this oppression? Isn't time for the negro to throw off the yoke and seek your liberty. See the heavy tax they put upon your donkey going to market, while the proprietors cows were taxed (I think he said) at 3*d*. The taxes were only made for the black man and not for the white, there was one law for the black man and one for the white man, and they never received any benefits from the Government.

Thomas Harry said there was much oppression in the land that the black man was trampled under foot, their sons were never to rise beyond tailors and shoemakers, that ready made clothing was an oppression to the tradesman that they could not compete with ready made work. Government never gave them any employment. Look at our stores; do you ever see any black man there?

Emanuel Joseph Goldson said there is no man in the community but must look on the present state of the black man and see that he was trodden under foot by the Government, there is not a black man in the House of Assembly, in the Customs, or a police inspector; that he had served the country faithfully for years, but because he was a negro, he was turned out like a dog and no pension or reward given to him. Look, see what the Governor has done, he is a crippled old man, and has given Mr. Leake 200*l.* who is a drunkard but I have been turned off. This has been done through the Custos. Where does the money come from? It comes from your pockets, your taxes pay it. It is called a "grant" but they will give it him every year. Let them know that "this negro" will never allow them to trample *him* under foot, for he is a British subject. The flogging bill was an oppression intended only for the negro. The other day in the Petty Court Mr. Justice Bicknell who gets 400*l.* a year was absent, and Mr. Justice Hart and other magistrate sent poor "Myrie" a black man to the Penitentiary for assaulting Mr. Branday, which is an act of injustice and we must try and put down such goings on, for it never would have been done to a white man. That law is an oppression to send people to the Penitentiary without fine, and surely if it had been one of those Jew boys or mulatto boys who had done it, Hart would never have sent him to the Penitentiary.

About three or four weeks after this meeting at the door of Mr. Cary shop, I was speaking to Robert Miller in condemnation of the meeting, when he exclaimed with much emphasis, "We must "not have any white man in this country, we don't wont them here, we can do without them." This is all I can recollect except that at the Journal Office two days after the report of this outbreak reached town I said that Gordon was a traitor, whereupon Goldson said that if Gordon were there he would kick me, and that if I told it to him, Goldson, *he* would kick me, and that if they could get no one else he would take the Governor, put him in chains and convey him on board the vessel.

Sworn before me at the city and parish of Kingston
this 26th day of October 1865.

GEORGE FOUCHÉ.

(Signed) HENRY J. BICKNELL, P.M.

PORTIONS of the SPEECH of GOLDSON at UNDERHILL MEETING, Kingston, May 3, 1865, written out by Fouché from his notes taken at time.

GOLDSON said:—It is evident that we, as negroes and no one can deny it, are oppressed and trampled on by all and by a wicked Governor who seek to deprive us of all our rights as British subjects. There is not a single black man in the Assembly, nor in the customs, nor in the bank, or an inspector of police. The most they ever make of the negro is to appoint him serjeant of police, the negro is never to rise. But this state of things cannot continue long. We must be up and stir

ourselves, and show these oppressors of the negro that they can no longer do with him as they like. We must in a body go forward and prove what we can do. We will yet make them repent their wicked acts towards the negro. We will no longer be submissive to the yoke which the Government places on our neck. Look and see how your taxes are spent (the speaker held up a newspaper in his hand). See what that cripple old Governor has done; he has given Mr. Leake 200*l.*, who is a great drunkard, but I, who have served the Government faithful, receive nothing. I was turned out by the custos. Have I got anything?—No. And why?—I am a negro, and that is the only reason, but I am not the man to submit to such things. I will let them know that the negro will never allow them to put him down, for he is a British subject. We must revenge ourselves, and the day is not far distant. Let me tell these white and mulattos that they will yet rue the day for having boasted over us. Things are brought to such a state that we cannot endure the oppression; the taxes are too heavy, too oppressive, and only upon the negro. Negroes can get nothing to do for the support of their families. Not long ago Alberga ran away from the penitentiary after robbing it. Nothing was said of him, but if it had been me, penitentiary would pick me up.

The Assembly make laws only for the negro, only to keep him down, only to oppress and punish him for stealing a few joints of cane or a little sugar. The other day they passed a law to flog negroes, but believe me they will never be able to carry it out. The flogging bill is only intended for the negro, and this negro will die, would spill his blood before he is flogged. Friends, don't you see the bill is only to punish the negro and not the white man. There is one law for the white man and another law for the black man, but let them go on, they will be sorry for it. Not long ago a black man named Myrie was tried at the police court for assaulting Mr. Brandy, a white man; five magistrates sat on the case. Mr. Hart was there, and what do you think? Myrie was sent to the penitentiary without any fine. What a wicked thing. If Myrie was a white man, he would have been fined, but no, he is black, and Mr. Hart sent him to the penitentiary. If it were a Jew boy or a mulatto, he would fine, not confine. Shame! shame! Can we silently submit ourselves? Can we any longer bear the yoke? But never mind, we will wait our time. As for myself, let me tell the Government to take care how they make me a convict; they would regret. Let me warn them how they deal with Quashie, for this is his country, and he will have it. We will yet show them a different state of things. The following conversation took place between Goldson and myself.

Two or three days after the rebellion broke out in Saint Thomas-in-the-East, I met Goldson at the window of the Journal office in this city. He said, as that fellow Beckwith has been writing against Gordon, why Gordon is a better man than Beckwith. I said Gordon was a traitor, and that he was the cause of the rebellion; Goldson said, if you were to tell Gordon so he would kick you; and if you were to tell me so I would kick you. Goldson struck me, and I told him I believed him a traitor as well as Gordon. Goldson said that if they could get no one else to put the Governor in irons, he would be the nigger to go and put him in chains, put him on board the ship, and send him away from the country. Kelly Smith was present and some other persons standing about. Goldson has repeatedly said to me, "I tell you what, if the Government know what is good for "themselves, they will give me employment and keep me still, or they will suffer. I am not a man "to be trifled with."

GEORGE FOUCHÉ.

Sworn before me at the city and parish of Kingston this 3rd day of January 1866.
W. HOOPER, J.P.

COPY of DEPOSITIONS of William Duff, the younger, sworn to 20th November 1865 before Henry J. Bicknell, police magistrate, Kingston, and of the above-named George Fouché sworn to before the same magistrate at the same time and place.

GEORGE FOUCHÉ, sworn, states:—

I was present in the Kingston police court one day, Emanuel Joseph Goldson was also sitting at the table opposite to me. He was reading, and spoke about his being employed by Government. He said that if the Government gave him employment he would keep quiet, but if they did not give him employment they would be sorry for it as he would oppose them. I think it was after the breaking out of the rebellion. Mr. William Duff was present at the time and heard Goldson use these expressions.

GEORGE FOUCHÉ.

Taken and sworn to before me this 20th day of November 1865, at the city and parish of Kingston.
(Signed) HENRY J. BICKNELL, P.M.

WILLIAM DUFF (the younger), sworn, states:—

I was at the police court on the occasion mentioned by Mr. Foucher. Emanuel Joseph Goldson came into court. He was speaking about his wish to be appointed detective officer, and stated that the Government ought to give him employment as he had been badly treated, and that if they gave

JAMAICA.

him employment he would be quiet, but if not they would be sorry for it, as he was troublesome and would oppose them. I cannot say if this was before or after the rebellion.

WM. DUFF, Jun.

Taken and sworn to before me this 26th day of November 1865, at the city and parish of Kingston.
(Signed) HENRY J. BICKNELL, P.M.

PORTIONS of the SPEECH of CROLE at UNDERHILL MEETING, Kingston, May 3, 1865, written out by Fouché from his Notes taken at time.

CROLE said:—I feel happy in having a resolution, and have no doubt whatever the unfortunate negro is the subject of much oppression throughout the Island; on all sides he is trampled on and kept down just as if he were nobody, and only kept as a beast of burden. The taxes is a burden, and who had to pay it? Poor Quashie. What is our Government composed? nothing but wicked and immoral men, who wring the taxes from you to make themselves great. The newspapers say the morality proclamation is only a farce. The Bible says we are not to obey an immoral Government, therefore we are not bound to obey the Government of this country, for it is immoral, and no man should make you do it.

Your right as Christians and British subjects are dear to you; you have a right to obey God rather than man, and not submit to such a Government, although "we should render to Cæsar the "things that are Cæsar's." I tell you what, that the white man suck everything from you; you are only a beast of burden for him, and if the black man were fat enough the white man would eat him. But no, your rights you will have and must have, and the time will come when you will have them.

GEORGE FOUCHÉ.

Sworn before me at the city and parish of Kingston, this 3rd day of January 1866.
(Signed) W. HOOPER, J.P.

PORTIONS of the SPEECH of Rev. EDWIN PALMER at UNDERHILL MEETING, Kingston, May 3, 1865; written out by Fouché from his Notes taken at time.

PALMER said:—The people are wretchedly poor and destitute, as the authorities oppress them with the burden of taxation. The Government only employ white and coloured men in public offices, and the black man is neglected. The planters oppress and rob the negro, and trample him under foot. Look at the merchants of Kingston, who do they employ? only white and coloured young men; but the time will come when they will be compelled to do it. As for the Flogging Bill, it is a mark of the introduction of slavery. The time is come for the negro to throw off the yoke; it is time for him to arise and seek justice; he is only a beast of burden, and trampled on on all sides. There is no situation for him in the Post Office or Customs. Let us be like men. Let us show our rights. I can tell these men who oppress us that we won't long submit to it. The Government forgets that the negro pays the largest amount of taxes; everything of theirs is taxed, yet they get no return. It is a wicked and oppressive Government only for the poor negro. We form the greater portion of the community, and yet there is nothing done for us, but we will show all these great big men what we will do in seeking our rights.

The speaker was very vehement while thus addressing the people. There were about 200 black men present at the meeting. Mr. Beckwith, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Balty, Mr. Hepburn, and myself were the only white and coloured persons present. Mr. Murray came in later.

GEORGE FOUCHÉ.

Sworn before me, at the city and parish of Kingston, this 3rd day of January 1866,
W. HOOPER, J. P.

March 9, 1862.

I, James, and Mina Bryan, do give and bequeath to Mr. Paul Bogle, leader of Stoney Gutt Baptist class, one chain of land square for the purpose of building a class house, and for the benefit of he and his members and followers, a part of Seaforth land butten on the east same land of James Bryan, on the west same, the north and south same. To their eares and a sign for ever only for the express purpose of worshiping the Almighty God whom we sarve. Amen.

For which cause we do apoint as trusts or godfathers of the above gift, Mr. George W. Gordon, Mr. Andrew Duncan, George Milard, George B. Clark, Archebell Balley, and William McKie. To which we have sign, seal, and delevered in the prasant of Collin Bryan, my son, and Jenet Broyam, to be put in the hole at the left north-east corner post. Sgn James Broyan Miner Br.—Witnesses, Jenet Broyan and Cohen Broyan.

DEAR SIR, Stoney Gut, October 20, 1862.

MY best respects to you and family, hoping you are all well, as I am present. These are to inform you that what I was telling you about Mr. Patterson and the place, the price is too heavy, and I have taken my mind from there, so I beg, sir, that you will be please to see the Barron about Spring Garden as soon as possible, for I hear that one of your and your people enemy is going to purchase it in purpose to oppress us, because it is near to us, and they will soon ketch us, if

not ourselves our stocks, so before eny one should oppress us or to do us eny harm you will be please to see the Barron and take it from him, and I will purchase the same from you, and you will oblige your truly,

PAUL BOGLE.

P.S.—Please to make no delay. See to this at once, for delay is danger. As our enemy is coming clost to us, let us put him away far from us, for if he get among he will spoil our house. For a wall is not too high to be scaled by a valant enemy, now let us cry out with a loud voice, away with such tyranical ranger, we will not have him here. I have few souls to meet the baptism at Spring, and shall be glad to see you up if no weather to give us a lecture. Answer by earliest post without delay.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) PAUL BOGLE.

PAUL BOGLE to GEO. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Stoney Gut, August 20, 1863.

YOURS of the 13th is to hand, and I am sorry to say for the want of a cart I culd not get the suger down. But going to S. Mary on the 13, I saw your cart, and was about to send too get the same from Mr. B., tying out the mule on the 14 night sche was found next morning with hor right hind leg broken, that the schank bone came through the skin. We try to set it, so that is the reason the suger is not down yet, but all is move hout to the road. You will be please to tennore your cart at Spring for a cuple of days, as I have to hire a horse to cerry down the suger.

You will be plese also to send up my lass year bill, as I want to see taow I and you stand, by the first post, and you will oblige

Yours,
(Signed) PAUL BOGLE.

An with best wichies.

S.P.—Mr. Clarke love to you, and ask you to send to the Gezett office for his, so that he might get it weekly by post,

Yours,
(Signed) PAUL BOGLE.

PAUL BOGLE to G. W. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Stoney Gutt, July 12, 1865.

MY complement to you, hope you is well to-day, as I am not from fetiguement of yesterday. I felt a severe pain in my stomach, so I am not able to come down. You will be please to remember the horse that you did promise to give me to ride out on business. And you must provide something for me to vote upon for the year comming fir all my beast dead. I have also my title here, which I will send down to you that you may get it record as quick as posible, for I expect to have William upon the list of voters for next year.

You must try and see well to this, and we expect to have a meeting at Boyle House at Cottage Penn next Tuesday, and your attendants will require.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PAUL BOGLE.

G. W. Gordon, Esq.,
Morant Bay.

1865.

ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST.

Election Expenses and Paul Bogle.

Memo. 12 July.

Sullivan	4*s.*	1*s.* 6*d.*	Gray		4*s.*
Gray	4*s.*	1*s.* 6*d.*	Stewart		4*s.*
Stewart	4*s.*	2*s.*	Sullivan		2*s.*
Merquilto	4*s.*		Bayley		1*s.* 6*d.*
Bailly	1*s.* 6*d.*				
G. W. G.					10*s.* 6*d.*

G. W. GORDON, Esq.,
Morant Bay.

	£	s.	d.
Chisholm, for refreshment	0	5	0
1 lb. cheese	0	2	0
Music	0	10	6
Bread	0	6	0
4 bot. ale	0	5	0
4 „ porter	0	5	0
2 „ rum	0	3	0
	1	16	0
Rum	0	0	9

Mrs. Lundy—
4 bot. porter.
4 „ ale.
2 „ rum.

JAMAICA.

Mr. KIRKLAND to Mr. W. R. MYERS.

SIR, Bath, December 7, 1865.

I DEEM it my duty to forward, for the information of the Executive Committee, a statement of taxes paid by the late G. W. Gordon.

I remain, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq. (Signed) W. P. KIRKLAND.

NAMES of Parties whose Taxes were paid by H. W. Laurence at request of G. W. Gordon.

	£	s.	d.
McIntosh, George, Rhine—Cattle, 30 at 1s.	1	10	0
Boyd, Robert, do. „ 35 at	1	15	0
Sanders, Joseph, Spring, 20 and 1 cart	1	12	0
Clarke, Geo. B., Rhine, 1 carriage	3	0	0
Sterling, J. B., River View, 33	1	13	0
Brydon, Richard, Spring, 31	1	11	0
Bogle, Moses, Rhine, 32	1	12	0
Bogle, Paul, Dumobbin, 500 acres	2	1	8
Laurence, H. J., Rhine	1	14	0
	£16	8	8

(Signed) W. P. KIRKLAND,
Collector of Dues,
St. Thomas-in-the-East.

GEO. W. GORDON to PAUL BOGLE.

DEAR BOGLE, Kingston, January 13, 1863.

WE require activity in the work of the purchase of the premises, say we get donations—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Annually					10	0
40 Subscribers at 1s. each, P. M.	£2	0	0			
40 ditto at 6d.	1	0	0			
40 ditto at 3d.	0	10	0			
Per month	3	10	0			
Equal to				42	0	0
Per annum				£52	0	0

Now if this can be done in three years the chapel and repairs would be paid for. Think of this matter.

Yours, &c.

Mr. Paul Bogle. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

Clark will have to go on market days at Morant Bay and Chiggo, feet mark, and lecture and collect.

GEO. W. GORDON to PAUL BOGLE.

Mr. PAUL BOGLE,

SIR, Kingston, August 13, 1863.

I WONDER what causes the delay in the SUGAR coming on.

I am busy, but will write next post.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

Great haste.

Do not fail to let the sugar come on. The *delay* has *been too great.*

Dedmorm for suger by Mr. G. W. Gordon.

GEO. W. GORDON to PAUL BOGLE.

DEAR BOGLE, Kingston, February 4, 1863.

I EXPECT to be up by Friday or *Saturday,* and hope to see you *personally to arrange matters,* so that all may be understood and fixed.

Yours, &c.

Mr. Paul Bogle. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

GEORGE W. GORDON to PAUL BOGLE.

DEAR BOGLE, Kingston, October 26, 1863.

THE meeting at Morant Bay is fixed for Friday the 30th inst. *this week* at 12 *o'clock;* come down, and all friends.

On Sunday 1st November is the opening of the new chapel at Mount Zion, Sunning Hill district; let all the *friends know;* we hope to have a good day with God's blessing. Mrs. Gordon is to be up.

Do not rent the land till I see you. I am against it just now, but we can talk over it. Remember me to your wife and all friends.

Yours, &c.

I enclose copy of notice. Inquire at P. O. for papers. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

Remember list of voters.

Mr. Paul Bogle.

G. W. GORDON to PAUL BOGLE.

Mr. PAUL BOGLE,

DEAR BOGLE, Kingston, December 22, 1864.

I CONGRATULATE you on the announcement that your chapel will be ready for opening on *Christmas Day.* "Glory be to the Lord."

Mr. Johnston and other friends are all engaged at Christmas in the Lord's work, which is glorious, and they cannot be with you on *that* day, nor can *I,* but *you can, if convenient, postpone the* GRAND opening for another day, and I promise to be up with *some friends,* and then too I hope you will have a *good collection.*

I long to be with you all, and to put matters in the way of progress. With best wishes,

Believe me in these bonds,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

Mrs. Gordon's best wishes and sympathies. My kind remembrance to all friends.

(Signed) G. W. G.

GEO. W. GORDON to PAUL BOGLE.

DEAR BOGLE, Morant Bay, Scott's House, January 9, 1865.

I HAVE considered your application for stock; yesterday having been Sunday I could not explain. I have lost and have *disabled* a large number of stock during the *past year,* and have *none now at command.*

I am transferring my business matters in Kingston to Mr. Pieterze, and cannot *now make fresh* ADVANCES, so that I do not see the way to help you, when I could I did so in a fire mule, and afterwards aid to purchase the horse, which I now regret to find in such a miserable state. All hands have been unlucky—you, *Bowie,* and *Hamilton,* so that I think Stoney Gut will not do for horse kind. Sugars will be low; your plan now is to *hire,* and take off *your canes at once,* and pay as you go along, or see if any gentleman will agree to take your sugars, and advance what may be required for a horse or mule.

I cannot at present enter into new engagements, and I hasten to let you know at once. Please to leave with Chisholm the amount you have from the two *parties* to pay to *me.* Spunge your *horse's nose well* and send him to *Spring,* or turn him at *somewhere* to get FOOD and a *chance* of life, but I fear he is now *too far gone.*

Best wishes,

Mr. Paul Bogle. Yours, &c.

Please excuse stationery. (Signed) GEO. W. GORDON.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. GORDON to Dr. BRUCE, dated 12th September 1865.

YOU will also see the letter in the "Guardian" and the articles in the "Tribune," what more is to follow I know not. The people ought to be taught who are *their friends,* and the Governor's inconsistent conduct shown up to them in its just light. This Governor is an evil-minded man, and is *surrounded* by evil-*minded men,* so that we are all in a very bad way.

EXTRACTS of LETTERS from Mr. LEVIEN to Dr. BRUCE.

Letter dated 17th August 1865.

I THINK, however, candidly speaking, the magistrates acted very fairly, the fine was proportionate to the offence (entre nous), but I shall argue that, taking the status in society of the parties, the full penalty of the law ought to have been inflicted.

Letter dated 11th September 1865.

I COULD scarce command vital thought enough yesterday to do justice to your meeting, and against the wish of Wm. I wrote the feeble editorial that appears to second the noble exertions of the Vere people. What I desire is to shield you and them from the charge of anarchy and tumult that in a short time must follow these powerful demonstrations. How I succeeded you must judge for yourself.

EXTRACTS of LETTERS from Mr. LEVIEN to G. W. GORDON.

Letter dated June 23, 1865.

I ADMIRE the judgment delivered by Ker in your case. Unfortunately, the judges are impure, they traffic in the holy name of law and politically abase themselves, to their eternal shame. I often regret my journal is not double its size, for while the Almighty permits my brain to scourge these men, and the enemies of the Island, I find it hard not to have room.

JAMAICA.

Letter dated July 4, 1865.

WHAT is to be done at the coming session; will you be the Lord George Gordon to lead the people to the door of the Parliament to seek their rights? But with the coincidence of a name would you not dread a concurrent issue of events? Could you spare me a keg of ink, and about three dozen lengths of rule.

Dr. R. G. BRUCE to Mr. GORDON.

Private and confidential.

MY DEAR SIR, August 25, 1865.

I RECEIVED your kind note, and Mr. Phillips sent me your letter to him for perusal. I need not say that I shall feel proud and honoured by your making my cottage your home while in Vere; but I am leading a bachelor's life, and you will have to rough it. I beg to be kindly remembered to your "Darling Ducke," your friends too will have my warmest welcome. It is necessary for me state that half of the alley where Skinner is belongs to Mr. Williams, alias better known as "Silly "Billy." Now, in the event of there not allowing the meeting in front of the court-house, the ONLY other place is my wife's. NOW MARK WELL, Silly Billy *and the planters* would be *more* than happy that Mrs. Bruce's house would be *burnt down* for two reasons:—

1st.—The whole alley would belong to them to hold slavery meetings; and
2nd.—They would know that I would then have Mrs. Bruce to support. They are, you know, doing all *they* can to crush me.

NOW MARK AGAIN, *Mr. Shaw* is in possession of Mrs. Bruce's premises *as her attorney.* NOW AGAIN, Mr. Shaw is under McKinnon, and the magistrates, AND MAY *order the meeting to move out of the yard* (for you do not want the house). Now you had better call on Mrs. Bruce and get her written authority to demand security to the amount of one thousand pounds from the custos and magistrates, in case the people are driven out of Mrs. Bruce's yard, and her property meet with injury in consequence that day or for six months after. I do not anticipate that the planters will be stupid enough (fools as they are) to interfere; but you are now in possession of facts deserving consideration. At all events, I have no hesitation in *advising Mrs. Bruce* to give you a letter stating that SHE has no objection for the people to meet in her yard, if her tenant and Mr. Shaw have none, and if they will interfere with the meeting you will have to demand security for the premises, otherwise I tell you the tyrants would rejoice to see the poor things' premises destroyed to enhance the value of "Silly Billy's" place and spite me. I hope I have made myself understood, and that the safety of Mrs. Bruce's premises is what I care for. You will find Mrs. Bruce at Mrs. Jones, King Street, opposite the livery stables.

Yours, in haste,
(Signed) R. G. BRUCE.

August 25, 1865.

The people are quiet, but the tyrant planters may goad them on to mischief.

I do not wish to interfere and will not take any responsibility about Mrs. Bruce's place. I think you may expect a large meeting.

P.S.—On re-consideration I think it might be as well for Mrs. Bruce to write to me that she had no objection to the people meeting in her *yard*, but if they were driven off she would look to the authorities for any injury her property might sustain. Something like this for Mrs. B. and your consideration.

Mr. GORDON to Dr. BRUCE.

Dr. R. G. BRUCE.

MY DEAR SIR, Kingston, September 12, 1865.

I ENCLOSE note for Messrs. Johnson and Phillips. The votes need to be on for the 30th inst., if there is to be a controlling power.

You will see the short report of your meeting in "Watchman." Vaz. will copy from the "County "Union."

You will also see the letter in the "Guardian" and the articles in the "Tribune." What more is to follow I know not; the people ought to be taught who are *their friends*, and the Governor's inconsistent conduct shown up to them in its just light. This Governor is an evil-minded man, and is *surrounded* by evil-*minded men*, so that we are all in a *very bad way*. I feel thankful for the efforts you make, and I am of opinion that good will come, notwithstanding the savage spirit which is manifested at present. A few years may make a great change in Vere; *the people* must either do better or leave the parish.

You require to be as wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove in the midst of such arch-enemies; they are ready to swallow you up. As to Busha Russell; his day may come very soon; the Governor's conduct gives effrontery to such characters.

The resolutions must be copied and sent in as early as possible.

I have those of St. Thomas-in-the-East and St. Ann's yet to complete, and so much to do; my health is not so good, and the grave may soon be an asylum for me, and a release from a life of toil and suffering. Oh! that I could look for the happy change in prospect for those who *suffer here.*

It is time to apply our hearts unto wisdom and to remember our latter end.

My dear Sir, with sincere thanks for your kind and generous attention, in which Mrs. Gordon joins.

Believe me, yours ever sincerely,

Correct as you read.—G. W. G. GEO. W. GORDON.

Dr. BRUCE to Mr. GORDON.

MY DEAR MR. GORDON, September 15, 1865.

I HAVE your kind letters and enclosures.

I have 100 of "County Unions"* for distribution.

I enclose bills parcels, if you will send *Phillips* the money, he will take out the licence for you that you may take your stand with "Young Jamaica" against the tyrants of Vere. The mass are now *enthusiastic* about you in spite of McKinnon and Callaghan, for they are the prime movers, but Callaghan is not so bad, but McKinnon has nothing to lose and destructiveness is his forte.

Dr. R. G. Bruce.—For people.

To "County Union."

Printing Resolution	£3	3	0
100 copies	2	10	0

I think the people will pay this as their whole heart is in the movement. Hold on by the people of Vere, and next meeting we must have speakers from other parishes, who can rough it among the people. I have kept a copy of your letter to Shaw. Is it legal to lock the people up for two or three weeks for the value of an orange, and after that TRY and punish them?

Shaw does not like the quiet coolness of your letter. Kindest regards to your dear little wife.

Yours till death,

September 15, 1865. (Signed) R. G. BRUCE.

* 2 o'clock, p.m., 70 gone already.

AFFIDAVIT of ST. LEGER TWY against R. G. BRUCE, Vere.

JAMAICA, S.S., VERE.

ST. LEGER TWY, of the parish of Vere, states as follows:—

I am a planter and reside in Harmony Hall in this parish, the property of my brother-in-law, William J. Griffiths. Some time in the month of August last I called upon Dr. Robert George Bruce, at Lancet Hall. Dr. Bruce stated to me then that he was sorry I had ever come to Jamaica; that Mr. Griffiths was a damned brute for ever buying the estates; that he, Bruce, could swear that in less than five years there would not be a white man in Jamaica; that the black men would not hurt the white ladies, but have them as their wives, and just do with them as they did in Hayti; he also said Mr. Griffiths should throw up all his estates, and dismantle them, because the negroes would burn them down in a short time to come.

ST. LEGER TWY.

Sworn before me, this 26th day of October 1865,

JAMES M. GIBB, J.P.

DR. BRUCE'S SPEECH.

JAMAICA, S.S., VERE.

MY FRIENDS.—Mr. Gordon has come to Vere for the purpose of hearing your grievances and advising you. I hope you will speak your mind fearlessly. I hope there are no cowards here. You will be allowed to say whatever you think proper. Mr. Gordon is a friend of the people, and I, you know what I am.

I must now conclude, gentlemen, by calling Mr. Gordon to the chair. Three cheers for Mr. Gordon!

I, William Robinson Peart, of the parish of Vere, planter, do swear that I was in the alley in the said parish on Monday, the 4th day of September last, and heard the speeches delivered there by Dr. Robert George Bruce and George William Gordon, and I then took down, as near as possible, the words used by both; and I declare the above to contain the words used by Dr. Bruce on that occasion, or the substance and effect thereof.

WM. ROBINSON PEART.

Sworn before me, this 20th day of October 1865,

ROBT. RUSSELL, J.P.

JAMAICA, S.S., VERE.

The affidavit of "John Curnow," of the parish of Saint Dorothy, who being duly sworn before me, Robert Russell, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish, on the 20th day of November 1865, maketh oath:

That, on or about the 15th day of September 1865, I had a conversation with Doctor Bruce at Miss ———'s shop at Wesley's in this parish in the presence of Miss ——— and Miss ———, when Doctor Bruce said to Miss ——— that she and her sister, white and coloured girls, will be glad to have black men for their husbands. Miss ——— then asked, Why do you say that, Doctor?

JAMAICA. I also said, Doctor what do you mean by that? Doctor Bruce then said, there would be no white men left for them. I then asked Doctor Bruce where they were going. He, Doctor Bruce, then said, they will be gone home, gone somewhere, or gone to the devil.

JOHN CURNOW.

Sworn before me, this 20th day of November 1865,
ROBT. RUSSELL, J.P.

JAMAICA, S.S., VERE.

JAMES ALLMOND, of the parish of Vere, being duly sworn, states as follows:—

I reside at Pusey Hall estate in the said parish, the property of David Callaghan, Esquire, and am employed by him as clerk, and have been so employed for several years. I am acquainted with Dr. Robert George Bruce; he resides at Lancet Hall, near Pusey Hall. I had a conversation with Dr. Bruce on the 14th day of October instant, at Pusey Hall, on the subject of the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East. Dr. Bruce then stated that if the like should happen in Vere, Mr. Mackinnon's, the custos', life would not be worth a pin.

JAMES ALLMOND.

Sworn before me, this 20th day of October 1865,
D. CALLAGHAN, J.P.

JAMAICA, S.S., VERE.

JAMES RIDDEL, of the parish of Vere, being duly sworn, states as follows:—

I am a carpenter by trade, and have resided for many years at the Alley in this parish. I am acquainted with Dr. Robert George Bruce. On Saturday morning last, the 14th instant, Dr. Bruce had his breakfast sent to the Alley, and he ate in my room there. We had already heard of the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and were talking about it. Dr. Bruce said, in reference to the outbreak, that they took the wrong way to do it; they should have set the fire-stick, or words to that effect.

JAMES RIDDEL.

Sworn before me, this 20th day of October 1864,
JAMES M. GIBB, J.P., Vere.

Personally appeared before me, D. Callaghan, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace, James Robinson Gordon, who being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith:—

That a few days after the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East had broken out, Dr. R. G. Bruce in remarking on it said that the Rebels were damned fools for attempting to destroy the white and coloured people in the way they were doing. The better way would be for them to agree throughout the Island, and in one night massacre them. That the blacks should go to each estate in parties, when they might easily murder them all. He said that the Maroons had joined the Rebels, thus impressing my mind with the idea of his being acquainted with the design of the Rebels, and in a great degree implicated in the murderous affair.

J. ROBINSON GORDON.

Sworn before me, this 29th day of November 1865,
D. CALLAGHAN, J.P.

Mr. LEVIEN to MR. GORDON.

MY DEAR SIR, Montego Bay, June 23, 1865.

I WROTE hurriedly at early post to-day forgetting that I could have waited till evening packet post. What number of presses have you? What size are they? What number of cases, and of what type, and probable weight, or are they full cases? What number of job cases? What quantity of fancy types, &c.? What materials for bookbinding, &c., &c.?

I would much like to make my paper double its size, and could do so if I could *hire* or *rent* the plant.

I would give good security for rent and my insurance, and keep up same, say the office plant and 300*l*, and if it suited to me I would give 10 per cent. interest upon its value, agreeing to re-pack and return free of cost, if required, the whole back to Kingston, you paying package in the first instance. I state these terms only in the idea that you may like to rent if you cannot find a purchaser, and that the materials may suit me to add to my present stock, as then with some paper I might go in for Government work, which I do not trouble with at present, as it would occupy my presses too much for the issue of the paper and such work as I already have. I do this to save time in correspondence if it lead to any arrangement.

I admired the judgment delivered by Kerr in your case; unfortunately the judges are impure; they traffic in the holy name of law, and politically abase themselves to their eternal shame. I often regret my journal is not double its size, for while the Almighty permits my brain to scourge these men and the enemies of the Island, I find it hard not to have room.

Your Kingston press is positively lazy and effete. I am too well supported here to come up, but I have often thought I should like the change in order to be more influential and more dreaded. I

am getting old now, and desire to effect a reform, God willing, in my own time, though I fear it will not so be given me.

Faithfully yours,

P.S.—Lindo is very sick at present. SIDNEY LEVIEN.

G. W. Gordon, Esq.

MR. GORDON to MR. LEVIEN.

[*Private.*]

MY DEAR SIR, Kingston, Sept. 19, 1863.

I HAVE under consideration 13 new bills for the next sessions, some of which I trust may meet with attention. Hitherto there has been no progress in useful legislation, but the wants of country become urgent. I am saddling myself with a great deal of work, for which I shall receive *no thanks*, but a sense of duty impels me.

I too, like you, have suffered much by the appeal law in P. D. cases, and the ignorance and revengeful feeling of Judge Kerr have both alike made me *feel*. Your case is even worse than any of mine. What are you doing in the matter?

Your member, Mr. Bourke, is an able hand. Will he attend to the revision of this appeal law? Are you and he on good terms? I wish to know?

I am now on the *Petty Debt Act*. I intend to have monthly courts to sit for a week, if required, and to pay justices 10*s*. 6*d*. each sitting, and to place the collectors under police regulations, with a salary and *small commissions*. I am trying to be with you by October in St. James. I learn that you were in Kingston, but I had not the pleasure of seeing you. Doubtless you saw how desolate matters appeared. Surely all hands must perceive the *signs of the times*.

I have not time to add more than that I am,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

S. Levien, Esq. GEO. W. GORDON.

MR. LEVIEN to MR. GORDON.

DEAR SIR, Montego Bay, July 4, 1865.

YOU will perceive by the "Union" of this date why I was unable to reply to your favour by last post. I cannot attempt to purchase, though the temptation is great. My means will not allow me. And too I have a lot of type, as I expect, already *en route* to my office. As to a paper instructing the labouring classes it has long ere this occupied my thoughts. But as a paying operation I doubt its possibility.

It could only be accomplished through funds raised specially to protect against loss and further the political object in view. Unfortunately the people, the masses of this Colony, neither are a reading population nor a political one, and 'twould be long ere they could be taught to understand how much they require, and how much they would gain by such instruction as a paper dedicated to their interest would inevitably bring about. I could undertake it in the plan of Cobbet's "Register," a great paper in its day.

What *is* to be done at the coming session? Will you be the Lord George Gordon to lead the people to the door of the Parliament to seek their rights? But with the coincidence of a name, would you not dread a concurrent issue of events? Could you spare me a keg of ink, and about three dozen lengths of rule.

Yours faithfully,

G. W. Gordon, Esq. SIDNEY LEVIEN.

MR. LEVIEN to DR. BRUCE.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Montego Bay, May 17, 1865.

YOUR welcome letter of this day's post reminded me how rude I have been in overlooking your previous letters. Indeed I am so occupied (now that the paper is enlarged, and that it is increasing each week in circulation) in endeavouring to make it worthy of this side the county, that letter writing is difficult of accomplishment.

I trust I keep up to the mark, and hope so to do to the end. Your letter was in print with your name *in extenso*, and a copy of it actually struck off when I suddenly remembered that *as an official* you were forbidden to write in the paper. I instantly stopped the press, and tore up the few with your name, and altered the signature as you find it. I send you four spare copies, all I have.

Ever my dear friend,

SIDNEY LEVIEN.

MR. LEVIEN to DR. BRUCE.

MY DEAR FRIEND, August 17, *midnight*.

As I cannot answer your letters post day, I must e'en take another time for them, and as this night I am restless to a degree that almost works me to madness, so wearisome is my distress of mind at the wretched disquiet that assails me as night draws on, I may as well devote my * to yourself. I have given out to be published the fracas and its result at the court-house, and possibly my editorial on Russel's conduct. But, my dear friend, are you not fighting with shadows, are you not making your bed uneasy and of thorns, simply through your appreciation (over valued) of myself and politics? Why not at your time of life take the world as you find it, letting it wag as you will, and good faith wagging with it? You cannot alter the social state of affairs; you cannot

JAMAICA.

out of the sow's ear of society make the silk purse of amelioration for the lower orders, as ungrateful a set of people to throw oneself away for as God in his creative power ever built up. Why not, my dear doctor, rather eat with the planters than shorten your commons with their serfs. For myself it is different. I care not for them, and they must take my physic, *bon gre mal gre*. My mission is hot water,—to scald, to kill. Yours, the tepid emollient bath. I cannot see why you will persist in going against the stream. I think, however, candidly speaking, the magistrates acted very fairly, the fine was proportionate to the offence (*entre nous*); but I shall argue that taking the status in society of the parties the full penalty of the law ought to have been inflicted. *Au reste*, take not any further trouble in the matter, for I fear the Governor would be against you, so much is he compelled to succumb to men of the McKinnon stamp. What I mean is in respect to the complaint of the *smallness of the bail*. For the other affair I think a copy of the sentence simply a statement that you are the coroner, and that such language used *to you* and *by a magistrate* is such a flagrant violation of propriety that society calls for Russel's dismissal from the commission of the peace. But introduce no extraneous matter, short, truthful, and plain your statement, and it should lead, backed as it will be by the "Union," to the expurgation, "solution of continuity" you medical men call it, of Russel from * and prevent * longer with the neighbouring justices.

* Sic.

I have written you a long letter, but place it not as truly to my friendship, as Byron says "My "slumbers, if I slumber, are not sleep," but a continuation of endurance, to my disquietude is owing the breadth of this. I really wish I could break from desk for a short time. But 'tis impossible. I have not a soul to trust the paper to, and it is my *alter ego*. If it speaks not I must be silent in the grave myself, but I am truly wearing myself out, not to say in actual labour, but in the waste of living particles that fly from me, and *know no repair*. What, my dear friend, shall replace them when they leave me a wreck in my old age if I attain longevity? If I could but sleep *at* will, or sleep *

* Sic.

will, so that I rested I might * . But I cannot for a day put down my pen. The paper is rapidly going a-head, and with me that is an incentive to increase draughts upon the brain. I must make the "Union" the first journal in the Colony, or die in the attempt. Fancy, since the 1st August and the planters' league articles, I have gained some *thirty-four* subscribers (if my memory at this late hour serves me) from your parish, Aitcheson, Parke, Phillip, Skinner.

What a fearful commentary on professional hate is there in the Bowerbank affair. I have no acquaintance with either of the two, B. or A., but I will do all I can, as owning an English heart, to advocate their cause against such dastardly persecution. And now, my dear friend, my eyes, not my communing with you, give out.

Ever yours truly,
SIDY. LEVIEN.

Not till I turned over did I see that the paper had been commenced on—

MY DEAR FRIEND, Friday morning, 18th.

YOU will see by to-day's paper that I have touched off Russel. I think that if you desire it you should write to the Governor a short letter, the shorter the better, giving a copy of the conviction from out of the clerk of the peace's office, or better, a certified copy of the evidence from the clerk of the peace's book, with the sentence appended. That ought to cook his goose for him.

Ever, S. L.

MR. LEVIEN to DR. BRUCE.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Montego Bay, Sept. 11, 1865.

HERE am I again prostrated by fever, which after two days' suffering Dr. Wilson succeeded in breaking, but it has left me so cruelly debilitated, placed of the last one in July, that I am feeling myself a broken-down man, entering upon "the beginning of the end." I could scarce command vital thought enough yesterday to do justice to your meeting, and against the wish of Wm. J., I wrote the feeble editorial that appear to second the noble exertions of the Vere people. What I desire is to shield you and them from the charge of anarchy and tumult that in a short time must follow these powerful demonstrations. How I succeeded you must judge yourself.

I send you to-day, as ordered, 100 copies of the paper, the cost of which is 50*s*. I place an account along with this, that while their feelings are in the right vein the subscription may be made up. For unless immediately done these things invariably fall to the ground, and those who can least afford it have to pay the piper, or the paper—there's a play for a sick man.

I do not know whether you can make out this nervous scrawl. My hand vibrates to the total extinguishment of the system, and though yesterday I drank fully a pint of sherry and two glasses of champagne—for I require urgent stimulants—I am shakey to-day as though I were 80 years old, an age I always pray God not to grant me, seeing how sensitive my mind is in responding to the ills of the flesh and decay of the constitution.

I cannot reply to Mr. Curtur's attentive letter, nor to Mr. Phillips'. Thank them for me, as also the first for his kind intention in bringing round your Vere.

I had almost forgotten the Governor's reply. You could scarce expect any other. Annoy yourself no more about it; let your first vexation be your last. The reign of Eyre and Russel could not display and better a more correct action.

God bless you, my dear friend,
SIDNEY LEVIEN.

THE "COUNTY UNION AND ANGLO-JAMAICAN ADVERTISER." JAMAICA.

Montego Bay, September 12, 1865.

COMING EVENTS.

ANOTHER large gathering of the people has taken place—another demonstration speaking of their distressed condition has been made—this time in Vere, the very focus of an immense population who complain that they cannot find employment, and that, as a natural consequence, they are running headlong to ruin, their young men finding their way into the gaols and penitentiary, their old people dying of neglect and starvation, their females adding to that victimized horde of scarlet sin that is so great a curse to this ill-governed Colony. To these meetings it is undoubtedly true that no men of high position give their countenance—that custodes refuse the use of the court-houses in which the voice of the people may be legitimately raised—that magistrates and other officials keep aloof and thus afford a portion of the press and the Governor himself an opportunity of decrying the demonstration as of no import—as led by "frothy demagogues"—as simply the machinations of one or two master spirits who desire to obstruct the Government and attain a popularity by the "mischief"—so it is termed—they can accomplish. But those who take the pains to analyze these gatherings of the people cannot fail to perceive that they are more than surface indications of the public mind. When the "public mind" was represented by one interest alone—the magnates of the land—who with their wealth and power could control all expression of opinion but their own, such demonstrations could have been put down with no more exertion than a wave of the hand and a simple direction to the head constable. Times, however, have altered very materially. The toe of the peasant gibes the heel of his former master, and claims for itself free right to plant itself wherever it pleases. So, also, those dumb dogs—dumb by the very servile associations in which they were reared—now bay loudly, and with somewhat more of licence than is pleasant, not to their employers for their employers are nearly as badly off as they, and would fain make cause with them against the Queen's House. But they do bark and growl, and utter most discordant notes to the ears of those who, holding the reigns of Government, are blind to the portents of the hour—to the signs of the times—to the steady progress that is making towards effecting, by moral force, that relief from the oppression of taxation which never will be granted until it is discovered that it will be impossible to withhold it.

The speeches delivered and resolutions come to at the Vere meeting—a full report of which appears in this day's issue—will be treated as emanations from a parcel of people of no great consequence to society—as expressing opinions that carry with them no weight—as of no earthly moment to stay the onward course of Government—as idle in any real utility to those from whom they emanated. We do not treat them so contemptuously. It must be borne in mind that sentiments similar in tone and determination have been uttered in almost every parish, and that when an entire people become imbued with earnest convictions, it is a rule that has held from the commencement of the world, that they have forced them on the Government and compelled their recognition. It must not be that because, only now, the people are emerging from their darkness that the light blinds their eyes to it. The people see now as clearly as it is safe for them to see, and it will be fatuity in those to whom they explain their visions to pretend that they are blind to them. What Quashie said at the Vere meeting—what the negro speakers said at the St. Thomas-in-the-East meeting—what they said in St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland—wherever their gatherings have held—may have been expressed in plain language. But nevertheless it was the language of truth. Spoke they of the distress they felt, of the hardship of the times and the difficulty of finding employment from the planters, what was that but what in more elegant wording—and with more force as coming from them—Messrs. Raines, Waite, Smith, and George Solomons declared to be the solemn truth as regards the position of the planters? Did the various negro speakers allude to the oppressive taxation under which we labour, what did they say that has not been said by most of the Island papers, and by every gentleman of intelligence who cares to allow his feelings full play? True it is that the Kingston papers in their editorials handle the subject gingerly—but take the letters they permit to appear, and see how thoroughly they endorse the views and words of the illiterate peasantry. Say the negroes of Vere that immigration is a curse to the Island and to them, what is this declaration but a re-echo of what was said the other day by a landed proprietor in his address to the electors who had that moment returned him as their representative? He said the export duty must be taken off because the immigration scheme was a failure and had been of no service. At the meeting Quashie inveighed against the roads; so, too, did Mr. Barrett. Yet we shall see, so soon as to-day's paper reaches Kingston, loud outcry against the people of Vere, as though they—the Quashies—had no right to say what their betters say, and as though that were treason in a poor peasant which is loudly "hurrahed" and "hear heared" in the man of many acres.

So, again, take as a whole, the sentiments uttered by the several persons who endeavoured to explain the grievances under which they laboured. They will be treated as so much sedition—as revolutionary in their tendency—as the rank outpourings of demagogueism instilled, fostered, by those who are accused of making politics a trade. Utterly unworthy of attention are such strictures. Let those who write thus point out *who* makes the living, where are the proceeds apparent as profitable to these teachings? We have watched the course of public men for over thirty years, and never yet found out the profit of such investment. Yet we have seen those *on the other side* feather their nests comfortably, and exhibit signs of prosperous dealings in *their* way. To return, however, to the meeting, and the sentiments expressed thereat. If we were to condense them into a summary, what do they disclose but the same grievances which the "Falmouth Post" of only last Friday so ably places before the Colony? Says that journal:—

"Messrs. Hosack and Hamilton continue at the head of the administration of affairs: they encourage,

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if not directly, at all events indirectly, the same wrong doings that they found fault with when the seals of office were in other hands; and their whole policy is injurious to the interests of all classes of the population. Session after session the burden of taxation, instead of being lessened is increased; new imposts are levied for useless purposes; trade is crippled by the exaction of enormous duties; and the demand for retrenchment,—a demand which is caused by the impoverished circumstances of the country,—is treated with indifference and contempt. There must, then, be '*a pressure from without' stronger than any that has been hitherto made, to secure to the colonists the object which each individual has at heart,* and we are confident that a movement of this kind, energetically and resolutely pursued, is *the only one calculated to effect the suppression of abuses that would not be tolerated in any other colonial possession of the Queen of England.* Let it be shown, legally, and in a temperate, respectful manner, that the suffering inhabitants of Jamaica cannot endure any longer the oppressive taxation to which they are subjected, and that it is absolutely necessary to grant them the relief they claim, in consequence of the serious pressure of the times. Let it be shown that the decadence of agriculture and commerce has caused distress among the middling and lower classes of society; that while planters and merchants are reduced in circumstances, mechanics, *prædial labourers, and tradesmen find it difficult to obtain the common necessaries of life;* and that nothing less than a wholesome, effective scheme of retrenchment *will save the country from the ruin and misery with which it is threatened.* Let it be further shown, that as the descendants of Britons we know how to appreciate the privileges conceded to us by the British constitution; that *we will not patiently submit to heartless persecution whoever the Pharaohs may be that would subject us to the cruelties of an Egyptian bondage;* that we have liberties and rights which we will protect at all hazards; and that we have a Sovereign and an Imperial Parliament to whose justice we will appeal, if it be determined to treat us as nothing better than degraded bondsmen. Governor Eyre is, to a certain extent, his own master, and he must make his election to repose on a bed of roses or a bed of thorns. A great deal will depend upon the instructions which he will give to his ministerial organs. He has a generous-hearted people to deal with, and we earnestly implore him to take advantage of their wish to respect and esteem him as the representative of Her Majesty; but we would have him bear in mind *that the taxes of this year* WILL *not,* CANNOT, BE COLLECTED; that an end must be put to arbitrary, iniquitous legislation; and that all persons must have the benefit of living comfortly and decently on the limited means which are still at their disposal. There must be a general reduction of expenditure. Every public and parochial officer must be called upon to submit with a good grace to the lessening of his income, and be content to receive the amount which can be honestly given; and with regard to the Main Road Statute, it must be repealed, and better provision made for made for making and repairing roads and bridges."

The italics in the above extract are ours, used for the purpose of adding strength to the forcible and flowing language of our contemporary, No one will accuse the "Post," any more than *this* journal, of inciting the people to acts of violence or resistance to the Government. Yet "the people "of VERE" have only said what it and we say, whenever we have to write upon the present unhappy position of the colony. And what *they* say as a body has even greater force—from its social consideration and import—than what flows from our pens. It is full time for the Government to be up and doing—it is full time for it to consider whether it will yield to the necessities of the people or goad them on to desperation by a continuance of taxation it will be impossible to enforce. The cloud at present is no bigger than a man's hand; it will be at the peril of Mr. EYRE and his advisers if it swell into many men's hands raised in anger against his and their oppression and misrule.

PUBLIC MEETING in VERE.

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Vere, held at the Alley on Monday the 4th of September 1865, to take into consideration the state of the parish in connexion with Dr. Underhill's letter and the circular issued by Governor Eyre as the "Queen's advice." On motion of Dr. R. G. Bruce, seconded by Mr. Alex. Phillips, Mr. G. W. Gordon, Member for St. Thomas-in-the-East, was unanimously called to the chair, and the following resolutions were proposed by Mr. Alexander Phillips, seconded by Mr. Benjamin Reid, and supported by Messrs. Delahay Alcide, Wm. D. Reid, Thos. Phillips, Alex. McGregor, James Johnson, Jas. Roberts, and Wm. Osborn, all of which resolutions were carried by acclamation :—

Resolved, 1st. That this meeting would now give expression of humility and thankfulness to Almighty God for sustaining mercies, and under our present deep distresses, arising principally from the misgoverned state of the Island and the serious effect of a long season of drought, with the low prices of our productions, by which desolation and misery have overtaken the inhabitants of this Colony (and particularly this parish), desires to implore the Divine interposition on our behalf.

2nd. That this meeting tenders its warmest thanks to Dr. Underhill and the great philanthropists of England for their generous sympathy and watchfulness over our welfare, and hopes that our loyalty and obedience to the laws will continue to merit their consideration; and also, that this meeting solemnly endorses the truthfulness of Dr. Underhill's letter, as well as the letter to his Excellency the Governor from the Reverends G. R. Henderson, Benjamin Millard, D. J. East, John Clark, J. E. Henderson, Ellis Fray, Walter Dendy, and William Claydon, ministers of the "Baptist Union," Jamaica.

3rd. That this meeting records its unalterable conviction that class-legislation being the rule in this mal-governed island, will speedily end in total ruin to the tradesmen and labouring classes of this country, and would gratefully record its best thanks to Geo. W. Gordon and Wellesley Bourke, Esquires, and the other gentlemen who have so nobly defended the rights of the people of this

country, and stood up for fair legislation in the interest of the general community, also to Sidney Levien, Esquire, editor of the "County Union" for his impartial and able advocacy on behalf of all classes of this Island.

4th. That the enormous amount of unjust taxation for the support of the estates of absentee proprietors by coolie immigrants and otherwise, is tending to seal the fate of the sugar estates in this parish, and that coolie immigration is demoralizing, and has drained and continues to drain the Island of money, thereby entailing starvation and misery on town and country. With about 400 coolies in this parish, and dry weather, the natives have not had sufficient work to keep them from starvation. Tyranny, misery, injustice, debauchery, and disease are the fruits of coolie immigration on the sugar estates in this parish.

5th. That the present high and annually increasing taxation is disproportionate to the diminished resources of the Island, while the heavy impositions on the necessary articles of food and clothing are particularly felt in this parish, where the inhabitants principally depend on flour, rice, and meal for the means of subsistence, and where the scarcity of land and the very low rate of wages, and difficulty of obtaining work, render life barely that of existence, many of the inhabitants perishing from destitution and the want of necessary clothing; and that therefore early relief is called for, and all unnecessary expenses in connexion with Government should be curtailed.

6th. That the heavy annual expenditure in connexion with the support of the State church of this Island, and its ministers, is an unnecessary and grievous expense for no adequate good, and is felt to be oppressive and irritating to the minds of the inhabitants generally, and should be discontinued as an item of taxation.

7th. That this meeting desires to record its sad regret that his Excellency the Governor identifies himself with the custodes of this Island in much of the oppression and injustice which prevail, particularly in this parish, and that the refusal of Mr. Custos Mackinnon of the people's "requisition" to convene a meeting for the consideration of matters affecting their interest is arbitrary, oppressive, and destructive of confidence, and tends to create discontent and mar the peace of this parish.

8th. That this meeting feels it a duty to give expression of regret at many of the laws lately passed the Legislature, and also at the partial, indecent, and illegal proceedings attending the administration of justice in this parish, by which a system of terror and oppression is exercised by overseer-magistrates towards the working classes, while appeals to his Excellency the Governor for redress seem hopeless, and that therefore some specific remedy must be early adopted by application to the Mother Country, in order to obviate ultimate direful consequences.

9th. That the present unsatisfactory state of the Old Harbour Road, from the effects of the tramroad irons, so injurious to the inhabitants of the parish in the transport of goods and produce, and also to all travellers on the said road, and that the conduct of the Governor and Executive Committee in connexion with this nuisance, is fraught with evil to the best interests of the community, and that the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Hon. Geo. Price for the efforts he has made in order to prevent and remedy the evil consequences of the conduct of the Government on this subject.

10th. That this meeting regrets to find a portion of the press of this Island putting forth unwarranted statements, both with reference to Dr. Underhill's letter and the real condition of the people, and that such uncandid conduct is at variance with the true interest of the country; tending to mislead, and thus do serious injury to the cause of truth, and to impede the progress of society.

11th. That the Circular which has been so extensively issued by his Excellency the Governor (as the Queen's advice having been evidently intended by the Colonial Secretary for certain poor persons of St. Ann's in reply to their particular memorial, and not to the general community of Jamaica, may not be considered applicable to the people of Vere, and it is to be regretted that the Governor had not made proper inquiry, so as to obtain correct information for the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and thus have saved an undue amount of irritation to the minds of the working classes generally.

12th. That the inhabitants of this parish feel it to be a duty incumbent on them to give expression to their deep and warm sense of gratitude to Dr. Robert George Bruce, who has for a period of nearly forty years devoted himself to the best interests of the people, in defending them against oppression and wrong, and protecting their rights and privileges on all occasions in the Assembly, when member for this parish, and otherwise in his official and private calling, and also for his faithful conduct as coroner, and in cases of sickness ministering as medical practitioner to the wants and necessities of the poor, without reference to personal considerations—thereby deserving the lasting thanks of the parishioners. And that therefore the Chairman on behalf of this meeting do tender the same to Dr. Bruce, with a copy of this resolution, in the most acceptable manner.

13th. That these Resolutions be published once in all the Island newspapers, and that a committee be appointed by the chairman to obtain subscriptions and take all proper steps in order to give effect to the sentiments of this meeting, and to petition Parliament and the House of Assembly, and to wait on the Governor with a copy of these Resolutions for transmission to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and also that the chairman be requested to send copies to Dr. Underhill, the Right Hon. George Price, and the Anti-Slavery Society of England, and that the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Chairman for his conduct in presiding over its proceedings.

Committee:—Messrs. Alex. Phillips, H. Alcide, Alex. McGregor, Wm. Duggan Reid, James Roberts, Thos. Phillips, Wm. Osborn, David Nowland, Edward Russell, Wm. Hurst, James Hamilton, and Richard Francis.

GEO. W. GORDON, *Chairman.*
ALEX. PHILLIPS, *Secretary.*

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The Hon. EDWARD JORDON, C.B.,

SIR, Old Harbour, S.O., September 27, 1865.

I HAVE to acknowledge your Despatch of 23rd September, No. 1,719, requesting on his Excellency's behalf that I would report on a public meeting lately held in Vere, and on the resolutions passed at it.

The meeting was got up by Dr. Bruce, a man so completely without the sense of right and wrong that one is obliged in charity to think him to some extent insane. He is utterly disreputable; he was the only white man connected with it. The only other persons whose names I know are a Mr. Benjamin Reid, a man who was once my groom, and a Mr. A. Phillips, a working tailor, both black men. All the rest are quite unknown to me, and I am told that the meeting was composed of the lowest of the low, many of whom carried bludgeons, and were heard to express their hopes that they might have a chance of giving the white men a licking that day. No magistrate attended it, no clergyman or missionary, and the most respectable classes of the negroes would not attend. As the character of Mr. Gordon, who presided over it by invitation, is well known to his Excellency, I need say nothing of him.

As his Excellency desires it, I shall endeavour to wade though the resolutions.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 seem to require no remark; of No. 4 I shall only say that without the coolies we could not reap the crops in Vere, and I cannot see what they have got to do with "tyranny, misery, "injustice, debauchery, and disease;" they have so far been a very well behaved, quiet people. Of course our labourers would like to have the monopoly of our labour market, which would be simply ruinous to the masters.

Of No. 5 I would say that plenty of land could be bought in Vere at a reasonable price, say from 3*l.* to 5*l.* an acre. "*Many* of the inhabitants perishing from destitution and the want of necessary "clothing" is a gross mis-statement. During the severe drought of the last two years the labourers have no doubt suffered, as have all classes, and smallpox coming among them at that time, some few have perished in consequence of privation under that disease, but among a population that cannot be less than 10,000, that would happen in any country. All the sick have been visited by the parochial medical men, and aided as far as means could be procured, and, upon the whole, the people of Vere are very well off.

Nos. 6 and 7 seem to require no remark from me, except that I refused to call a public meeting, because I consider that the custodes of this country are a great deal too facile in calling public meetings at requisitions, which agitators get up under the pretence of considering so-called grievances, but in fact to make themselves of importance. These meetings do an infinite deal of mischief, and it is no doubt to those held in connexion with Mr. Underhill's letter that the late commotions in some of the leeward parishes are to be ascribed, and I humbly submit that it would be wise of the Government to use its influence with custodes and chief magistrates to discourage such meetings in future. Our people are not yet sufficiently advanced in education and civilization to understand their purpose, but they get to think themselves very unfortunate, and very ill-used, and to meditate evil against the persons and property of the upper classes. In no other country that I ever heard of, or read of, would the chiefs of the magistracy be allowed to preside over such meetings as are held here.

Of No. 8 I would say that I do not believe that in any country in the world is justice more purely administered than in the local courts of Vere. The magistrates are all men of fair education, who have brought themselves forward to the management of estates by good conduct and character, who are compelled by their avocations—being not only agriculturists, but manufacturers and accountants—to reflect a good deal, and who, used to the superintendence of large gangs from their youth up, and to consider and settle the questions of right and wrong which are constantly arising among the people, go through a training which is not a bad one for the graver duties of magistrates; the decisions are given in the face of the public. Numerous cases are decided every week, there are very few appeals, and I do not at present remember that any decision of the magistrates of Vere has for a length of time been set aside; I certainly have heard of none.

The rest of the resolutions, being on general subjects, do not seem to require any remark from me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LOUIS MACKINNON,
Custos of Vere.

DR. BRUCE to ALEX. PHILLIPS.

3*s.* 4½*d.* sent per bearer.

[*Private.*]

MY DEAR SIR, Sunday morning.

MANY thanks for your kindness. I am glad that your little one is doing well.

I gave it to them yesterday at the Alley right and left.

* Sic. Mr. * came from town yesterday; he says it is reported that the Hon. E. Thompson is to *impeach* the Governor for imbecility, &c.

The planters will cut their own throats. Had you been in the court-house yesterday I am sure you would be frightened.

I hope you will be down on Tuesday; I wish to introduce you to Mr. Jackson, &c.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) R. G. BRUCE.

FOUND amongst DR. BRUCE'S PAPERS, supposed to be in ALEXANDER PHILLIPS'S HANDWRITING.

NAMES of PERSONS enlisted for the VOLUNTEERS.

1. Alexander Phillips.
2. Alexander McGregor.
3. William Duggan Reid.
4. Thomas Phillips.
5. Samuel Bartley.
6. William Prince.
7. Thomas Howard.
8. John Martin.
9. William Rickett.
10. James Miller.
11. William Harrison.
12. John Reid.
13. David Nowland.
14. William Lord.
15. James Williams.
16. Henry Pieterzs.
17. William Gordon.
18. Henry Prince.
19. William Broadfoot.
20. Edward Donaldson.
21. John Donaldson.
22. William McCray.
23. Richard Samuels.
24. Augustus Feurtado.
25. John Fothergill.
26. Thos. Lewin.
27. Thomas Jones.
28. Robt. German.
29. Geo. Hibbert.
30. Francis Golding.
31. Robert Knight.
32. Edward Jones.
33. Jeremiah Davis.
34. James Bartley.
35. James Kelly, junior.
36. James McKenzie, senior.
37. Thos. Dawkins.
38. James Golding.
39. James Broadfoot.
40. William Samuels.
41. James McKenzie, junior.
42. Robert Smith.
43. William Reid.
44. David Sutherland.
45. William Robinson.
46. Samuel Gale.
47. William Gale.
48. William McLean.
49. Thomas Carpenter.
50. Thomas Edwards.
51. Thomas Buckley.
52. Edward Lewin.
53. Robert Foster.
54. John Thompson Reid.
55. William Matthews.
56. James Matthews.
57. Chas. Bennett.
58. Thos. Jenkins.
59. Thos. Gowland Rose.
60. Thomas James.
61. Chas. James.
62. Alexander White.
63. Henry White.
64. Robert Osborn.
65. John Sutherland, junior.
66. William Beaton.
67. William Coles.
68. John Campbell.
69. James Brightley, senior.
70. Peter Campbell.
71. Henry Campbell.
72. William Brightley.
73. Samuel Brightley.
74. William Quier.
75. William Lewin, senior.
76. Robert Lewin.
77. William Lewin, junior.
78. Louis Knight.
79. Francis Beckford.
80. Robert Brown.
81. Henry Drummond.
82. Thos. Cargill.
83. Geo. Douglas.
84. Francis Edwards.
85. Henry Roberts.
86. Morgan Pieterzs.
87. John Cummings.
88. James Thomas.
89. James Grant.
90. Robert Mitchell.
91. Richard Chambers.
92. Richard Francis.
93. Henry Matthews.
94. Robt. Brightly.
95. Chas. Reid.
96. James Green.
97. John Bartley.
98. William Morrison.
99. James Smith.
100. Geo. Ford.
101. Joseph Ridge.
102. Geo. Quire.
103. Chas. McKenzie.

NAMES of PERSONS to be enlisted as VOLUNTEERS (HAYES DISTRICT).

1. Alexander Phillips (maroon).
2. Alexander McGregor.
3. William Duggan Reid.
4. Thos. Phillips (maroon).
5. Samuel Bartley.
6. William Prince.
7. Thomas Howard.
8. John Martin.
9. William Rickett.
10. James Miller.
11. William Harrison.
12. John Reid.
13. David Nowland.
14. William Lord.
15. James Williams.
16. Henry Pieterzs.
17. William Gordon.
18. Henry Prince.
19. William Broadfoot.
20. Edward Donaldson.
21. John Donaldson.
22. William McCray.
23. Richard Samuel.
24. Augustus Feurtado.
25. John Fothergill.
26. Thos. Lewin.
27. Thomas Jones.
28. Robert German.
29. Geo. Hibbert.
30. Francis Golding.
31. Robt. Knight.
32. Edward Jones.
33. Jeremiah Davis.
34. James Bartley.
35. James Kelly, junior.
36. James McKenzie, senior.
37. Thos. Dawkins.
38. James Golding.
39. James Broadfoot.
40. William Samuel.
41. John Pennant.
42. James McKenzie, junior.
43. Robert Smith.
44. James Parker Lewin.
45. William Reid.
46. David Sutherland.
47. William Robinson.
48. Samuel Gale.
49. William Gale.
50. William McLean.
51. Thomas Carpenter.
52. Thomas Edwards.
53. Thomas Buckley.
54. Edward Lewin.
55. Robert Foster.
56. John Thompson Reid.
57. William Matthews.
58. James Matthews.
59. Chas. Bennett.
60. Thos. Jenkins.
61. Thomas Gowland Rose.
62. Thomas James.
63. Chas. James.
64. Alexander White.
65. Henry White.
66. Robt. Osborn.
67. John Sutherland, junior.
68. William Beaton.
69. William Coles.
70. John Campbell.
71. James Brightley.
72. Peter Campbell.
73. Henry Campbell.
74. William Brightley.
75. Samuel Brightley.
76. William Quier.
77. William Lewin, senior.
78. Robt. Lewin.
79. William Lewin, junior.
80. Louis Knight.
81. Francis Beckford.
82. Robert Brown.
83. Henry Drummonds.
84. Thos. Cargill.
85. George Douglas.
86. Francis Edwards.
87. Henry Roberts.

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88. Morgan Pieterzs.
89. John Cummings.
90. James Thomas.
91. James Grant.
92. Robert Mitchell.
93. Richard Chambers.
94. Richard Francis.
95. Henry Matthews.
96. Robt. Brightley.
97. Chas. Reid.
98. James Green.
99. John Bartley.
100. William Morrison.
101. James Smith.
102. Geo. Ford.
103. Joseph Ridge.
104. Geo. Quier.
105. Chas. McKenzie.
106. Peter Bryan.
107. James Quier.
108. Henry Clark.
109. Thos. Hibbert.
110. William Patience.
111. William Miles.
112. Benjamin Miles.
113. John Edward Kelley.
114. James Kelley, senior.
115. Geo. Ellis.
116. Francis Reid.
117. James Anderson.
118. James Ledford.
119. John McLeod.
120. Henry Thomas.
121. William Davis.
122. Thos. Osborn.
123. William Gilbert.

LIST of NAMES found amongst Mr. G. W. GORDON'S PAPERS, with REMARKS by Police Magistrate BICKNELL as to each, so far as known.

Paul Bogle - - -	Hung.
William Darby - - -	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in rebellion.
William Bogle - - -	Hung.
William Bowie - - -	Shot.
Daniel Bailey - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Charged as a Rebel, but absconded.
William Bailey - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in rebellion.
Thomas Darby - - -	Shot.
George Tobin - - -	Flogged.
William Taylor - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in rebellion.
Alexander Laing - - -	Not known.
Thomas Collins - - -	Living at the Spring. Not known in the rebellion.
Edward Reid - - -	Living at York. Committed for trial.
John Reid - - - -	Not known.
Alexander Hill - - -	Living at Whitehall. Not known in rebellion.
Edward Thompson - - -	The same.
Richard Cayley - - -	Not known.
William his × mark. McDermott - -	Not known.
David his × mark. Richards - - -	Hung.
George his × mark. Harris - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in rebellion.
Moses his × mark. McKgilory - -	The same.
James his × mark. Kennedy - - -	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
James his × mark. Gibson - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in rebellion.
Alexander his × mark. Hamilton - -	Hung.
Moses his × mark. Francis - -	Hung.
Jame his × mark. Buie - - -	Hung.
Joseph his × mark. Hamilton - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in rebellion.
Jeffrey his × mark. Davis - - -	Hung.
Frederick his × mark. Bunyon - -	Living at Stony Gut. Committed for trial.
William his × mark. Ford - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Committed for trial.
Edward his × mark. Bailey - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in rebellion.
Collin Briant - - -	Not known.
George Robinson - - -	Not known.
John Mason - - -	Not known.
Joseph Wignall - - -	Not known.
George his × mark. Eliott - - -	Living at the Spring. Not known in the rebellion.
Richard Warren - - -	A preacher, suspended.

James Knight	Committed for trial.
Thomas Williams	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
John Campbell	Living at Spring Garden. Flogged.
William Grant	Living at York. Not known in the rebellion.
Andrew Grant	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
William B. Lake	Not known.
Emanuel H. Graham	Living at Mount Vernon. Not known in the rebellion.
John B. White	Living at Seaforth. Not known in the rebellion.
John Stewart	Not known.
George F. Thomas	Not known.
John × Kelly (his mark.)	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in the rebellion.
Archy × Baily (his mark.)	Hung.
Simon × Burton (his mark.)	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
John × Anslow (his mark.)	The same.
Adam × Taylor (his mark.)	The same.
Stephen × Smith (his mark.)	Living at Spring Garden. Committed for trial.
Simon × Bailey (his mark.)	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
William × Bailey (his mark.)	Not known.
Joseph × Kelly (his mark.)	Hung.
William × Taylor (his mark.)	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
Thomas × Noble (his mark.)	Living at Spring Garden. Committed for trial.
Robert × Fenderson (his mark.)	Shot.
Alexander × Thompson (his mark.)	Not known.
Alexander × Gordon (his mark.)	Shot.
Alexander Boughtwell (Bothwell?)	A man of good character. He knows nothing of the list. Did not sign it. Does not know why his name appears there.
Robert Heney (Henry?)	Living at Stony Gut.
David Bailley	Not known.
John Debater	Not known.
Thomas Flint	Not known.
Charles McDingle	Not known.
John Anderson	Mount Stewart. Not known in the rebellion.
Richard Steel	Not known.
Abraham Anderson	Shot.
John Rock	Not known.
William Anderson	Font Hill. A rebel, but examined as a witness.
Henry McK. Hutchingson	Not known.
James Cambran (Qy. Cameron?)	Hung.
William C. Morison	Stony Gut. Not known in the rebellion.
Thomas H. Goodwill	Not known.
W. C. G. Arrowsmith	Not known.
John × Williams (his mark.)	A rural constable of good character.
Alexander × Collodd (his mark.)	Living at York. Not known in the rebellion.
George × Kelley (his mark.)	Living at Spring Garden. Flogged.
Thomas × Ford (his mark.)	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in the rebellion.
Alexander × Davis (his mark.)	The same.

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Frederick his × mark. Taylor - -	Not known.
James his × mark. Taylor - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Flogged.
James his × mark. Ford - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in the rebellion.
Robert his × mark. S. Penca - - -	Not known.
Henry his × mark. Livingstone - -	G. W. Gordon's servant. Not known in the rebellion.
Jackson his × mark. Francis - -	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
Thomas his × mark. Huffingdon - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in the rebellion.
Robert his × mark. Sanches - - -	Living at Spring Garden. Charged as a rebel. Absconded.
John his × mark. Francis - - -	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
James Edward Forrest - -	Not known.
William Bubet his × mark. Durand - -	Not known.
George his × mark. Fraser - - -	Not known.
Richard his × mark. Minot - - -	Living at York. Not known in rebellion.
Alexander his × mark. Noodie - -	Not known.
William his × mark. Durant - -	
Lawrence his × mark. Dakin - -	
William his × mark. White - - -	
Samuel his × mark. Williams - -	
William his × mark. Finlock -	
William his × mark. Pekoe - - -	
James Williams - - -	
Charles Blake - - -	
Edward Davis - - -	
Henry his × mark. Gordon - - -	
James Williamson - -	
William his × mark. Pinnock - -	
Joseph his × mark. Smith - - -	Living at Spring Garden. Not known in the rebellion.
Dennis his × mark. Smith - - -	The same.
Joseph his × mark. Bailey - - -	Not known.
Abraham his × mark. Kelly - -	
Isaac his × mark. Kelly - -	
David S. his × mark. Kelly - - -	
Emanuel his × mark. Grahame - -	
Daniel his × mark. Bowie - - -	Living at Stony Gut. Not known in the rebellion.

Fredreick his × mark. Ogilkby	The same.
James E. his × mark. Barclay	The same.
Natty his × mark. Williams	Living at Wilmington. Not known in the rebellion.
Charles his × mark. Walker	The same.
Thomas his × mark. Burton	Not known.
John his × mark. Batiste	Living at Morant Bay. Not known in the rebellion.
Richard his × mark. Moore	Not known.
Henry his × mark. Walters	Not known.
Henry his × mark. Cooke	
William his × mark. Ritchie	
Joseph his × mark. Petersgill	
Benjamin his × mark. Darby	
William his × mark. Fisher	
Richard his × mark. Williams	
George his × mark. Richards	
George his × mark. Hargitt	
Henry his × mark. Steel	
Robert his × mark. Bloodymind	Qy. Fictitious.
Thomas his × mark. Millwood	
Joseph his × mark. Strawn	
James his × mark. Feeblemind	Qy. Fictitious.
James his × mark. Greatheart	Qy. Fictitious.
H. G. Masquetta	St. David. Not known in rebellion.
Henry Marston	Not known.
John J. Affleck	Not known.
Peter Pasley	Not known.
William Grant	Living at Stanton. Charged as a Rebel. Absconded
John Davis	Not known.
William Chisholm, senior	Living at Morant Bay. Suspected.
William Chisholm, junior	Morant Bay. Policeman.
Alexander Marston	Morant Bay. Not known.
Philip Cameron	The same.
William B. Stewart	The same.
Samuel E. Gordon	The same.
James G. McLarren	Hung.
Joseph Robertson	Not known.

HENRY THEOPHILUS BOGLE.

I went to the meeting at night in October about two weeks before the rebellion ; my uncle Paul sent to call my father Moses Bogle. I went to see my uncle at Stony Gut, and he took me and his son to the meeting after 7 o'clock, the meeting was over after 9. Craddock was there, and Bowie Craddock was the one that gave the oath to the people ; he gave it to about 12 that night. I took the oath ; he said the oath he is going to give us, we must take care of and not tell to anybody ; he said if we told

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it the belly would swell, we must take this oath before God and man, and we should be told at the public meeting what we were to do. Paul Bogle was the chairman of the meeting, Craddock spoke to the people, he said that one captain had fifty, and another had fifty; he said when Friday came and the wages were to pay, the Captains would go down and see what wages was pay. Old Bowie was one of the captains, McClaren and William Bogle were the Secretaries; Archie Bailey was another captain, Joseph Kellet was another captain, Abraham Anderson was another, Moses Bogle was chairman at the Bay.

Craddock said the white people in St. Thomas-in-the-East take too much advantage of the black people, because if a black people work if they want to give you 2*s.* or 3*s.* for your work them give you, though they owe you more. They must write to Mr. Barrant (the Baron) that they don't get their wages and he must send to the Governor, and if they don't get satisfaction they must break out. Craddock said that when the public meeting was to be held that they would write down to Kingston to send to the rest of the gentlemen.

There were two more meetings held at the chapel, but I did not go to them.

Paul Bogle's meetings began to be held after Mr. Gordon's meeting at the Guineppe Tree.

Paul Bogle and Mr. Gordon were like brothers, and Mr. Gordon was often in my uncle's house, and my uncle used to go to Spring to him.

I was not at the meeting at the Guineppe Tree; my cousin William Bogle told me that Mr. Gordon said at the meeting too much advantage was taken of the black people in St. Thomas-in-the-East; he said the people must take the back lands without pay for them.

Sometimes on Sunday after chapel Craddock used to sell newspapers at the chapel door. Craddock said Mr. Gordon sent the newspapers, I bought one for 3*d.*; it was the Watchman newspaper; on the Monday night before the rebellion I was at Millington, I heard the shells blowing; I heard the big shells on Tuesday morning, and I ran down to Stony Gut. When I came down I saw Fuller the policeman, some one was knocking him, and I and a man named Pinnock begged them to spare beating him; I do not know if Fuller heard me. They kept the policeman and gave them the oath and made them swear that they would join them. They let the police go about 4 o'clock; after the police left I went home to Millington. After 8 o'clock all was quiet at Stony Gut. I was not there.

On Wednesday morning I went to Stony Gut, and I saw them writing a paper; the man who was writing was David Richards, schoolmaster from Torrington.

I asked William what they writing, he said they were writing papers to go to Mr. Barrant, saying that the price them giving the black people is too small.

I went to William Bogle's, and after I had breakfast I said, Well I'm going to my grounds. William said I must make haste and come back, for the volunteers were coming up here to-day. Well I said all right; when I dere at my ground on the Staunton road, I heard the shell blowing and the drum playing. When I in the ground I see some African from Staunton running down the hill with cutlasses. I say, what you going to do? they say they going to the Bay.

Bye and bye two men come and say, Why you not going to the Bay? I went out and met my uncle with about 300 men, and a man come on a mule and say, Don't go to the Bay or you'l get yourself killed, the volunteers is in the Bay. My uncle and the men turn back again, I went with them; bye and bye my uncle got a letter from Bailey, the volunteer, saying they should come, and he went. I did not wish to go with them, but they say who did not go was to kill.

I heard Bowie say one evening that white people should be killed; that in his country they killed the whites. Bowie was an old Spaniard.

I was at the Bay when the volunteers fired; as soon as they fired I went away, I can get proof that I went home.

In the martial law they took me out under the Guineppe Tree to see if anybody would give witness against me, but there was no witness, though people say to me that all the Bogle must be hung; the black people self say no seed of Bogle must be left alive.

N.B. He added that he was released and afterwards taken upon the evidence of some one who had seen him in the Bay with a cutlass in his hand; he explained that he had the cutlass, he was working with it in his field, when they took him out.

The statements of Bogle and Julius Hibbert were taken by me at the Morant Bay Prison as spoken by the prisoners, without any suggestions or inducement to them, except an assurance that I would give them the best advice I could, and would be glad to assist them in any way that I could as a clergyman.

(Signed) D. H. CAMPBELL.
Rector of Kingston.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from the REV. D. CAMPBELL to the BISHOP of KINGSTON.—Dated December 22, 1865. Morant Bay.

I HAVE been grieved and indignant at reading in the "Times" the untrue and unjust attacks made at the Manchester meeting about the Governor's conduct with respect to Mr. Gordon. I suppose the evidence brought before the court-martial will afford a complete justification for his execution; but if necessary, there would be little difficulty in getting abundant evidence among the people here of the part which he took in encouraging the secret meetings and urging on the people to take their lands without paying rent or money for them.

There is also but one opinion here, that nothing but the timely appearance of the "Wolverine" saved the town from a general massacre and conflagration on the Tuesday morning. I have considerable doubt whether the real participators in the rebellion were as numerous as many persons supposed,

but such as they were they would have met with no resistance, and it is fearful to think what the consequences would have been if the Governor's action had been less prompt and decisive.

The Rev. Mr. Campbell to Governor Eyre.

Dear Sir, The Rectory, Morant Bay, December 29, 1865.

I received your Excellency's letter, and also one from the Bishop, this morning, and regret that I cannot answer it by return of post as fully as I could have wished to do.

My conviction, which is as strong as my own existence, of Gordon's complicity in the late rebellion, is founded mainly on the fact, that out of *great numbers* of the black people residing in the districts adjoining Morant Bay and surrounding Stony Gut, to whom the principal Rebels were known, and who have spoken freely and unreservedly to me on the subject of the rebellion, almost all of them have stated that the thing could not have happened except for Mr. Gordon, and not a single man or woman has expressed so much as a doubt to the contrary. I am quite sure that *hundreds* of intelligent loyal black persons could easily be got to state on oath their belief that he was the adviser of the rebellion. I enclose some extracts from my wife's journal, which bear more particularly on the subject of Mr. Gordon's connexion and intimacy with Paul Bogle, and I am quite sure that the authorities quoted, "Williams and Lake," are persons on whose testimony every reliance may be placed.

The other witness, George Thomas, is a lad who was shot on the day of the rebellion by a volunteer at the firing of the first volley, and has been ever since in the almshouse. By little acts of kindness to him we have, I think, gained his entire confidence, and although he is fearfully ignorant and stupid, I am inclined to believe that he has told us the truth, and took no active part in the rebellion, having been compelled to follow the armed multitude to the Bay without knowing what they intended to do there. His assertion that two messengers were sent off on the Tuesday evening from Stony Gut to *Mr. Gordon* is most important, and I therefore put it to-day into the hands of Mr. Ewart, that he might send for the boys and ascertain the real facts. Mr. Stephen Cooke said that one of the boys, "Gordon" by name, mentioned about the letter at the court-martial, and that he was flogged and sent away; his statement, however, was that he was sent with the letter, *not* to Mr. Gordon, but to the *Governor*. Both the boys are, however, known, and Mr. Ewart will have them examined.

I have also given Mr. Ewart copies of the *extracts* which I now enclose, in order that he may follow up the information which they supply.

I determined, on reading your Excellency's letter, to adopt a course which I have for some time past been contemplating, but had not fully made up my mind to follow, viz., to see privately some of the prisoners in the gaol, so as, if possible, to discover the motives which led them to take part in the rebellion. I began to-day with the son of Moses Bogle, an intelligent young man, who, I thought, would be well informed in what had taken place. He spoke with apparent candour and without any kind of hesitation, but he did not show himself to have been much informed of the plans and proceedings of his father and uncle. He was present, and took the oath at one of the secret meetings at Paul Bogle's chapel, and was at the court house on the day of the rebellion, but he also mentioned a good deal, which, if true, will probably exonerate him from any share in the atrocities that took place. On the subject of Gordon's intimacy and frequent communications with Paul Bogle, his evidence is *quite conclusive.*

I will supply your Excellency as soon as possible with a copy of his statement, which I took down from his mouth, and which I think will be material, although it does not criminate Gordon quite so much as the statements of Lake and Williams. To-morrow I shall endeavour to see one or two other prisoners who have been pointed out by the Superintendent as likely to know most about the rebellion.

In communicating to Mr. Ewart the object which I have in view, I have only told him that I had received letters from your Excellency and the Bishop, requesting me to furnish any information which had come to my knowledge, of Mr. Gordon's connexion with the rebellion, and I at once found that he was fully alive to the importance of making that fact apparent, and is as indignant as I myself felt at the unworthy remarks to the contrary which have reached us from England.

I think also that the Rev. Mr. Douet, who is almost daily engaged in visiting the country parts of his district, and has, I believe, already gained the confidence and affection of the people, will be able to corroborate much of the testimony which I have discovered about Mr. Gordon. It is scarcely credible to what an extent the man gained influence over the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East, through means of the Baptist meeting houses.

There are many subjects, especially connected with the payment of wages and the administration of justice at petty sessions, on which I am anxious to confer with your Excellency; and as I propose to be in Kingston on Monday evening, I shall be happy to wait on your Excellency on any day next week, or afterwards, that you will be good enough to name for me to be in Spanish Town.

I must apologise for the hasty and rambling way in which I have been compelled to write this letter, but I was detained so late at the gaol that I have scarcely had half an hour for writing before the closing of the post.

My wife unites with me in wishing the best blessings of the season to your Excellency and your family circle.

I remain, &c.,

His Excellency the Governor. (Signed) D. H. Campbell.

P.S.— * * * * * *

Extracts from Mrs. Campbell's Journal.

Nathaniel Lake, constable, a black man, living at Wilmington.

Lake said that as he was taking Buie to prison Buie told him that Mr. Gordon had put them quite out of the way, that he said they ought to have had all the back land; that where the canes were not planting white men had no business; that Mr. Gordon told them he would get guns and powder and men from over the sea, to arrive on the 19th December, and the war would break out on the 25th.

Buie said the Queen didn't know the advantage taken of them. He also said that Mr. Gordon said they must destroy all the white men and all the coloured who wouldn't join them.

Buie told Lake that the guns they took from the police didn't belong to the Queen, for they were all marked Jordon and Osborn.

* * * * *

Lake says that his cousin, George Lake (one of the pardoned Rebels, a very bad one), told him that Bogle told the people in one of his addresses, that they were called to meeting to fight. "When "you hire land make a home," said Bogle, "and put table into it, and if any person comes for rent "don't pay them. I am a black man, and don't know how to fight, but Mr. Gordon is the herald to "suffice us with guns and powder, him and many other gentlemen," but he didn't call any other names but Mr. Gordon.

Nathaniel Lake is a very respectable black man. When Paul Bogle's emissaries went to Wilmington to try and get up Baptist meetings there, Lake told them that Parson Cooke had warned them against Baptists, and if any Baptists came to that village he and the other men would drive them out. He is a communicant of the Church of England.

John Williams, constable, a black man, residing at Spring Gardens, near Stony Gut.

Williams told us that Mr. Gordon used to tell the people that they should not pay any rent for the back lands.

Williams said that he one day asked Mr. Gordon why he imposed on the people, and if he gave up his back lands.

Williams said that he (Williams) had only once gone to Paul Bogle's chapel, and that was one day when he was prevented from going to church, and Mr. Gordon had invited him to go with him. He went, and Mr. Gordon took the pulpit.

* * * * *

Williams said that Buie told him that Mr. Gordon said if they could not get the back lands by peace, they must take them by blood and war. Mr. Campbell asked him if he could swear to that, and if he believed it. "Yes," said he, "do you think they'd tell lie upon themselves."

John Williams is generally respected. He collected rents for the Baron.

George Thomas.

When asked why he did not escape from the Rebels on the Tuesday night if he did not wish to remain with them, said he could not; said "they carried him to the chapel Mr. Gordon make at "Stony Gut, and there they none of them peek, but tan quite teady in the chapel; they put guards "at the door mout, and say who wouldn't join them was to kill, for what they were going to do was "for the good of we. They make no noise in the chapel for fear of the volunteer." Said they did not tell him what they were going to do, and he didn't know till they came into the Bay; then he hid behind the shed. Asked if they did nothing but sit still in the chapel? "Some of them," he said, "were writing, and they sent off a letter to Spanish Town to Mr. Gordon by two boys: one of "the boys was flogged afterwards in the Bay; his name is Gordon."

To the Editor of the "Colonial Standard."

Sir, Kingston, January 11, 1866.

On the 25th April 1865, the late G. W. Gordon wrote in the "Sentinel" on "the state of "Jamaica." The concluding paragraphs of that letter I now copy:—

"When Charles the First of England refused to abide by the laws to which he had become a party—by his sanction—a revolution ensued, and he was beheaded!

"When the sovereign of the French disregarded the popular elective rights, there was a revolution, and he had to abdicate and fly from the kingdom!

"If in Jamaica our laws are to be disregarded by those who are bound to conserve them, and a judge may hold proceedings and adjudicate under repealed laws, the execution enforced, and all this is not only upheld but encouraged by the Government, *how long may good order be expected to continue?*"

Good order did not continue long after the publication of this—not six months; and the interruption of "good orders," in the shape of a brutal massacre, commenced in St. Thomas-in-the-East, for which

parish the late Mr. Gordon was a member of Assembly; with which parish he was intimately identified politically; and among the lower order of the inhabitants of which he had great influence.

The letter from which I quote was written by Gordon under the impression that he had sustained a grievance. I do not say his impression was unreasonable or unfounded; but it was no grievance *for which Governor Eyre was responsible;* and if a grievance at all—a miscarriage of justice! A similar grievance, sustained by Mr. Gordon, had been previously redressed by the Supreme Court by the granting of a new trial in the case of "*Gordon* v. *Ketelhodt*," and the same protection would have been given had it been applied for again in a constitutional way. But it is a fair presumption, from the extracts I have given, that redress of real or imaginary wrongs, personal in their nature, was to be found in violence and bloodshed, for "good order" did not prevail very long—not six months after Mr. Gordon's prediction.

I enclose my card, and am, Sir, your obedient servant,

IMPARTIALITY.

MR. WALCOTT to COLONEL HUNT.

SIR, Kingston P.O., December 29, 1865.

I DEEM it my duty to his Excellency, whose conduct has been most unjustly and ungenerously assailed by a portion of the English press, to state what occurred between the late G. W. Gordon and myself at our interview on Friday, the 13th October, in Mr. E. C. Smith's office in Spanish Town, and in that gentleman's presence. After speaking to Mr. Smith about the case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt, in which he was the plaintiff, Gordon was asked by Mr. Smith or myself why he was in Spanish Town instead of being in St. Thomas-in-the-East? He made some excuse about having a case before the justices in the police court or petty sessions, I forget which; he had been told his presence was not necessary in the case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt. I spoke to him about the murder of the Baron and the Rev. Mr. Herschell, both persons to whom it was well known he was personally hostile; he said he was not astonished that those two in particular were murdered, as they were most tyrannical, overbearing, and unjust in their dealings with the people. I then said, "Mr. Gordon, it is in everyone's mouth that you have caused this outbreak; at all events, it is "certain that your friend Paul Bogle is the ringleader." He said he had heard so, and that he was astonished at it, for if ever a black man was a gentleman, that man was Paul Bogle; that for himself, he had nothing to do with it. I then urged upon him the propriety, as it was not yet too late, to do so, and to show that he had no complicity in the outbreak, to go to Morant Bay and use his influence with the people to stay the further effusion of blood. Gordon's reply was remarkable and significant he said,—I use his own words,—"I certainly shall not go to St. Thomas-in-the-East, for the moment "martial law is proclaimed I shall be the first person hung." This interview took place at about a quarter to 10 o'clock, a.m. The council was then sitting in Kingston, and I believe martial law had not been then proclaimed. This will account for Mr. Gordon's presence in Spanish Town, he was not aware then that Kingston was excepted from the operation of martial law; his anxiety was to keep out of the proclaimed district as one who knew the fate that awaited him.

Gordon's statement that he did not know Paul Bogle must be untrue; his reply about Bogle is an admission that he knew him, and knew him to be a gentleman. With regard to himself, he knew best his innocence or guilt, and why he should shun a district under martial law; in giving his reason for avoiding St. Thomas-in-the-East he passed upon himself the same sentence that his judges passed upon him eight days afterwards.

Will you oblige me by communicating this letter to his Excellency, also my desire that his Excellency should make whatever use of it he may think proper.

I have, &c.

Colonel Hunt, &c. &c. (Signed) R. J. WALCOTT, Barrister-at-Law.

MR. HARRISON to GOVERNOR EYRE.

Hordly Estate, Plantain Garden River P.O.,

SIR, December 29, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo.

The last time G. W. Gordon was here, at the end of June or early in July last, he was accompanied by his wife, they dined and slept here.

After dinner he said he was surprised I did not support him more in the vestry, as he generally helped me in what I asked him to do as regards voting for Miss Jones, &c. I replied, "it was impossible to support him throughout, as many things he did was so outrageous, and would subvert all order and society in general, which never was my creed, and hoped never would. That I thought he was playing with edged tools, and would so work upon exciteable negroes that bad would come of it, though I had great confidence in his prudence and command of temper, still people may get beyond him. To which he replied, "No fear of that. I have been asked to head a "rebellion months ago, but I won't do it; we will show them what a demonstration will do, and if "we don't upset those fellows, the Rector, Baron, and Herschell, bad will come of it," and he laughed. I said, "You really don't mean it, about a rebellion." He replied, "There won't be a

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"rebellion, don't be uneasy," and changed the subject. I mentioned it to the late Mr. Hire, some days after, he smiled and said, "He told me the same thing, but it's only a boast to frighten the "Government, and it is a pity they don't give him something to shut his mouth, he can bother them "a good deal, and do a great deal if he likes. I have often told him that he was wasting his talents, "but he always said he had a mission to perform, and must follow the course allotted for him."

He always expressed the greatest animosity to yourself, individually and as a Governor, the Baron, Rector Cooke, and Herschell, and to my surprise abused the Hon. Mr. Jordon as being weak and leaving the cause, to use his own words, "not sound or wholesome."

I cannot tell you of my own knowledge that there was any particular day fixed for a rising, but that in my opinion a rising and general rebellion was imminent. I subjoin extract of a letter I wrote a friend of mine on the 23rd September last, Lime Street Square, London, and I dare say the original will not be objected to be shown if called for by the Home Government:—"A few "negroes took possession of some woodland near this about five years ago, belonging to Roland "Field and Haining, now there are 3 to 400 there, and from all quarters they are flocking; the run "is about 1,000 to 1,500 acres, and what with indifference of proprietors or their representa- "tives they have not yet been ejected, and it is questionable if it will be done without the calling "on the Executive now. It is a dreadful state of things, *and the first step towards cutting our throats,* "thus forcibly taking property without right or title. The same thing was done at Hartland, and "it is anticipated the military will have to be called out to support the civil authority. Although "I don't like croaking, there has been a change for the worse since the revival, negroes are more "insolent and defying, and a secret organization amongst them that did not used to be. We are "better off perhaps than in Vere and Westmoreland in that respect, still perhaps our folks are "more able to carry out what they decide on, as we have no droughts to starve them into common "sense."

I hope to be able to get statements from *black* folks themselves as to its being an insurrection, and the intention of Rebels keeping the estates as their own.

Should you wish my statement in the form of an affidavit, I will send it to you on letting me know.

Allow me to offer you my sympathy over the unjust attacks and misrepresentations to which you have been subjected by a portion of our home friends; but whatever they may say, I can assure you you have the heartfelt and grateful thanks of myself, wife, and family, and all those unfortunate females and children who escaped a barbarous death, which was inevitable had assistance been delayed a few hours more.

His Excellency the Governor,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. HARRISON.

P.S.—I understood Serjeant-Major Harrison, No. 1 Co., to say that the Rebels had hold of his rifle before *any* one *fired;* he is in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. I have desired him to call on Colonel Hunt, and report thereon to him if required, and I think he will show the Baron was too merciful, at the volunteers' expense.

(Signed) J. H.

MY DEAR SIR, Court House, St. Mary, January 6, 1866.

I FORGOT to mention in my last that the post did not arrive here until a late hour, hence I could not comply with your request by the return mail.

I now send you a copy of the depositions in the case against G. W. Gordon and others for forcible entry and detainer, and trust it will reach you in time for the purpose required.

I may add that, during the cross-examination of Mr. J. Gordon by Mr. Allwood, G. W. Gordon, on his father shedding tears, remarked, with a sarcastic smile, "Oh! it is all for effect."

I am, &c.,
T. A. GEOGHEGAN.

Hon. Henry Westmorland.

Magistrate's Clerk's Office, St. Mary, January 6, 1866.

I HEREBY certify that the annexed depositions is a copy of those taken at the examination of the witnesses, in a charge of forcible entry and detainer against George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell, which charge was preferred at the instance of Joseph Gordon, Esq.

T. A. GEOGHEGAN,
Magistrate's Clerk, St. Mary.

The QUEEN against GEORGE WILLIAM GORDON, JAMES CAMPBELL, and EDWARD CAMPBELL.

THE examination of Joseph Gordon, of the parish of St. Mary, Esquire, and William Bowie, William Gray, George Silvera, Lewis Hamilton, and Thomas Murphy respectively, taken on oath this thirty-first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, at Port Maria, in the parish aforesaid, before the undersigned, two of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said parish, in the presence and hearing of George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell, who are charged this day before us, for that they the said George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell, on the twentieth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, at the parish aforesaid, forcibly and with strong hand, did enter into a certain sugar estate called Fontabelle, with the appurtenances there situate, of which the said Joseph Gordon was then seised and possessed, and the said Joseph Gordon from the

peaceable possession of the said sugar estate, with the appurtenances aforesaid, forcibly and with strong hand unlawfully did expel and put out, against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her crown and dignity. JAMAICA

Mr. C. J. Mowat, solicitor, conducted the case for the prosecutor.

Mr. Allwood appeared to watch the case on behalf of the defendants.

This deponent, Joseph Gordon, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I know Fontabelle Estate in this parish. On the 20th day of August instant I was in possession. The taxes for the estate this year have been paid by me. I was in the house at Fontabelle on that day. George William Gordon, one of the defendants now present, came there on that day. James Campbell and Edward Campbell, the other two defendants, came with Gordon. I was then not only in possession of the estate, but also the stock and implements thereon. George William Gordon told James Campbell to take charge of the cattle on the estate, and James Campbell acted on that, and took charge of the stock. The stock were removed. There is a room at Fontabelle used as an office. George William Gordon went in there. I followed him, and took and held in my hands the books of the estate, and G. W. Gordon forced them out of my hands. James Campbell was present when Gordon wrested the books from me. George William Gordon gave the books to Edward Campbell, a brother of James Campbell. I am not sure that Edward Campbell was present when the books were taken. I told Edward Campbell not to take the books, for he would get himself into trouble, but notwithstanding he took them from George William Gordon. Afterwards, on the same day, I found the books, whilst George William Gordon and Edward Campbell were eating their breakfast, in the back hall of the house. I laid hold of the books to secure them, and, for safe custody, I took them into one of the bed rooms and placed them into a cupboard. Whilst locking the cupboard, George William Gordon and Edward Campbell came in. George William Gordon laid hold of me by both arms. He used such force that I observed blood come from my fingers. He held me back whilst Edward Campbell opened the cupboard and took away the books. I fancy my fingers bled from the scuffle. I had no scuffle with any other person, and I believe they bled from the scuffle I had with George W. Gordon. I heard him call to Edward Campbell to take away the books. I have not seen them since; they have not been returned. James Campbell first entered the house that day; he went away, but G. W. Gordon and Edward Campbell remained there for two days, against my consent. I desired them to leave, but they refused. Ten of the cattle were engaged ploughing when taken away; the chains and yokes were taken also. The cultivation of the estate was stopped in consequence.

George William Gordon took hold of me by both arms, above the elbows, and held me back, whilst Edward Campbell took the books. He did not strike at me. I have been in possession of the estate since the year 1838. I was in possession last June—not actually living there. The overseer was in charge for me, and he was paid out of the proceeds of the estate. George W. Gordon acted as my agent and factor, and sold all the produce, and paid all accounts. No advances were required; the produce paid. If the estate has not paid its way it is through bad management. Bowie, I believe, was the overseer in June last. I did not require the accounts; they were sent to my agent, George W. Gordon. Mr. Staines had my authority to overlook Bowie, but not with any reference to George W. Gordon. I went to the estate occasionally to look at it, since my arrival in 1856. I do not, to my own knowledge, know that George W. Gordon went there. I never considered him in possession. I did not pay Mr. Staines. I have never got an account from him. George William Gordon used violent language, and put everybody at defiance to do any act of mine. He told the people not to do any act of mine, he did so in a noisy manner. He desired Bowie, the overseer, not to obey me. I found Bowie there, and I continued him. My son took hold of my hands and arms.

George William Gordon had no authority over the estate, except as my agent, and acting by my orders. I went there to give directions as to the management of the estate, whilst Gordon acted as my agent.

To the Court: I did not offer James Campbell a chair when he came in.

(Signed) JOSEPH GORDON.

And this deponent, William Bowie, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I know Fontabelle estate. Am employed as overseer there under Mr. Joseph Gordon, and was so on the 20th August last. I was at the house on that day, and George William Gordon came there, accompanied by Edward Campbell; but, before they came up, James Campbell came. I was in the office, and he asked if George W. Gordon was there. I replied, "No; it is likely he is gone to "town; but Mr. Joseph Gordon is here; do you wish to see him? I asked James Campbell to take a seat in the piazza, and I went to Mr. Gordon. As I left the office I heard a rattling; I turned round, and saw that James Campbell had taken the key out of the office door. I informed Mr. Joseph Gordon, who spoke to Campbell. George William Gordon then came riding towards the house. He walked in, and met Mr. Joseph Gordon at the hall door, and demanded possession of the property from Mr. J. Gordon, which he refused to give up. After they had finished speaking, James Campbell handed the key he had taken to George William Gordon, who went up to the office door, put the key in the lock, and turned it, without locking the door, and then took out the key. By direction of Mr. Joseph Gordon I went into the office. He directed me in the presence of George W. Gordon. He told me to go and write something in the books. Mr. Joseph Gordon took up the books to hand them to me, and G. W. Gordon jumped up and took them away from him by force. Mr. Joseph Gordon called to me for assistance. I did so, and a scuffle took place.

JAMAICA. I told G. W. Gordon he ought to be ashamed of himself. Immediately after, Mr. Joseph Gordon, in the presence of G. W. Gordon, desired me to go to Mr. George Silvera, a magistrate, and to ask him to come down and protect him against what his son was doing. I went to Mr. Silvera, and on my return to the estate I found no cattle there; before I left the cattle were on the estate. I know Oxford estate in this parish. I went there the same day and saw the cattle penned up there. James Campbell is in possession of Oxford. James Campbell was at Oxford when I went there. I told him he would be liable for every cattle he had taken from Fontabelle. I said to him, "Mr. Joseph Gordon has sent me to notice you that you will be held responsible for every cattle you "drove away from Fontabelle." I was not present when any directions were given to remove the cattle. G. W. Gordon and Edward Campbell remained in the house against the will of Mr. Joseph Gordon. I heard him desire them to leave. They would not go. They remained from Tuesday to Thursday.

I was employed in January 1861, as overseer of that estate. Mr. J. B. Staines engaged me. Was a bookkeeper before, on the same property. G. W. Gordon employed me as bookkeeper on the 1st September 1860, and he came there occasionally during that year; he gave orders. On the 20th August last was the second occasion, during this year, that G. W. Gordon came there; the first visit was between April and May. When he came there, in 1860, he occupied a room. He had horses on the estate, which were his private property. He gave me no orders when he came; made no enquiry about the produce. Mr. Staines was with G. W. Gordon and Joseph Gordon. Joseph Gordon was on the estate when G. W. Gordon came there. G. W. Gordon, on his first visit, did not stay on the estate; he went away the same night. I do not recollect if he looked at the books that time. I was under Mr. Staines' orders in April last. Immediately after the scuffle Mr. J. Gordon sent me for Mr. Silvera. I had no orders before that. I was in the office when Joseph Gordon took up the books—in the act of going in. The door was sufficiently open to allow me to see all that was going on. I am positive that Mr. J. Gordon used the words, "Go and call Mr. Silvera as a "magistrate, and ask him to come down and protect me against the violence of my son." When I went to Oxford and spoke about the notice, George Bart Clarke, who was there, said, "Where is "your notice?" James Campbell said nothing, until after a while he said, "I am going to Fontabelle "myself." Did not say what he was going about.

Joseph Gordon inquired about the prospects of the estate. He resided there in May 1861. He had a bed-room there. I received orders from Staines until July, as he was acting as attorney for Mr. J. Gordon. I was present the whole time of the first struggle, and on the second occasion I was called by the cook; and when I went to the bed room, saw Edward Campbell at the cupboard, and Mr. Joseph Gordon trying to get at him, whilst G. W. Gordon held Joseph Gordon by the arms (Witness describes how). Edward Campbell took away the books. James Campbell was there. Clarke came there afterwards to G. W. Gordon; he said he had come to keep possession of the house for G. W. Gordon. He remained there for the greater part of the day, until the magistrate had to put him out. The office key was found on him. His hat and jacket were in the office, and he gave the key to Bell to get his hat and jacket. Mr. J. Gordon ordered him out at first, and he refused. Mr. Silvera ordered the police to remove him.

(Signed) WM. BOWIE.

And this deponent, William Gray, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I am collector of dues of this parish. I hold in my hand a receipt given by me for the taxes of Fontabelle estate. The receipt is signed by me. (Receipt put in and read.)

(Signed) WILLIAM GRAY, Jun.

And this deponent, George Silvera, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I am a justice of the peace. I am the nearest magistrate to Fontabelle. On the 20th of August instant, in consequence of some message I received from Bowie, I hastened down to Fontabelle estate. When I got there, I saw Joseph Gordon on my left, and George W. Gordon on my right, on the steps. G. W. Gordon cried out, "What do you want?" or words to that effect. I replied, "I "have been sent for as a magistrate, and as such I have come to protect your father." I sprang up the steps and shook hands with Mr. Joseph Gordon. G. W. Gordon denied that I had been sent for, when Joseph Gordon said, "I did send for you, and I am glad you are come." Joseph Gordon led into the door, and George William Gordon went into the hall and closed the door against us. It was barred. I dashed my foot against the blinds, and said to Joseph Gordon, "If "you want to go in I will let you." He said, "No;" he had another way of getting in. He then left me and went to a side door and then let me in. G. W. Gordon then barred us in. I called upon him to think what he was doing. After I was in, G. W. Gordon asked me what I was going to do. I replied, "I shall stand here and protect your father, as a magistrate." He then went to the door with both his hands raised, and said, "I am a magistrate of this parish as well as Mr. Silvera. You "are bound to obey me." Several persons were present. Forbes and Small, rural constables, were present. G. W. Gordon threatened to send to "Free Hill" for a mob of people, to resist force by force. I told him I had no force; I had come there as the representative of law and order, and to maintain the peace, and to use force against me would be at his peril. He said he was a magistrate. I said, "You are no judge in your own case." The people were excited. I saw Edward Campbell in the house; he was leaning on some books of the estate. I demanded the books. He replied he had them in charge for Mr. G. W Gordon. In conversation, I said I had heard some scheme about the taking away of cattle. G. W. Gordon said they had been taken away by his orders, and he had sold them to James Campbell. James Campbell was there, and said he had purchased them from G. W. Gordon.

Joseph Gordon patted the door, and said, "Open the door," and I dashed my foot against the blinds. When I accused G. W. Gordon with having shut the door in his father's face, he said, "No, it was in your face." And I said, "Worse and worse." Admittance was demanded for me. I saw G. W. Gordon at the back part with Edward Campbell, *vis à vis*, who had the books under his arm. I did not see a bar, but I heard a noise like a bar; it was not locked; the door was fastened. I don't know who opened the door the second time. I think G. W. Gordon did. I took rural constable Thomas McEachron with me. I called him there as a magistrate. He told G. W. Gordon he was a constable, and who pushed him out. I told G. W. Gordon I was acting as a magistrate. I dashed at the blinds because the door was shut. I told G. W. Gordon to think of the matter before I sent for the officers of the law.

(Signed) GEORGE SILVERA.

And this deponent, Lewis Hamilton, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I am wainman at Fontabelle. I worked there on the 20th August last. I had the cattle at dam piece. James Campbell came up and said, "Those cattle are mine; I bought them from Mr. G. W. "Gordon." He had several men there, and they drove off the cattle on the public road. I have seen them since at Oxford.

I always see Mr. G. W. Gordon at Fontabelle. I went to him for cattle for the estate. I always do so. Campbell bought cattle there before. G. W. Gordon delivered them. Can't say how long ago. Can't say if it was last year. Campbell brought two to me when he bought cattle before.

his
(Signed) LEWIS × HAMILTON.
mark.

And this deponent, William Murphy, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I am ploughman on the estate. Was so on the 20th August. I had ten cattle in the plough on that day. I was ploughing "Cuba piece" there. James Campbell came there and said the cattle were his. He called to some men who came with him—five people. Campbell ordered them to take the cattle from the plough. I said, "Carry the cattle to the estate." They took ten cows, five yokes, and five chains, and carried them away with other cattle. I asked them to allow me to take the chains and yokes, and Campbell said, "No."

I have been a long time on the estate. G. W. Gordon employed me for the estate, sometimes as wainman, and sometimes as ploughman.

G. W. Gordon employed me about four years ago.

his
(Signed) WILLIAM × MURPHY.
mark.

The above depositions of Joseph Gordon, William Bowie, William Gray, George Silvera, Lewis Hamilton, and Thomas Murphy, were taken and sworn to before us the day and year first above mentioned, at Port Maria, in the parish aforesaid.

(Signed) A. J. LINDO, Custos.
THOS. HEATH, J.P.

JAMAICA ss.

Parish of St. Mary.

George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell stand charged before the undersigned, two of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the parish aforesaid, this thirty-first day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, for that they the said George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell, on the twentieth day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, at the parish of St. Mary aforesaid, forcibly and with strong hand, did enter into a certain sugar estate called Fontabelle, with the appurtenances there situate, of which Joseph Gordon was then seised and possessed, and the said Joseph Gordon from the peaceable possession of the said sugar estate, with the appurtenances aforesaid, forcibly and with strong hand unlawfully did expel and put out, against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her crown and dignity; and the said charge being read to the said George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell; and the witnesses for the prosecution, Joseph Gordon, William Bowie, William Gray, George Silvera, Lewis Hamilton, and Thomas Murphy, being severally examined in their presence, the said George William Gordon, James Campbell, and Edward Campbell are now addressed by us as follows:—"Having heard the evidence, do you wish to "say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything, unless you desire to "do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against "you, upon your trial. And you are also clearly to understand, that you have nothing to hope from "any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been holden out to you, "to induce you to make any admission or confession of your guilt, but whatever you say now may be "given in evidence against you, notwithstanding such promise or threat:" Whereupon the said George William Gordon, Edward Campbell, and James Campbell, severally declined to make any statement until when they are tried.

Taken before us, the day and year first above mentioned, at Port Maria, in the parish aforesaid.

(Signed) A. J. LINDO, Custos.
THOS. HEATH, J.P.

JAMAICA.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Kingston, January 6th, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 4th instant, in which I observe that the Admiral had stated to you the substance of the conversation I had with him in reference to G. W. Gordon. Whilst I have no objection to confirm on oath what I have stated, and so assured the Admiral, it has appeared to me on reflection that it would be extra judicial, and that I ought not, unless required before a commission or other properly constituted court to do so. I have, however, no hesitation in putting down in writing the circumstances to which I alluded, and which your Excellency is at liberty to make such use of as you may consider proper or necessary.

In the early part of the year 1862 my firm of Davidson, Colthurst, and Co. received a power of attorney from the directors of the Waterloo Life Assurance Company, of London, in order to effect an arrangement with the company's then agent here, Mr. George W. Gordon, of his account, as they could get no remittances from him, although he made repeated promises to them for several mails that the money would be remitted by the following one. As we were equally unsuccessful in our applications to Mr. Gordon, although he admitted having received nearly 700*l.* of premiums, we were subsequently instructed by the directors to institute criminal proceedings against him, "in consequence of "his gross betrayal of the confidence reposed in him," and "in the interests of the company and of "society." This step, however, we did not take, acting under the advice of our solicitors. Judgment was afterwards taken by my firm in the court here on the 17th March 1862, for the principal sum of 676*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, on behalf of the company, a portion of which is still unpaid.

I have, &c.,

His Excellency Governor J. Eyre, Esq., (Signed) H. F. COLTHURST.
Homestead, Gurton Town, P.O.

The Colonial STANDARD and JAMAICA DESPATCH, Saturday, December 30, 1865.

A Relic of George William Gordon.

WE have been favoured with a ten shilling note, being one of a large number of similar notes issued by Mr. George William Gordon in this Island, in the year 1854. The document resembles very much some of the Yankee bank notes. It is very nicely printed in copper plate, and is of the following tenor:

A
Kingston, Jamaica, 1st Jan., 1854,
No
Geo. W. Gordon and Co.

One day after date, we promise to pay to John B. Staines or bearer, the sum of ten shillings, value received.

GEO. W. GORDON and Co.

On one side is the representation of a black man working at a horse shoe over an anvil, and on the other the picture of some person with flowing beard and a curious cavalier cap. We have gone over the whole list of philanthropists to discover the one who Mr. Gordon intended to flatter by giving him so prominent a place on the "shinplaster," but did not succeed. We could think of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of Jamaica, as a likely original. Over the top is the representation of a plough drawn by two horses, and tended by two black men, one of whom holds a spade over the left shoulder.

We may notice in addition, that the name of the engravers, "Draper, Welsh, and Co., Philadelphia Exchange," appears on one side of the note.

The gentleman who showed us this relic, lost 100*l.* by taking it and a number of its fellows to that amount, in payment of purchases made from him by poor negroes, who had received them from Mr. George William Gordon. When he presented the notes for payment, the change could not be found. How many poor negroes have had their labour paid for in this worthless currency, by the man who afterwards set himself up as the champion of the black race?

This is matter for reflection, which we recommend to Mr. Chamerovzow and others of his class. The curious may see the note at our office.

The HON. B. VICKERS, Custos of Westmoreland, to MR. MYERS.

I HAVE the honour to state in writing for his Excellency's information the substance I had with him on 20th November last with reference to Mr. G. W. Gordon's visit to the Lamb's River district in this parish, in the early part of last year. This district is in the vicinity of Seaford Town, on the confines of Westmoreland and Saint James.; the inhabitants are for the most part settlers and small freeholders, and produce the largest crops of ginger grown in any district of the Colony.

Shortly after the execution of Mr. G. W. Gordon, a deputation of the inhabitants of that district waited on Mr. W. H. Cooke, the only magistrate residing in the neighbourhood, and stated that when the ginger crop was ripe in the early part of last year, Mr. G. W. Gordon visited them and informed them that they had been robbed by the merchants in Montego Bay, Savanna-la-Mar, and elsewhere, who had hitherto purchased their ginger, and that if they would trust their crops to his disposal they

would then realize their full value. Many of the people delivered their ginger to Mr. Gordon and that he was considerably indebted to them on account of it. I subsequently learnt from Mr. Cooke that a man named Ramsay represented his claim on Gordon to be upwards of 50*l.* I enclose an extract of a letter from Mr. Cooke on this subject.

EXTRACT of a letter from Mr. W. H. COOKE, a Justice of the Peace for the parish of Westmoreland, dated Hermitage Ramble P. O., 14th November 1865.

There are several people in the Lamb's River district that have had dealings with G. W. Gordon, he undertaking to dispose of their ginger. One man, Ramsay, says Gordon owes him upwards of 50*l.*

EXTRACT from a LETTER from the Rev. I. RADCLIFFE to W. M. ANDERSON, Esquire.

PRAY say to the Governor that I can prove for him that G. W. Gordon sold his services for 100*l.*, to support David Smith in the railway.

EXTRACT from the London "Times."

THE following character of Mr. Gordon, written by "one who knew him for 21 years," paints him rather as a restless, unscrupulous agitator, rather than the martyred patriot we are asked to believe him :—

"Mr. G. W. Gordon was a singular compound of opposites, a great pretender in religion, but one who altogether ignored the claims of truth and honesty. One who could expatiate eloquently on the sins of the people, and at the same time beat his own father and defraud all those who were so unfortunate as to place confidence in him. One who boasted that he was the owner of thousands of acres of land, while the records of our Court show that he was tens of thousands of pounds in debt. One who was a shareholder in the Jamaica Bank, and yet that bank would not honour his check for 5*l.* One who professed to be a preacher of the Gospel of peace and love, and yet a plotter of rebellion, anarchy, and bloodshed, a pietest in pretension, and a traitor in heart. Such a mixture of strange contradictions leads to a suspicion that he could not have been a man of sound mind. This, at all events, is the most charitable conclusion, for if otherwise he must have been one of the most desperately wicked men, as well as the vilest hypocrite that ever disgraced the pages of history. Our readers will recollect when some years ago the lieges of Port Royal Street were startled by finding his store closed, and a paper on the doors, of which the following is a copy :—

"'In the name of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, this store stands closed for three days, during which I shall humble myself in fasting and prayer for the sins of the country. Oh, Lord, are not Thine eyes upon the truth? Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved; Thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction; they have made their faces harder than a rock ; they have refused to return.

"'G. W. GORDON.'

"All this might have been very well, although a somewhat eccentric course, had his other conduct comported with it ; but all who had the misfortune to have dealings with him found to their sorrow that he was much more ready to pray than to pay, and seemed to consider a loud profession of religion a perfect substitute for morality and commercial integrity. Some time ago a curious illustration of this tendency occurred on one of his estates. On his visiting the property the labourers, who had been long working without receiving any payment, came to him hoping to obtain a settlement of their accounts. He received them in the most cordial manner and promised to satisfy all their demands, 'but,' said he, 'let us have a word of prayer first.' To this, of course, the poor people could not object; upon which Mr. Gordon commenced and continued praying, singing, and talking until the night was so far advanced that, on concluding, he remarked that it was too late to attend to business, and desiring them to return on the following morning at nine o'clock; but at early dawn he mounted his gig and made his escape, so that when the expectant labourers came at the appointed hour it was to learn that the bird was flown without leaving a single shilling for them."

With regard to the latter anecdote, the Rev. D. B. Panton, M.A., island curate of St. George's, informs me that having been personally present at the locality the day after the occurrence, and having heard the statement made by parties on the spot who were present at the time, he can vouch for its accuracy.

The following paper, relating to the character of G. W. Gordon in reference to monetary transactions has been sent to me by a gentleman of high character and position in the Colony, and who can be referred to for further details if requisite.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

NOTES on G. W. GORDON'S history.

[These notes not having reference to public transactions, have not been printed.]

JAMAICA.

MR. LAWRENCE to MR. GORDON.

MR. GEORGES passed here yesterday, I suppose for Duckenfield, he did not look in.

The land at Sunning Hill is still in great demand, parties having no money ready to hand are pledging their horses, mules, &c. to get money to hand to the curate in his new and additional office.

There seems to be no mistake in this matter.

I am apprehensive that Mr. Airey is acting in a dual capacity with you, and under his authority and influence Mr. Georges may be joined with Mr. Herschell in matters relating to Sunning Hill, if it were not so Mr. Herschell could not have dared to be so bold.

The Lord only knows my feelings touching this matter, together with the late law proceedings, they are such as I cannot express.

I have written you touching Mr. Shortridge and the Rhine tenants.

There seems no end to these annoyances from these unscrupulous men.

I send enclosed one pound from Spring Rents, received from Robert Boyd, yesterday.

Chisholm has put his brother in charge of Coconut Walk, and he is pulling nuts.

(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

We have had a few light showers.

The sale of Mr. McKay's effects took place on 26th instant; Mr. Duffus, auctioneer, &c., &c. I have not learnt particulars beyond one carriage horse purchased by Rev. Mr. Murray. This gent hinted that he wanted free pasturage from you, more anon on this. My letter already too long. Rev. Mr. Murray says he will see you or write you about letting him have free pasturage. If everybody is to do likewise how am I to clean pastures in these truly hard times for EVERYBODY?

(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

Mr. Charles Sullivan has now taken up his quarters at Bath in Mr. Cushion's house, and had his horse here for 11 days without intermission, therefore, I wrote him yesterday to say as *he had reported himself to me as* NOW *living in Bath*, and expecting to do and carry on the business of a druggist in that place, he would have to pay pasturage from 1st May ensuing, as he would require a continuous run for his horse.

Whatever I say in contradiction of Mr. Herschell's right to do what he is doing about Sunning Hill land, is laughed at by the parties wishing to purchase.

I heard yesterday that Mr. Herschell has been, for the last three Sabbaths, calling on his congregation from his pulpit (the Judge's seat) to prepare for taking Sunning Hill land.

As I said in foregoing, Mr. and Mrs. Warmington have come to join the party at Top House, and Mr. Hitchins *sans* Mrs. Hitchins is expected. Vehicles, horses, boys, &c. to profusion in Works yard.

MR. LAWRENCE to MR. G. W. GORDON.

SIR, Rhine, September 7, 1863.

IMMEDIATELY after you left on Friday evening, I received a note from Baron Ketelholdt, stating that the day I had named (the 9th inst.) would be exceedingly inconvenient for him to look at the stock, and requesting I would show whatever I could find read to hand on Saturday morning. I named 11 o'clock for him to meet me, and at 12 o'clock I showed him 16 cows, 4 young steers, and 9 old heifers, which Baron Ketelholdt and his overseer, Mr. Walker, took down the names and description of. He then inquired how many more I could show; on the 9th instant I told him I would show the 21 on that day, he said that would not do, and produced Mr. Airey's order to me for 50 *head, together with their increase since Mr. Georges saw them last year.* I replied that I had orders to deliver 50 head of stock, which I was prepared to do in the following order, on the 9th present month, viz., 25 cows, 10 heifers, 5 young steers, 10 B. and C. calves. He then told his overseer that he would see Mr. Georges and Mr. Airey, and write him per post *this* day, if he was to return to Sunning Hill for the stock.

I suppose ere this he has seen Mr. Airey, and who has seen you, and that I too shall learn how I am to act.

I took good care not to let Baron Ketelholdt see your six planter's steers at Sunning Hill, or any of your big heifers and best looking (*sic*) cows; also to appoint an hour that I knew the curate of Bath would be likely to be engaged with the members of his church on Saturdays, to show the Baron the stock at Sunning Hill. I well knew the comfort that would be afforded the worthy curate if he could be able to spy out the nakedness of the land and learn all particulars; and I am glad to find I succeeded in keeping him where he ought to be.

Kelly will pay you 55*l.* for the piece of land on which his shop is built, and will pay down 30*l.* by the end of the present month and the balance shortly after. You will say if his terms will suit.

No money, not a penny, ocme in *since you left, and I have not a cent.* to advance hands to take down stock to Shutwood. If anything come in before I leave for Portland I shall send the five cows on.

My list of stock at the time Mr. Georges looked at them, in May 1862, shows:—

Cows - - 30.
Heifers - 10.
Steers - - 10 = 50.

And 13 cows out of the 30 above enumerated had calves sucking. This specification I supposed was only known to you and myself. Mr. Georges never took or obtained particulars of the stock from me. I have no recollection of having given you numbers and particulars of classification of them. I could not, therefore, understand the Baron on Satnrday last, when he remarked that Mr. Airey had shown him a list of stock, which showed 30 cows and 10 heifers. How could Mr. Airey get this list. I gave none to any one, not even to you if I remember rightly, and *if I did give any to you* I am certain that could be the only one I gave.

I am, &c.

G. W. Gordon, Esq., Kingston. (Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

[I might have given Mr. Airey a list of stock I had intended to deliver, but the arrangement was not carried out, and the matter became a transaction of the present time. (Signed) G. W. G.

MR. LAWRENCE to MR. W. GORDON.

SIR, Rhine, September 8, 1863.

I HAVE written you, and I am just from Sunning Hill, where I was met by Baron Ketelholdt's overseer, Mr. Walker, who took down notes of the stock, which the Baron did not see on Saturday last. Mr. Walker says he will send the Baron a copy of the notes taken by him, together with his valuation of them, and that he will also send copies to Mr. Airey and Mr. Georges, and that he thinks Mr. Georges will have to come to Sunning Hill to see the stock offered to the Baron, and compare with what he must have seen last year.

William Richards came down with me from Sunning Hill, and in passing the church at Bath Mr. Herschell, who was sitting there, called Richards and asked him if he had shown the stock at Sunning Hill to Mr. Walker. Upon Richards replying in the affirmative, he repeated several times, *if he was sure they were the same stock* shown to Mr. Georges, (*sic*) and to which Richards persistently replied, that they were.

It seems to me that the Baron and his overseer have been concluding that the 50 head of stock shown him by me, are different to those which Mr. Georges saw, and must have remarked so to Mr. Herschell, hence the questions put to Richards by Mr. Herschell.

I have seen the man, William (*sic*) Burke, at Ginger Hall, and I shall write you from Bogg what I heard from him, as I have not time to do so now.

I have some hopes of getting the stolen boards.

As I must go to Portland, and the sooner the better, you will please write me through the Port Antonio post office on Thursday and on Monday next; in the meantime you shall hear from me.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

EXTRACT from a Letter, dated 7th November 1865, from the Rev. P. M. Dingwall, Minister of the American Christian Missionary Society, to Governor Eyre.

YOUR Excellency will, therefore, be informed that the late arch traitor, G. W. Gordon, who has paid the penalty due to treason long since, has, in this parish, two properties, viz., Petersfield and Palmetto Grove. The first place named is rented by a Mr. W. Watson, an engineer, for, I believe, 40*l.* per annum. The next is rented by a Mr. James Cathcart, for the same amount, without leases.

* * * * * *

These places are Gordon's I know, from having, in the year 1859, had business with him in respect of one of the properties, when, notwithstanding his plausible hypocrisy and sham religion, he most shamefully robbed me.

Talk of such a man as the friend of the people? Tell it not in Gath!!!

Properties Mortgaged by George William Gordon.

Date.	Description of Mortgage.	Name of Property.	Parish.	Extent.	Description of Property.	Number of Stock.	Amount.	Remarks.
1846. Nov. 18	George Wm. Gordon to Henckell and Dubuisson, Merchants, London.	Cocoa walk - - -	Saint David	800 acres -	Sugar estate	None - -	£ s. d. 3,500 0 0	
Feb. 12	Same to same - -	Rhine - - - -	St. Thomas-in-the-East.	800 acres -	Sugar estate	135 head horned stock, 8 mules, planting instruments, &c. &c.	2,000 0 0	And further advances not to exceed 3,000*l.*
July 31	Same to same - -	Undivided moiety of Crawl River.	Clarendon -	2,200 acres	Sugar estate	150 head stock	Stipulated at 3,000 0 0	Further security for the purchase money of the Bogg (500*l.*), as also for advances for the purchase of stock, &c., and for the purposes of cultivation, stipulated at 3,000*l.*
		Shot Over Penn - -	Portland -	Not stated.				
		Bogg Estate - - - and Several Life Policies of Assurance, effected in the Jamaica Mutual L. A. Society upon the Lives of three individuals.	Portland -	„	Sugar estate	54 head of stock		
1860. July 20.	Same to same - -	Other half of Crawl River Estate.	Clarendon -	Stated above	Sugar estate	- - -	- - -	Further security there being a large amount due at this date to Messrs. Henckell and Dubuisson, which could not be actually ascertained at the date of these presents; and it was further agreed that the stock on the Rhine shall be kept up to the number of not less at any time than 134 head, and upon the Crawl, Bogg, and Shot Over, to the number of 116 head.

No Crop Accounts recorded.

DUPLICATE.

DOCKETS of JUDGMENTS open in the Clerk of the Court's Office, from February 1840 to June 1865.

1862, February.	The Waterloo Life Insurance Company *v.* Gordon, Geo. W. Damages, 676*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; costs, 59*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.*
„ „	Kemshead, H. M., *v.* same. Damages, 1,550*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; costs, 22*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*
„ „	Dubuisson, James, et al., *v.* same. Damages, 33,256*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*; costs, 2,391*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*
„ „	Campbell, Margt. F., Exix., *v.* same. Damages, 42*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*; costs, 8*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*
„ „	Titley, Wm. A., P/O., *v.* same. Damages, 1,519*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*; costs, 6*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*
„ „	Malabre, A. L. et al., *v.* same. Damages, 35*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*; costs, 5*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*
1865, June.	Hutchings, Henry, O/A., *v.* same. Damages, 318*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*; costs, 12*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*

The foregoing are correct dockets taken from the Records in my Office of Judgments, appearing open against the late George William Gordon, from February Grand Court 1840 to June Grand Court 1865.

(Signed) H. THOS. MARSH, Clerk.

8th January 1866.

* * * * *

The REV. T. T. ORGILL, B.A., Island Curate, Portland, to MR. MYERS.

As a general symptom at a distance from my district I cannot omit to mention a letter to Mr. Herschell a year ago, in which he was advised, with many threats, to pack up his traps and begone, for there was something looming in the distance which he could not escape, and if he were to hear what it was it would make his blood run cold.

Taking this threatening letter in connexion with the untiring hostility of Mr. Gordon to Mr. Herschell, and the incendiary address of Mr. Gordon to the people of St. Ann's and St. Thomas-in-the-East, which was soon followed by a violent placard at Bath, pointing out the Baron, the Rector, and Mr. Herschell as particularly the enemies of the people's rights in that parish, impressed me with some painful forebodings for the result. My fears have been too signally realized.

DEPOSITION of JOSEPH HARDIE WILLIAMS.

Two or three months previous to the outbreak I attended a meeting held at G. W. Gordon's house on Morant Bay; the meeting was attended entirely by black men armed with sticks, a large body of them. I was accompanied by several of my friends, coloured men. We went there from curiosity to see what was going on, but they would not allow us to remain. They threatened us, and we had to return. It was held all night.

D. P. TRENCH, ESQ., Inspector of Revenues, to MR. MYERS.

THE opinions which I have formed on these points are based mainly on what information I have collected on the occasions of my official visits of inspection in various parts of the country, which induces me to believe that for some time before the outbreak a strong spirit of disaffection had and still has a wide-spread influence over the minds of a large proportion of the black, and not a few of the coloured population of this Island, the one taking its rise principally from political causes, and the other following, without any appreciable or well-understood motives, the advice and secret counsellings of wicked persons, one of the most notorious of whom was the late George William Gordon.

I met this person during the months of July and August last, travelling in different parishes, and he told me himself he had been addressing the people. On the 2nd of August he put up at the same hotel that I was at, in Montego Bay, on the north side of the Island. He informed me that he had had large meetings of the people in the parishes of Saint Ann's and Trelawney, and was then preparing for a gathering in Saint James. He extended his visitations to Hanover, and there I know he had a large gathering also.

From the character of resolutions passed at these meetings I have little doubt that sedition was abundantly inculcated in the minds of the people by the inflammatory harangues of Mr. Gordon and others who addressed them, for indeed there was no occasion or a subject upon which Mr. Gordon addressed an audience that he did not level the most scurrilous invective against the Governor, the Executive Committee, and all authority, whether ecclesiastical or official.

DEPOSITION of JOSEPH H. WILLIAMS.

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MR. R. D. COOKE to The HON. P. A. ESPEUT.

I HEARD several of the condemned, while on the gallows, say that it was Mr. G. W. Gordon who had brought them to that end.

I heard McLaren, one of the principal ringleaders, say so; he also said that he had been selected as secretary because he could read and write.

Those who were catted, while undergoing their punishment would cry out, "George Gordon, oh! "Paul Bogle, oh! Moses Bogle, oh! McLaren, oh!"

STATEMENT of G. B. SNAITH, ESQ., J.P.

I HAVE been told by a respectable coloured woman that G. W. Gordon had on several occasions called at her tavern on his return from the St. Thomas-in-the-East vestries, and among his observations on the different gentlemen connected with that Board, said repeatedly "That fellow "Herschell talks a great deal too much, and ought to have his tongue cut out," which was actually done.

MR. P. ELPHICK, J.P., to The HON. W. P. GEORGES.

THE negroes in this vicinity have declared that land was to be free; "they were to pay no "rent," and in some cases refused to do so. Whether they really believed this or only wished it to be so, I cannot say, but incline to the latter supposition. When the lessee of Middleton called on a man for rent last August, he told him this tale, and said, "Think I lie, Sir, look here," producing a paper with the address to the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East; and a person who was at the house at the time said, "I do not like the looks of this. Be up and doing." Doing what?

The REV. WM. MAYHEW, M.A., Rector of St. Andrew, to MR. MYERS.

I SAW the other day one of my old parishioners from Westmoreland, Mr. Cooke, of the Hermitage, and I asked him if it was true that there was disaffection in his mountains at Seaford Town, which I had always understood to be a settlement of Germans, he said "Yes;" but there is also a large black population; and there was great excitement among them after Gordon's visit, a few months ago, but it subsided when they heard that Gordon *was hung*. He added, that Gordon had bought some of their produce and never paid for it; and this leads me to say the sooner the better the British public can be disabused of their notion that Gordon was a saint and martyr, and made to understand that he was a rogue and hypocrite. His character and acts once known, the broad maxims "*Salus publica lex suprema*" will be a sufficient excuse for his removal from Kingston to Morant Bay.

No one can bear truer testimony to Gordon's rascalities than Mr. John Polson, the overseer of Mr. Moses' coffee property in this parish, now the property of Mr. Augustus Miles. Gordon was formerly attorney of that property, and of several adjacent properties, and Mr. Polson was manager under him. He is a worthy straightforward old Scotchman, and Mr. Miles speaks in the highest terms of his integrity.

The HON. P. A. ESPEUT, Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East, to Mr. MYERS.

I HAVE no doubt whatever that the late rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East was caused by the seditious preaching and haranguing of Geo. W. Gordon and his companions, and that but for the premature outbreak at Morant Bay on the 11th October, and the prompt and energetic measures adopted then by his Excellency and the Government, the whole of the black population would have risen simultaneously throughout the Island, for the murder of every white and coloured man in the Colony.

DEPOSITION of STEPHEN COOKE, ESQ., Clerk of the Peace for the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I HEARD the Rebels during the night from my hiding-place say they were determined to kill all the mulattos, for then they would easily manage the whites. I was present at the execution of the Rebels, and heard several of them say whilst on the gallows, "That Mr. Gordon bring them to this; must take 'warning,'" these words were used addressing the bystanders.

The HON. P. A. ESPEUT, Custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East, to MR. MYERS.

I HAVE also no doubt whatever that Gordon had organized extensive ramifications tending to further and nurture disaffection among the negroes, and it is well known that Gordon and Paul Bogle travelled throughout the Island during the last eighteen months, and that they preached together wherever they went.

I have myself met Gordon two or three times in different parts of the Island, and in reply to my question of what he was doing, he told me "He was looking after his people." He has said to me, "Oh! my poor people, they are badly treated by the Government;" and on my remonstrating with him for saying such things, he has invariably replied, "That they were ill-treated, and must have more "consideration." I have been on many occasions greatly shocked by his exaggerated and unfounded statements.

I was present at Morant Bay the day after the lamentable scenes that occurred there on the 11th October, and from all I heard then, my opinion was confirmed that Gordon had been the instigator; the inhabitants said so, and the last words of the dying Rebels were "that Gordon had "brought them to this."

STATEMENT of MR. SAWKINS, Director of the West India Geological Survey.

PRIOR to this I had frequently crossed the track of Geo. W. Gordon, who seldom travelled except by night, and heard of his preaching and praying, or building a new "Tabernacle," similar to those common about the properties held in his name, which in an agricultural point of view and the dilapidated state I had generally seen them, gave positive proof of their being under his superintendence, and as I once told him, no man appeared to hold more properties, and leave them to the elements of destruction than he. On my asking him why he did this, his reply was that he was waiting until the negro population was larger, which, by the emigration from Barbadoes, he hoped would soon be; his conviction being that the white man would not be found in Jamaica in 1872. These were the ideas of G. W. Gordon, and I fear there are many who thought the same until the prospect of a change in the form of Government and the House of Assembly destroyed. This was the subject of conversation of all the intelligent men I met with in the course of a tour round the western portion of the Island in 1863, but the Government did not appear to be aware of this, or did not wish to propose such a measure until the foul and bloody revolt at Morant Bay had been enacted on a few of the best friends the negroes ever possessed.

STATEMENT of MR. HARRISON, Attorney of Hordley Estate.

THAT it was premeditated I am fully convinced, for in a conversation with Geo. W. Gordon himself, when spending an evening with me along with his wife, at the end of June or beginning of July last, in spite of his great caution and command of words and temper, he admitted that he had been asked to head or organize a rebellion, but he refused to do so, as he wished to try what a demonstration would do first. I looked upon it as others did to whom he said the same thing, as an idle boast. Subsequently, the same evening, when speaking of my wife's health, he said most earnestly, "Take "all your family off the country, start before the rainy seasons set in, and don't be back till after "Christmas, or you will repent it; your life and that of your family is above every other consider-"ation. I am going off myself to Paris this Christmas." I said "Why not go to England, you "can't speak French fluently?" He replied, "My wife, you know, is half a Frenchwoman," and laughed. I thought nothing of it at the time, but recent events fix a terrible import on his words.

MR. INSPECTOR MITCHELL to MR. MYERS.

I FURTHER believe, from what has transpired, that seeds of disaffection *were* sown by the late Mr. G. W. Gordon, on his tour round the Island in August last, for the purpose of giving public lectures in the several parishes. He, however, failed in the attempt to hold a meeting at the court-house in this town, as no one would go to hear him, but he afterwards attended a public meeting at the Baptist

chapel here, when he commenced to lecture, using very inflammatory language, until he was called to silence and requested to leave the platform by the minister of that chapel.

Police Inspector of Kingston to Mr. Myers.

My belief is that the spirit of disaffection and sedition which existed in St. Thomas-in-the-East, was stimulated by the improper teaching and pernicious advice of Mr. G. W. Gordon and his adherents; and I am further of opinion, that if the St. Thomas-in-the-East negroes had not been goaded on by Mr. G. W. Gordon and other agitators in that district, they never would of themselves been guilty of the late deplorable and sanguinary outbreak.

The Hon. Custos Lowe to Mr. Myers.

Mr. Gordon spent several days in the mountainous parts of the parish, and was often seen after dark travelling from place to place; his attempt to get up a meeting at John's Hill was unsuccessful.

Captain Kent, Stipendiary Magistrate, to Mr. Myers.

I firmly believe that George Wm. Gordon, who has justly expiated his crimes on the gallows along with his coadjutor Paul Bogle, was at the head and instigator of this rebellion, and that it was a most fortunate event for the Colony that he was not at Morant Bay at the outbreak in October, as he would have held them back till the time appointed; but the negroes with their impulsive character would brook no delay, but rushed on to the fearful slaughter that ensued. The meeting houses with native preachers throughout this Island is a great evil, and fraught with great danger to the Colony; they should without delay be denounced.

The Hon. Mr. Nunes, Custos of Trelawny, to Mr. Myers.

There is no doubt that very great influence had been exercised on the minds of the black population in bringing about this late rebellion, of which I regard Mr. George W. Gordon as having been the principal instigator, and it appears that he travelled through the Island during the months of July and August last for the express purpose of sowing the seeds of disaffection and rebellion; while he was in this parish in August he obtained an opportunity of addressing the congregation of the Baptist chapel in this town, but in consequence of the seditious advice and inflammatory language indulged in by him he was stopped in his harangue and was prevented by the Rev. Mr. Lea, the minister attached to the chapel, from continuing his improper course. I deem it right to state that I obtained this information from the Rev. Mr. Lea after Mr. George W. Gordon had been apprehended. It has also recently come to my knowledge that a similar course was pursued by Mr. Gordon, in the Presbyterian kirk at Green Island, where he was also for the like reason checked and compelled to discontinue his address.

Statement of the Rev. I. W. Sloan, LL.B., Island Curate of St. Andrew, Golden Grove.

On my calling at the Nineteen mile tavern on November 24, the hostess, Mrs. Noel, informed me that Gordon used to be a frequent visitor along with his wife and Vinen; that the latter two used to go out for hours, leaving Gordon alone rambling among among the bushes. Gordon told Mrs. Noel how he disliked Mr. Herschell and the Baron, expressing himself very bitterly against them.

Mrs. Noel's own remark was, "the strongest love changed into deadly hatred;" the cause of dislike was money matters between Gordon and the Baron. Gordon uttered his sentiments on his way to the vestry which preceded the one held on October 11th, 1865.

Statement of Mr. Kirkland, J.P.

I have omitted to state that on the 30th September previously, Mr. G. W. Gordon's overseer at the Rhine, Mr. Henry Laurence, came to get tax receipts from me for 14 persons for taxes over 30*s.*, to bring them into the terms of the election law; he divided Mr. Gordon's cattle, &c. among them. *I cautioned him at the time* to be careful of what he was doing, and brought to his recollection the fate of Mr. McLean, C.V., at an election in St. David's; at the time I did not contemplate anything serious. The books in the C. D.'s office will show this,—they were kept by me; Paul and Moses Bogle were among the number then licensed; these taxes were paid by a cheque on Colonial Bank drawn by Mr.

Gordon; Mr. Laurence took the affidavits attached to the receipt, and got licences from the clerk of the peace. JAMAICA

STATEMENT of JULIUS HIBBERT.

I WAS present at a meeting at Somerset in August last at the Baptist meeting-house. Francis took the chair. George Clarke came to it; he told the people that Rector Cooke and Stephen Cooke got all the money for the small-pox. Mr. Bowen got 5*l.* and Mr. Patterson 5*l.* They must go to them and get some of it for they kept it all to themselves, and would not give any to the black people. They must go and demand the money and use his name. He said by this and Christmas they would make some of the white men take off their shoes and walk barefoot. He said he had a letter for him from Mr. George William Gordon; that he had left it at Fort Hill. He said Gordon would come and hold the last meeting at Somerset, and it would be greater than the first one.

STATEMENT of HENRY THEOPHILUS BOGLE, Nephew of Paul Bogle.

THERE were two more meetings held at the chapel, but I did not go to them. Paul Bogle's meetings began to be held after Mr. Gordon's meeting at the Guineppe Tree.

Paul Bogle and Mr. Gordon were like brothers, and Mr. Gordon was often in my uncle's house, and my uncle used to go to Spring to him.

I was not at the meeting at the Guineppe Tree. My cousin, William Bogle, told me that Mr. Gordon said at the meeting too much advantage was taken of the black people in St. Thomas-in-the-East. He said the people must take the back lands without pay for them.

DEPOSITION of the HON. W. P. GEORGES, Custos of St. David.

MRS. Noel, who keeps a tavern at Yallah's Bay in St. David, has stated in my presence that she has on several occasions at the tavern heard Mr. George William Gordon say that Mr. Herschell's tongue should be cut out.

From A. K. MUDIE, Parochial Schoolmaster and Organist, Morant Bay.

ON Thursday morning, very early, a group of young men and women armed (among which was one Elizabeth Bailey) passed by my residence on their way to the Bay, when one of the number, by way of encouragement to some other or others, said "Come on; Mr. Gordon say we to fight for we country. "We sit down quiet too long."

* * * * * *

I well remember passing by William Chisholm's house (Gordon's agent) on Thursday, 10th August, when I observed on a large tree nearly opposite, posted upon the "Queen's Message to the Working Classes," that placard known as Gordon's seditious placard, calling upon the people to be up and doing as they have been ground down too long.

STATEMENT of E. N. HARRISON.

NOT long ago before the rebellion I saw a very seditious placard going the round of Bath, which at the time was said to be some of G. W. Gordon's doing. It was appealing to the naked and starving people of St. Ann's and St. Thomas-in-the-East for their rights, informing them that the custos of St. Thomas-in-the-East was a foreigner, and had no right to be custos. That he had taken their money and shielded the Cookes and Mr. Herschell in their wrong doings, and telling them to be up and doing; that it was quite time to assert their rights, and that if they would help themselves, God would help them. I believe from what I have heard that Manchioneal was plundered by people living up that side, and that the rebellion that side was only stopped when the people were met and fired at by the soldiers; had it got to Port Antonio and passed there, not all the soldiers we then had in the Island could have quelled the rebellion, as it would have soon got into the heart of the country, and the whole Island would have been in revolt.

STATEMENT of W. C. HARTY, of Morant Bay.

SOME weeks since I was in conversation with a man, who informed me that he was one of the constables who had captured the notorious Captain Bowie; and that when arrested, Bowie had said Mr. Gordon has put us quite out of our way; and that on the question being asked, what he meant?

JAMAICA. he said Mr. Gordon told us now is the time to rise and have the country for ourselves, as in—here the constable paused, and I suggested St. Domingo; he still paused, and I again suggested "Hayti," upon which he said "Yes, that is the name."

Statement of Dr. Edward William Major.

I had always considered Mr. G. W. Gordon my friend, and a kind and humane man, and it was not till after his execution that I was fully convinced of his treachery and villany, and I was exceedingly grieved to find that he was such a base and cruel man. A letter written by him only a short time before the rebellion stated, that my wife and family with myself, would all be brought to the same level with the Baron, Mr. Herschell, and the Cookes, and swept like chaff before the wind. This was the man who had often sat at my table, and whom I really considered a true and faithful friend. The last time (August 14th, 1865) he breakfasted with us he appeared unusually cheerful, and remarked how very successful he had been in the various places he had visited, and especially at the meeting at St. Ann's. I accused him of writing the handbill in which he spoke so shamefully of the Baron, the Rector, and the Rev. V. Herschell. He did not deny having written it, but said laughing, "Doctor, "can you prove it?" Mrs. Major jokingly said "I will try you without judge or jury, and condemn "you to be hung for high treason." He said, "You cannot do that. I have gone as far as I can, but "I cannot go any further." She then replied "I hope we shall hear of no more meetings." On the same occasion it was that he expressed very malignant feelings towards the Governor, saying "That it "would be a blessing to the country if he were shot;" as also others that he mentioned.

Mr. G. D. Ramsay to Colonel Hunt.

In a paper seized at Stony Gut in Bogle's house, when every other paper had been removed, on the morning of the 18th October, was the list in Mr. Gordon's writing, with himself at the head, of known and suspected rebels.

Clyne, one of them, a black man, of immense influence, stated voluntarily in presence of Mr. McPherson and others in prison (when too ill to be moved), that he had always used his interest for Mr. Gordon; but at a meeting held some little time previous to the outbreak, when carried against his will to the place of meeting in Mr. Gordon's carriage, where the Bogles, Clark, &c., were present, that as chairman of the meeting he found it his duty to caution Mr. Gordon of the dangerous manner he was speaking. These are his words as near as I can recollect. Mr. McPherson, of the District prison, Morant Bay, can, I think, confirm this, and may perhaps state more as to his saying "It was "all Gordon's fault."

Mr. Walker, a justice of the peace for St. Thomas-in-the-East, openly asserts that he saw Gordon walk up to the Baron, and shaking his fist in his face, say before the people in Morant Bay, "Your "fingers shall burn;" and the first act of the rebels after the burning of the court-house and the murder of the Baron, was the taking off his fingers.

Mr. Walker now resides in St. John's.

Statement of W. W. McGowan.

A Rebel who had received a shot through the right breast, and was taken to the hospital by the order of the doctors, first gave the information relative to George William Gordon as being chief instigator of the rebellion.

Statement of Henry Theophilus Bogle (Nephew of Paul Bogle).

There were two more meetings held at the chapel, but I did not go to them.

Paul Bogle's meetings began to be held after Mr. Gordon's meeting at the Guineppe Tree.

Paul Bogle and Mr. Gordon were like brothers, and Mr. Gordon was often in my uncle's house, and my uncle used to go to Spring to him.

I was not at the meeting at the Guineppe Tree. My cousin, William Bogle, told me that Mr. Gordon said at the meeting too much advantage was taken of the black people in St. Thomas-in-the-East. He said the people must take the back lands without pay for them.

Mr. Cresser to Mr. Georges.

Sir, Blue Mountain, January 5, 1866.

It is my opinion that the late rebellion and massacre in this parish was concocted and planned long before the breaking out.

Any person could see, without reflection, that the rising of the people in Morant Bay was intended to be general, had it not been so speedily put a stop to by the Executive.

In the month of August last, on the Monday after the meeting that was held in Morant Bay by Mr. Gordon, the very man that killed the book-keeper in this house, stopped my second and children gang on their way to work, telling them that Mr. Gordon told them on the Saturday that all grown person was not to work for less than 10*s.* to 12*s.* per week; second class, 4*s.* to 5*s.*, and children from 3*s.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* per week; and if the estates did not pay that they were not to work; that Mr. Gordon was going to England; when he returns everything would be settled.

It now came out that through Mr. Gordon and Paul Bogle, meetings used to be held at Fonthill, a village bordering on this estate; that oaths were given to those who attended these meetings that they divulge no secrets.

Many of my tenants before the outbreak used to tell me that after Christmas land would be free, and that they will pay no more rent.

That Mr. Gordon's volunteers will soon turn out.

To make the late rebellion a local riot is trying to change night into day and day into night. The people had the will, and Gordon gave the application.

I am, &c.

The Hon. W. P. Georges. (Signed) JAMES CRESSER.

NATHANIEL LAKE, on his oath, saith as follows:—

I AM a rural constable for this parish. On my way from Spring Garden, with Colonel Bowie in custody, when we got to Stanton Gate Bouie said to me, "Loose me a little; let me go and ease "myself." I loosed him. When he returned he said, "Lake, tie me, but don't tie me so tight." I said, "I will tie you, because I don't see what you want in the world to do such a thing." He said, "Oh, my son! Mr. Gordon put us all out of our way." I said, "What Mr. Gordon say to you?" He said, "Mr. Gordon give a meeting all round to destroy the white and the coloured men, but those "that join them not to be destroyed." I said, "It is a bad act to take life; but I have nothing to do "with it; you must tell head-quarters." Bowie said, as he was going to be hung, no use his speaking again. I was present at Bowie's trial, but he made no statement at his trial. I also saw him hung. I heard some of the Rebels say when they were being flogged, that it was Bogle that brought them to this.

his
NATHANIEL × LAKE.
mark.

Taken and sworn to before me this 5th day of January 1866,
at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(Signed) D. G. WAIT, S.M.

SIMON SANDY TAYLOR asked to see Police Inspector Gordon Ramsay at 10 minutes to 1 p.m. Sunday, October 22, 1865, in presence of Robert McPherson, Esq., Superintendent of the District Prison, Morant Bay, St. Thomas-in-the-East, and asked to send for William Murray, a long, tall, brown man, that lives at Seaforth. He passed papers in Gordon's name, and then he states Boyd, the overseer at Spring for Mr. Gordon. He handed the paper to Chisholm to surround powder house.

Chisholm called a meeting at Spring to raise money to send Mr. Gordon to town. This was in the last of September. Leicester Davis was headman, I know Chisholm. I see him now (in prison). This old man Chisholm handed the letters to the meeting to free Buckland, and when they come into the Bay not to strike the white first, but when they are going to commence, surround the powder-house at Morant Bay. White must strike first, and when they see that, make war. This was in the paper Paul Bogle read to the members on Thursday at 12 o'clock. At Stoney Gut, the day after, I heard the Baron dead. Paul Bogle took me as drill serjeant. I was at Soho, about two miles; they took me by force. I know I am going to die, but I don't deserve it, as I was forced.

his
(Signed) SIMON × TAYLOR,
mark.

Witness,
(Signed) R. MATHESON.
22nd day of October 1865.

[Prisoner was solemnly cautioned, without any hope of reward or reprieve, this taken.—(Signed) R. MATHESON.]

JAMAICA, ss.

I, PETER ALEXANDER ESPEUT, Custos Rotulorum of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, do swear that I was present at Morant Bay, in the said parish, on the second day after the outbreak, on the 11th day of October last, and that I heard several of the inhabitants say that George William Gordon had been the cause of all that had taken place, that he was the instigator and principal leader of the rebellion. I heard the same expressions at Port Antonio, in the parish of Portland. I also

Jamaica. frequently heard the Rebels at their execution cry out that George W. Gordon had brought them to that end.

(Signed) P. A. Espeut.

Sworn to before me this 18th day of January 1866.
Wm. Kemble, J.P.

The Rev. D. B. Panton, M.A., Island Curate of Birnam Wood, to Mr. Myers.

Since writing the above I have heard that the late G. W. Gordon remarked to Mr. Henry Ford some months ago, that the rebellion in India did not succeed, that country being *flat*, but that rebellion here might be expected to succeed, this being a *mountainous country*.

Mr. Ford to Mr. A. C. Sinclair.

My dear Sinclair, Bank of Jamaica, Kingston, January 6, 1866.

I have just received your letter, and have no objection to jot down for Col. Hunt the conversations which, as I mentioned to you, I had with the late Mr. G. W. Gordon, before and on the day after the rebellion breaking out a Morant Bay. He used to call on me at the Bank of Jamaica (being next door to his office), nearly every morning, to read the papers and chat in a friendly way, and one morning, about a week or ten days' before the 11th October, he was complaining to me how falsely and bitterly the papers were accusing him of saying, in his speech at the Vere Underhill meeting, that Jamaica should become a second Hayti, &c., &c. I said to him, "But Mr. Gordon, is "it not strange, that when sitting and talking with you, as a friend, you seem quite a different person "to what you are at these political meetings, where you seem to be urging on and exciting the "ignorant people to cut my throat and the throats of all such as me (white) in the Island. I should "like to understand it, for I cannot think you really mean that." He said, "No, Mr. Ford, you are "quite mistaken; the people are excited by distress and over-taxation and oppression, and they ask me "to speak to them, and I go and speak peace to them, and to tell them to bear patiently and let their "wrongs be known that they might be redressed." I told him, "That it seemed to me that his telling "them to keep quiet and bear their wrongs, he was preaching peace the wrong way, it was like the "cannon saying, don't hit him! meaning all the time to do it; and that his excited addresses to the "poor people made them fancy they had troubles and miseries that they would never have dreamt of, "but for his pointing them out to them, as the man in Dickens' 'Haunted Man' or the 'Schools "'Bargain," who, being *himself* a disheartened and discontented man, carried about with him an "atmosphere and influence, which made all he came into contact with disheartened and discontented "too. While a cheerful tone would make even real troubles seem lighter to them; and that his "speeches were like putting a lighted torch into a barrel of gunpowder, and however he might *intend* "them they were most dangerous and wrong;" and then I said, "To look at the matter boldly, "suppose the people were to be so excited or foolish as to rise a rebellion, did he think that they "could be successful? suppposing," I said, "for the sake of argument, that they killed all of us "Europeans at the first outbreak, *would* not and *could* not England amply avenge us?" and I referred him to the memory of the Indian rebellion, where thousands of trained troops and a population of millions were steadily and determinedly conquered, and all the guilty *exterminated*, and so I said it would be here, only so much more easily; he said, "No, it would not be so here, for sickness "would kill all the European troops before they could reach the people in the mountains; that all the "power of the Great Napoleon had not been able to put down the rebellion in Hayti, and it "would be the same here, if anything of the kind were to happen." I said that Hayti was not a similar caae, as at that time Napoleon was hampered with foreign wars, and besides the people of France were almost all in favour of the blacks, who, as they considered were only fighting for the liberty which they, the people of France, had decreed to them, and which they themselves had so lately fought for; but that India was the thing to look at, where England's power, though taken at first at so terrible a disadvantage, was so soon and so terribly re-established. He said, "India is not a case "in point at all, Mr. Ford; India is a flat country, the troops could overrun it, but Jamaica is "mountainous, and the English troops would die of sickness as the French troops did in Hayti, in "the time of that revolution; however," he said, "this is only conversation, and to show you that you "are wrong in thinking that the people here could be so easily conquered if they were to rise." But I cannot think that he had any such bloodthirsty thoughts, "as he always spoke peace to the people." I said that it would be kinder and wiser if he advised them to work and save, and *individually* to try and get on well by their own industry and economy, than to be everlastingly stirring them up to be excited about politics, which could never do them any good; that I never interfered in politics, that I had always noticed in England that when poor labouring men, who had not the time or education to understand the subjects of politics, taxes, labour, &c., became pothouse politicians, however learnedly and applauded they would settle the affairs of the nation with their drinking companions, that they generally got drunk and went home and beat their wives, and that their work was neglected, and all went wrong, and they and their children came to rags and the workhouse, while the sensible steady workman minded his own affairs, spent his money on his family's comforts, and gradually became more and more respectable and respected. He said there was a good deal of truth in that,

and so he left that morning; and I notice that he is reported to have said, a little before he was sentenced at Morant Bay, that if he were spared he would never interfere in politics again: and I cannot help thinking that he then thought again of my words, for I spoke out freely to him as I thought it a duty, for as you and my family well know, I had long, for months before, *expected* that the violent and seditious speeches at those Underhill meetings, many of which I had heard myself, *must* result in a rebellion, and then in a sad vengeance by England; but after great horrors here in the country parts at any rate. On the evening of the above conversation I mentioned it to my brother, in confirmation of my opinion that these Underhill speakers meant real bloodshed, as it coupled with the articles headed, "Blood," &c., &c., in the "Watchman," all tended the same way, and I wrote same to my brother in Australia, months before, and yet could not see how, by the laxity of the laws of public speaking and the licentious liberty of the press, such openly seditious speaking and writing could be prevented, until after some tangible sedition had been actually committed, &c., &c. And I, a day or two after the above conversation, told Mr. Gordon that I thought there was a chance of his being hanged for sedition, by asking, in his presence, the President of the Jamaica Mutual Life Assurance Society (Mr. Colthurst) whether, in the event of Mr. Gordon's being hanged, the transferred policies held by the bank would be of any use? and he, turning to Mr. Gordon, said, "I say, Mr. Gordon, do you hear what our friend, Ford, says of you?" and he laughed, and said, "Yes," taking as it was, as referring to our late conversation, half jest, half earnest, and we continued as friendly as ever, friendly in a business way I mean, as I had never had an opportunity of knowing him except in frequent business transactions for years, but had never visited his house or he mine, as is the case with so many business friendships. And on the morning of the 14th October, post day, Saturday, the news of the rebellion and massacre of the Baron and Rev. Mr. Herschell, and Mr. Hire, and the Cookes, and Mr. Price, and others at Morant Bay, on the 11th, having arrived in town, and caused great excitement, he was in the bank upstairs when I arrived, and was reading his post letters, and complained that they would not give him his St. Thomas-in-the-East letters, but he had some from Vere; and that he was being insulted and ill-used by everybody in town, having even been ordered out of stores since this rebellion, as if he had anything to do with it. When he had only gone, when asked by the people themselves, to speak peace and comfort to them, and I said that, as I had told him before, his way of doing that only made them think themselves more wretched and ill-used and oppressed, and he, to show me how he was pressed to visit Vere, showed me a letter he had just received from Vere. I did not read or do not remember the name of the writer, and gave it me to read a portion, in which were the words, speaking of the people, "poor slaves," and I said to him, "Now that is just what I mean Mr. Gordon, That is how you make the people believe they are still "treated as slaves, when you know they are not so, but have every privilege that we have." He said "He always told them that they were not slaves." I said, "Yes," but at same time, or in a tone implying, that they were treated and trodden down as such, and that if I had the answering of that person's letter, I should tell him that he was only doing mischief to the people by speaking to them in that exciting tone and using such language to them; and I said to him, that I felt sure, however, I thought that his imprudent and excited speeches had greatly been the cause of the contempt for the laws and hatred of the authorities, which had resulted in the outbreak and bloodshed, that yet he must regret that bloodshed as much as I or any one else could, and could have had no such real intention, whatever dangerous or imprudent speech he may have uttered, when excited by politics or public speaking. He said, "Certainly, Mr. Ford, I never knew anything of it, and you know that what they "say of my having stayed away from that vestry meeting, because I knew what was coming is not true, "for you know, Mr. Ford, that for the last two weeks, I have been ill and weak, as you have seen "every morning." And this is true, he had been very poorly for some weeks past, and he said, "I am sorry for my poor friend, Hire," and then said that he would like to go and see his friend, Mr. Airey, and ask more news, but that he was positively afraid to go anywhere, he was being so insulted. I told him that he could hardly wonder at it, and that I thought it was his duty to *his own safety* as much as to the misguided and unfortunate people, whom his speeches had helped to mislead into thinking that they could, at any time, rise with impunity, from their numbers being so much greater than the whites, that it was his duty, in some way, to let them know that he was *not* favourable to their actions, and that he had never meant to countenance such a course or such deeds, that he should do this, either by private letters, a letter in the newspapers, or by going among them, if he had influence for good and thought that the best way, but that it was not for me to tell *him* to do it, but that somehow he ought to do it, and *at once*, or his own safety would be seriously compromised, for people could not help connecting him and his exciting speeches with the rising, and he should not be astonished at their doing so; and he said that he was never a bloodthirsty man, he was a man of peace, had often borne insult and ill-usage, and never retorted; that only some short time before he had been pushed out of the Sentinel office, by the foreman, after Mr. Johnson left, and he had taken it quietly, and had not struck in return, and so our conversation ended; and I never saw him again, as a few days after he was arrested, as I had expected he would be, and fully believed that he should be, and sent to Morant Bay to be tried by court-martial.

I may mention another conversation with him, also some weeks or more before the rebellion. He was saying how heavily the people were taxed, and that the 1*d.* stamp on every bank cheque was a great and further oppression to them. I said, "For shame, Mr. Gordon, how can you say that that is a bur-"den to them? Surely taxes must be raised somehow, or how could anything be carried on, and to "make the people hate them was to make them seditious and hate all law and authority, and as to that "tax in particular, surely a tax on bank cheques was not on the *poor*, but only on those who had money "in some way in banks, and certainly a most fair tax so far; and that, as he well knew, the blacks paid "very little of the taxes, and it was only a political election dodge to make them believe they were

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"overtaxed." He admitted I was right about the bank cheques stamp tax, and I told him that was how he got excited and spoke what was not the fact, and so misled the people, and then I said to him, "Besides, Mr. Gordon, why try so hard to make the people believe that all in authority are necessarily "by that fact alone the greatest scoundrels and oppressors, that all the custodes, for instance, were "specially bad, the worst men, and to be hated?" He said, "Well, so they most of them are, with "few exceptions; now for instance," he said, "perhaps Mr. Mackinnon may not be a bad man." I said, "Why, Mr. Gordon, for shame! when you know that your friend Dr. Bruce has said everything bad "of him, and the "Watchman," and you have always been opposed to him bitterly." "Well," he said, "that was past." And I said "But suppose you had your way, and all the present custodes were dis-"missed as bad men, who would you put in their places?—the loud-mouth demagogues at these meetings "—such men as the late Nur de Graff, in Kingston, or Samuel Clarke, of St. David's. As far as I "could see, the men whom he would want to succeed them, were really bad—well known for every vice "and immorality, and violence, and hatred—while the present custodes, though not perfect, and many "immoral, perhaps, in their private lives, were yet generally selected as the best and most influential "men in their several districts, but that the habit of abusing those in authority here was one of the "greatest and most dangerous possible; that from that habit if he were made a custos to-morrow, he "would immediately be a scoundrel too, not that he would be any more so than now, but that he would "immediately be called and proved so." He said, "Yes, he understood me, and was not offended at "my openness to him, that I ought to be the writer of the editorials in the "Guardian," I was so hard "upon him;" and it was then I told him that I never wrote for the papers or interfered in politics, as I thought it ruinous to those who had not the time and means to attend to it, without injury to themselves in their private affairs or business. This conversation I also repeated to my brother at the time as most suggestive. There was one other conversation I had with him on the morning of the 12th, before we in Kingston had heard of the rebellion; we did not hear it till about 12 o'clock, and this was at 10, and he was complaining to me of the way the "Tribune" was abusing him, and falsely, about his Vere speeches and other things, and had only that morning got up an editorial full of abuse at him for distributing the *nominal property* of his cattle in his St. Thomas-in-the-East estates among the people, to give them the right to pay taxes enough to vote; that it was done by all political men, and they had no right to abuse him for doing the same. I told him that whoever might do it that such things could not be *right*, that many doing a thing could not make it right if *wrong*, and that it was a most dangerous thing to do among an ignorant people; it was, in fact, teaching them to shave very close to words disregarding the sanctity of an oath, and confound all their ideas of right and wrong. He said, "Everybody "did it." I said, That could not make wrong right, and so we parted friendly, but differing as usual since my first thinking it my duty to warn him of what I thought dangerous and sedition-raising through mistaken views, and try to influence him to a different and milder course of thinking and speaking. He called on me as usual the next morning and afternoon, but I was out, and again on the morning of the 14th, as above-mentioned; and I think this is all I have to relate of our conversations. The impressions they made on my mind at the time was, as I told him, that however quiet and friendly as a mercantile friend and acquaintance he might be, that he was, when excited by public speaking, a dangerous exciter, and really exciting the poor ignorant and excitable black people to think that they could easily and almost ought to cut my throat, and such as me in the country; and those impressions I mentioned at the time to many, as you know, and at home, before the rebellion broke out, and I was not surprised of it, and am of the same opinion still, and my first prayer on hearing of it was that the necessary and inevitable suppression of it, even if the Maroons should join it, as was at first thought they were to do, might not be so unnecessarily indiscriminate in its severity as to give rise to future danger from heart burnings, &c., but think that to the energetic and necessary measures adopted for its complete suppression, we are indebted for its not having extended further or broken out also in Vere especially, and Trelawney. But, my dear Sinclair, I have written a much longer letter than I thought I had time for, and yet I had not time to make it shorter, so you must excuse it in the rough, it is merely a kind of private official communication, and you will do what is right with it. I hope soon to see you, and am sorry that you have been unwell, as I was for a fortnight myself. Kind regards to Mrs. Sinclair, also from

Yours, very truly,

A. C. Sinclair, Esq.
Spanish Town.

(Signed) JAS. D. FORD,
Kingston, January 6, 1866.

MR. WARD to GOVERNOR EYRE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Vickarsfield, January 2, 1866.

YOUR letter of the 30th ultimo did not reach me until late yesterday, when I was confined to my couch with influenza. I now have the honour to furnish the information required partly from my recollection of what passed between Clarke and myself, and partly from a little work I had already begun to prepare for the press, on the general question.

Your Excellency will allow me to express my deep regret that your measures for the suppression of the late rebellion should have brought so much of censure and actual persecution upon *you* who, under God, saved the Island to the Crown, and saved our lives and properties from threatened imminent certain destruction. May God graciously sustain you in all your trials and lead you to as brilliant a conquest over your assailants as he has given you over the disturbers of Jamaica's peace!

I have, &c.

(Signed) SAM. RINGGOLD WARD.

On his way to Kingston from St. Davids on the morning of the 16th October, Samuel Clarke stopped at my house. He seemed exceedingly agitated and depressed; he denounced the rebellion in terms of a measured reserved character. He was guarded and reticent when I asked him any question relative either to his personal knowledge of it, or the participancy of any particular individual. In a sort of soliloquising way he exclaimed, "O that they had acted in a manly way; all this is owing to "ignorance. How far people will go when they get away from the Bible."

I was to have gone to Mt. Libanus to preach on the 16th September. I was to have been the guest of J. G. McLaren. Having had occasion to rebuke McLaren for making threats of "Blood," against the gentry of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and having, with the kind permission of Baron Von Kettleholdt, holden a meeting on purpose to oppose the tendency of G. W. Gordon's efforts at Morant Bay, McLaren, who was at the Bay that day, did not attend, though Clarke did. McIntosh, one of their confederates, sought to inflame the populace against me; McLaren concluded that my influence would be unacceptable at Mt. Libanus, and therefore through Clarke withdrew the engagement, so that I did not go. Referring to this fact and knowing McLaren to be a Rebel, Clarke said to me, "What a "mercy it was you did not go to Mt. Libanus or Fort Hill on the 16th ult. "What," said I, "are the "people there Rebels?" his guarded reply was, "Everybody, Sir, seems to be in it." He took breakfast with me, and at family prayer seemed very contrite, weeping bitterly, and very devotionally responding to all the petitions. His whole frame shook with emotion, and he expressed inward repentance and conversion.

But I am asked about the impression made upon my mind at the time. My answer is—

1. That he was a Rebel of high position; he feared the military. He felt because soldiers were stationed in his neighbourhood, so he told me. When my wife told him the military was our reliance for protection he expressed the fear that some of his many enemies would denounce him to the military commander. These facts with his constant agitation, impressed me that he was a guilty man.

He spoke of the haste and impatience of the Rebels, and that as in the Baptist churches all wished to preach so it was among them. From this I took it that he knew that Bogle and his associates acted before the time.

2. I feared he was a hypocrite because, although he professed repentance, he made no confession. I on the contrary taking the 37th Psalm and other scriptures for my guide, regard confession as one of the first fruits of genuine repentance. His, I fear, was only the sorrow of this world which worketh death.

Before the rebellion and after it had broken out Clarke always maintained a perfect silence in my presence in reference to it. On no occasion did a word ever escape him having the remotest bearing upon such a plan or plot.

How it could have been a mercy that I did not go to St. Thomas-in-the-East in Sept. I do not know. It may be that I should have fallen a victim to the McLaren's and other Rebels in that district, because of my principles being opposed to them, besides, they could not forgive me, for having written the letter to the St. David meeting in June.—

(Signed) T. R. W.

That the arrival of the "Wolverine" on the 12th checked the career of the Rebels at Morant Bay; that they separated in several distinct bands with the single purpose of carrying out their fiendish designs east, west and north of Morant Bay; and that they ceased not to murder, plunder and destroy until the iron hand of the military was laid heavily upon them, proved at once the fixedness of their purpose, the extent of territory over which they intended to spread desolation and death, the unity of design among them, and the immense service rendered by the early occupation of the district by the troops of all names, including the Maroons, and the benefit of the stern energy with which those troops hunted, shot and hung the conspirators.

Not the least significant among many undoubtable facts which point out the master spirit of this rebellion is this: the name of Geo. W. Gordon was a watchword among the Rebels. To be Mr. Gordon's friend was to be safe from all harm. To be known as one of those who opposed any of his mad or revengeful projects was to be doomed. In perfect consistency with this, every leading and active Rebel at or about Morant Bay was a known and notorious partisan of Gordon while every murdered man in that vicinity, and everyone sought to be murdered, was equally well known to be opposed to some of his many schemes of mischief. Hence the watchword and its significance, hence the foul and unpardonable slaughter of Baron Kettleholdt and Mr. Charles Anthony Price.

In particular localities the rebellion partook of local types and tinges; but the Gordon feature was always present, always prominent, not one solitary act was at any time committed inconsistent with the since discovered design of a general massacre, a distribution of property among the Rebel chiefs and their followers, and the elevation of Mr. G. W. Gordon to the seat of supreme authority. To effect these objects no man of any race, colour, or position who stood in the way was to be spared; to effect these objects the co-operation of any person, irrespective of colour, position, or even sex, was welcomed. Three questions are asked by those who think about this affair in this Island and in England—

1. What was the origin of this rebellion?
2. Was it merely a local riot or a more general rising?
3. Was undue severity used in suppressing it?

To the first of these questions my answer is, The origin of the Jamaica rebellion of October 1865 was nothing more nor less than the *seditious* and *treasonable teachings of George William Gordon* and his subordinates, in various ways and places; and upon various occasions Mr. Gordon travelled and wrought incessantly. What he said was open and public, so that no man can deny it. In St. Ann, St. Dorothy, Vere, Kingston, St. Thomas-in-the-East, in Parliament, by letters, placards, harangues,

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by the aid of various agents and sub-agents; by political stratagems, vestry broils, party bickerings, and secret cabals; by artful misrepresentations and by direct falsehoods; by prayer, by preaching, by professions of religion, and semblances of philanthropy, all tending and designed to unsettle the minds of the peasantry, and to teach them to disregard and undervalue the authorities of the land and persons in respectable positions, from the Governor to their very employers.

It is not to be overlooked that the insolent seditious tone of certain newspapers gave Mr. Gordon no small collateral aid. Besides the general apathy and most censurable laxity on the part of men in authority, in allowing this most indefatigable apostle of mischief to say what he pleased, where he pleased, and when he pleased, unquestioned and unrebuked, was most lamentably in Mr. Gordon's favour.

And, finally, that in these circumstances he should have been able to muster a clerical, a political, and an otherwise influential staff of lieutenants, and numerous semi-clerical and ambitious demagogues as subalterns, and thus make himself the general-in-chief of an army of ignorant and unthinking negroes, will appear strange to no man of reflection. A man of like status, in circumstances equally favourable, and with a heart equally depraved, would have wrought quite as much mischief in any other part of the empire.

As to the Underhill letter, while I never believed the chief statements in it and used all my influence against its manifest tendency, I believe that it and the meetings holden in respect to it, were only used by Gordon, *et. al.*, as occasions for the dissemination of treason and sedition *previouly conceived.* Two facts may illustrate my idea if they do not prove to be correct.

1. The Kingston Underhill meeting was remarkable for the amount of its sedition, and for the absence of anything more than a bare allusion to anything like the starving condition or nakedness of the people.

2. The St. David meeting was so much occupied with a letter from an absent parishioner, that nothing seditious was spoken in it, whereas, had not that letter occupied the attention of the meeting the hall of justice would have been filled with seditious sounds akin to those which polluted the Kingston court-house.

My answer to the second question is the statement of the plain facts—

1. That Mr. Gordon's field of seditious labour was the *Island of Jamaica.*

2. That his ribald speeches of treason were made against the Governor of the *whole Island* as well as against others.

3. That his threats of "muskets and rebellion and blood," were made in the House of Assembly as elsewhere.

4. That not only sympathizers with Mr. Gordon, but persons actually guilty of participating in the murderous outbreak of October 11th, have been found residing 100 miles from Morant Bay.

5. That the Government has evidence of an intended universal rising on the 25th of December; and there are in the demeanour of the peasantry in rural districts all over the Island, and in the behaviour of the lower classes of Kingston, do more than justify the apprehensions entertained by those who credit such evidence; and

6. That in 48 hours from the first assault at Morant Bay, the rebels carried desolation and destruction, with a united purpose, east, west, and north of Morant Bay, over a territory as extensive as an English or a Canadian county, stopping only when compelled to stop by the military.

As to the third question, it behoves a man of my humble and unofficial position to write with modesty. I am in no position to judge of the matter yet. I answer, No! Martial law lasted but 30 short days. Other than the actively rebellious districts were not disturbed by the repressive measures. The safety of the whole Island, as to property, order, and life was endangered. The lives of the very best of the population had been most savagely destroyed. Scenes more horrible than the sacrifices of Dahomey had been exhibited. The very foundations of civilized society had been uprooted and overturned. Cool deliberate diabolism had vested itself with the hottest fire of sanguinary excitement on purpose to perpetrate deeds of the most infernal ferocity; and when the Government put forth its strong arm, the more than savage foe was flushed and gloating with partial triumph and exulting in hope of more complete victory.

At such a moment *undue severity would have been impossible.* To my own mind it was perfectly evident that *justice, protection, restoration,* and not vengeance, directed and limited all the *aims* and all the acts of the Government. I only add that in this respect, I think what was done during the prevalence of martial law; the number executed, *what it may*, was in the strictest sense necessary and conservative for the whole Island, as then threatened and disaffected; and that the measures taken, whatever may be said here or elsewhere of the number executed, will bear most favourable comparison with like measures resorted to in the emergencies wheresoever they are recorded on the historic page.

MR. LAWRENCE to MR. GORDON.

SIR, Rhine, August 8, 1865.

I HAVE your letter of 7th instant.

Since Wednesday morning it has been raining heavily here, and the rivers consequently high, up to yesterday, so that I have been unable to go to Spring, as YOU specially requested and *I* intended; however, I trust I shall be able to go there by this and Monday, so as you may get report of matters there by next Tuesday's post. You can have an idea of what it is in St. Thomas-in-the-East when it rains, especially upon a watery road like the one from this to Spring. I am indeed glad of my success

with the bullkins and the two old bulls; they are still all right; but one of the Coco Walk stock having strayed back to that place I could not do better than send "Charles" steer to bring her back, but on his going as far as Barracks a heavy shower of rain fell on him, and during which he laid down but not to rise again; he died shortly after the rain held up. "Boy" steer and the rest continue to improve.

Your letter to Dr. Major was sent up this morning, and I await his reply.

I see by the papers that Mount Pleasant and Hall Head* have been offered for sale by the Hon. W. P. Georges, and Mr. A. P. Davis says Mr. Hire told him that he has a Government appointment in England of 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* per ann., and it is expected Mr. Danvers is to be overseer of Amity Hall. Before this report Mr. D. was to be head bookkeeper there. I suppose little belief is to be placed in this about Mr. D., as also of the 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* p. ann.

I suppose this "Green Bay Tree" (Hon. W. P. Georges) will continue to spread while the day of retribution draws nigh for his numerous transgressions, and the ex-member of Assembly for this parish (Mr. D.) humbled.

You did not send the "Tribune" in which I wrote; have seen the sentiments of the meeting in Vere. A No. of the "Watchman" newspaper will give it to me p. next post, if you have time to think of it.

Mr. A. P. Davis is still expecting you will send him an order on me to deliver the two (*sic*) and the bay poney in exchange for the land.

Mr. Georges and Mr. James are expected at Duckenfield on Sunday, and Mr. Davis has had intimation to "clear out." So he thinks of going up to Manchioneal to spend *a week* with the Rev. Mr. Bourne of Bettys Hope.

Mr. Davis wants to go to England to arrange with the elder Mr. Bourne for leasing Muirton and Windsor Castle or Windsor Forest. He seems to have queer notions, and does and says some equally queer things.

When I last wrote you I was under the expectation that some money from some quarter would have come in, but whether it is the heavy and continued rains or the bad times or not I am unable to say—nothing has come in† from which I could make you the promised remittance. As to the present times, and the difference between them and what they were a little ago, there can be no mistake, and this state of things has caused my receipts from pasturage in this place to be almost a failure.

Mr. W. P. Kirkland pays 9*s.* quarterly for the pasturage of his horse; the last quarter commenced on 1st June and ended 31st Aug. I made out my act. accordingly, and sent it in. I got for answer that I had made an unfair charge, inasmuch as his horse had not been at pasture on the Rhine during the time he was collecting taxes at Morant Bay, the Valley, &c., and that when I made the deduction he would pay the difference. Now, I must say this is a most unreasonable old man, and I will not make any deduction, because his horse having fed upon the Rhine during the month comprising the quarter he is liable, and further, the rate of 3*s.* per mo. or 9*s.* per quarter is in consideration or anticipatory of the animal being taken off during the month or quarter, otherwise it would have been not less than 4*s.* per mo. or 6*d.* per night for the time the animal would be occasionally sent here.

I have, &c.

G. W. Gordon, Esq. (Signed) H. J. Lawrence.

Letter written to Mrs. Major, by H. J. Lawrence, Overseer of the Rhine Estate, belonging to Geo. W. Gordon; written on the morning of the Massacre at Morant Bay, but before it took place. The original of this letter was produced at the Trial of Lawrence.

Dear Madam,

I am sorry I have no reliable news for you. I have heard a good deal, but think much of what I heard is false; there is a report about the Dr. (Major) but the same is not true; the negroes know who "fit" for retribution.

If your milk should not be good at any time I beg you to let me know.

Yours truly,

(Signed) H. J. Lawrence.

Deposition of Dorothy Johnson, taken at the Trial of H. J. Lawrence.

Dorothy Johnson sworn, states: I am servant to Mrs. Major. On Wednesday of the riot I took a note to the prisoner from Mrs. Major, and he said to me, "I hope the doctor will be safe, but the "baron and Mr. Herschell will be dead." On the Thursday I met him again, and he asked me the news. I told him the news was very bad, and he shook his head and laughed. I did not tell him what I heard, as I felt convinced he knew it.

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* It is reported that these properties were mortgaged to Messrs. Hankey & Co., and they having closed the mortgage, they have been advertised.

† Accounts from Bogg, all well but no money.

JAMAICA.

The Right Honourable Edward Cardwell to Governor Eyre.

Sir, Downing Street, December 16, 1865.

I transmit to you, for your information, the copy of a letter from Mr. H. B. Edenborough, late Lieutenant in the Confederate States Navy, communicating the substance of a conversation which he had with the late G. W. Gordon, in June last.

I have, &c.

Governor Eyre, &c. &c. (Signed) Edward Cardwell.

Lieutenant Edenborough to Mr. Secretary Cardwell.

6, Sheffield Gardens, Kensington, W.,

Sir, Tuesday, December 12, 1865.

The evidence to which I referred in my letter to you of the 29th ultimo, connecting certain Haytian negroes with the rebel, Gordon, and which you desire I should furnish you with is that in June last, at Kingston, Jamaica, for a few days having landed from a vessel, the property of the Confederate States of America, which remained in the offing. Whilst in Kingston I was called upon by Gordon, who said he was connected with the Government of the Island. He stated he understood it was my desire to dispose of the vessel and armament, the war being concluded, and said he wished to purchase the arms on board, and the vessel, a beautiful clipper schooner, if possible. The arms he wished to purchase consisted of breach-loading rifles, nine shooting pistols, hand grenades, small torpedoes, and whatever accoutrements, fixed ammunition, and gunpowder there might be on board. He wished them to be landed on the south side of the Island, in the neighbourhood of "Black River." He expressed himself as a strong sympathiser with the Confederate States in their struggle for independence.

On learning that I intended sending the crew of the schooner to England on board a vessel then lying in Anotto Bay, on the north side, he proposed to charter the vessel for a voyage to the Island of "Great Inagua," and back, there to receive on board a certain refugee Haytian general, and one or two others, and to touch at St. Nicholas mole, Hayti, for another, on the return voyage; a quantity of arms and powder, which he stated had arrived at Inagua, from the United States, were also to be brought down to Jamaica, and landed in the neighbourhood of Black River.

He was accompanied at the time by a bright mulatto, whom he introduced to me as a "General," and whom I frequently saw afterwards in Kingston, where he resides. He referred me to a mercantile house of credit in Kingston, who would become responsible in case he should become the purchaser of the vessel and armament, or the voyage to Inagua should be made, both of which I declined.

I was then under the impression he was connected with the Dominicans against Spain, as, in his conversation he and his Haytian friend inquired the practicability of converting ordinary small boats into torpedo rams against war vessels blockading ports, &c. I imagined then he referred to the Spanish squadron blockading the coast of San Domingo, and that he was in conjunction with certain Haytians, organizing an expedition in the cause of San Domingo, at Black River. He spoke of a "New West "India Republic."

When the late news from Jamaica arrived, connecting him with the insurrection, I deemed it my duty to make you acquainted with these facts before leaving England, and regretting that absence prevented my placing myself and crew at the disposal of Governor Eyre.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, Colonial Secretary. (Signed) Henry B. Edenborough, Lieutenant late Confederate States Navy.

Extract from a Letter, dated the 16th December 1865, from Lieut. Henry B. Edenborough, late of the Confederate Navy, to James Stewart, Esq., Member of Assembly for Metcalfe, in Jamaica.

5, Sheffield Gardens, Kensington, London,

My dear Mr. Stewart, December 16, 1865.

* * * * * * *

While in Kingston, prior to our visit to Anotto Bay, and whilst the "Happy-go-lucky" was lying off Lime Key, and cruising off the land waiting for me, I was called upon by G. W. Gordon (lately defunct), and an ex-Haytian general, with whom I had an hour or so conversation on two separate occasions, at a certain restaurant in Kingston, and who were desirous of purchasing the armament of the "Happy-go-lucky," axes, pistols, cutlasses, and so forth, gunpowder, &c., of which at that time there was a considerable supply on board; they wanted me to deliver them at Black River, or in that

locality. Finding I was not disposed to sell the arms, &c., they proposed to engage the vessel to make a trip to Great Inagua, from there to convey to the same neighbourhood a quantity of warlike stores which they had there concealed, and also bring two refugee Haytian generals from there, and call on the way back for another at St. Nicholas mole, Hayti. I declined, as you are aware, having anything to do with them, although they offered to pay a certain sum down, and gave a mercantile house in Kingston as security; at the time I thought perhaps they were getting up an expedition against the Spaniards in San Domingo, or the Geffrard party in Hayti; of course as a Confederate vessel we could have no dealings with negroes. I cannot help thinking that I could prove, beyond a doubt, that the rebellion was planned and conceived long before it broke out, which is a great point of dispute here. I could identify one or two others who were concerned with Gordon in endeavouring to procure the arms aboard the schooner. This information might lead to some serviceable results in defending the course of the Jamaica Government. I would beg you to communicate to Governor Eyre, as it is only just that he should be aware of it. I most probably will be in England for some two or three months, and, if necessary, would even come to Jamaica, to be of any service to a man who I consider behaved with so much decision and pluck. * * * * * *

I have, &c.,

James Stewart, Esq. (Signed) HENRY B. EDENBOROUGH.
&c. &c. &c.

SIR, Flamstead, February 7, 1866.

Enclosure.
J. De Leon Walker, J.P., to Mr. Eyre. 6th Feb. 1866.
Mr. Henry Mais to Hon. W. P. Georges. 19th Jan. 1866.
Mr. D. P. French to Mr. Myers. 22nd January 1866.

I HAVE the honour to request your Excellency will be good enough to transmit to the Secretary of State, to be attached to my Despatch, No. 3, of the 23rd ultimo, forwarding papers relating to G. W. Gordon's case, the additional documents named in the margin, and which are herewith enclosed.

Evidence was adduced before the court-martial that G. W. Gordon had threatened, with regard to the Baron, that he would have revenge or his people would for him.

Evidence was also adduced that G. W. Gordon had circulated in St. Thomas-in-the-East a most seditious and inflammatory placard, headed "State of the Island," holding up the Baron and others as unjust and tyrannical; asking the people if they would suffer this; to speak out and act too; to be up and doing, &c. &c.; thereby clearly proving a complicity with the subsequent events which resulted in the murder or attempts to murder all the individuals thus held up to obloquy.

Evidence was also adduced that in another parish G. W. Gordon had urged the people to do as the Haytians had done, thereby indicating that he regarded rebellion as the means to be employed for obtaining the redress which he urged the people to seek for.

This complicity was the ground upon which I regarded Gordon's execution as justifiable, at a time when the whole Colony was in the most imminent peril, and it was necessary to make an immediate example in order to insure the public safety, by deterring other agitators and stirrers-up of sedition from continuing a course which might, at any moment, and was hourly expected to, occasion rebellion in other parishes.

One of the documents now sent (a letter from Mr. J. D. Walker, J.P.) is valuable as affording additional and independent corroborative testimony as to Gordon's having used threats not only against but to the Baron, on a distinct and separate occasion from that adduced before the court-martial.

Another document (a letter from Mr. Henry Mais, J.P.) shows that Gordon's name was a watch-word of safety at the time of the rebellion.

And the third (a letter from Mr. French, J.P. and Inspector of Revenues) proves that Gordon's endeavours to mislead the people and stir up sedition were extended to the most remote parts of the Island, and, as usual, the chapel was selected as the place from which to disseminate his pernicious teachings.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir H. Storks, G.C.B. (Signed) E. EYRE.
&c. &c. &c.

MR. WALKER to GOVERNOR EYRE.

Belmont, St. John's, Spanish Town P.O.,
SIR, February 6, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to me of the 3rd inst., and in reply beg to state that what Mr. Gordon Ramsay has reported to you, as regards my assertion as to my being present when the late G. W. Gordon came up to the lamented Baron Von Ketelhodt, our custos, in the square or parade at Morant Bay, and accostd him very rudely by saying to him, "Ah, "Baron, I will burn your fingers yet." This was said in the presence of the late Mr. John Walton,

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a Justice of the Peace in whose company the Baron and myself were. Mr. Gordon had to cross the parade to carry out the threat, as we were some distance from the place in which he was. Mr. Walton and myself got very much annoyed at the rudeness of Mr. Gordon to the custos, but thought nothing more of it. Since the rebellion I heard that the Baron's fingers were really cut off. I thought it strange that the act of the murderers should so nearly have coincided with Mr. Gordon's threat, and I mentioned the circumstances accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. DE LEON WALKER.

To his Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

MR. MAIS to Mr. GEORGES.

To the Hon. Wm. P. Georges, Custos of St. David.

DEAR SIR,

MUCH has been said of late about the cause of the massacre of the 11th of October last at Morant Bay that is not truthful, permit me to hand you the following important facts, which, in my opinion, goes far to prove that Gordon was the principal promoter (aided by certain demagogues) of the diabolical plot of extermination, as expressed in his letters to his overseer, Lawrence, which were produced and read at his trial at Morant Bay.

I took refuge on board the cutter "Eleanor," in Lysson's Bay, the morning after the murderous attack on the authorities and others assembled at Morant Bay.

On board I found several wounded gentlemen and a Mr. Sullivan, a vestryman of the parish. I inquired of him how he escaped without being injured? "I used the Rebels' password" was his reply, namely, "I belonged to Gordon's party." He added, "through which my life was saved, and you "know of late I have not supported Mr. Gordon's views."

I was not all surprised at the statement made by Mr. Sullivan, for I have long dreaded the said consequences that would result from Gordon's inflammatory language and teaching to the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East. Great credit is due to the Government for the prompt measures used in checking and crushing out the rebellious spirit exhibited throughout the eastern districts, by which means I believe that the whole Island has been saved from an awful carnage and rapine. My moral conviction is, that the feeling of disaffection was general, and only required a stir somewhere to call it forth.

You can make whatever use you please of this.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HY. MAIS.

Claremont, Windward Road,
19th January 1866.

MR. TRENCH, Inspector of Revenues, to MR. MYERS.

SIR,

Kingston, January 22, 1866.

I HAVE heard, upon very reliable authority, on the occasion of my last visit to the north side, and since I transmitted my report of the 5th January, that when the late George William Gordon visited Hanover on or about the 4th August last he went up to Green Island late in the afternoon, and finding the congregation of the Rev. Mr. Robertson of the United Presbyterians assembled at one of their usual prayer meetings he walked into the chapel, and took his seat. As soon as the service was over he walked up to the Rev. Mr. Robertson, and asked permission to address the congregation in a matter that greatly concerned them.

Mr. Robertson, believing that Mr. Gordon's object was purely of a religious character, permitted him to address the congregation; but he had occupied the platform only a few minutes before he began to launch out in a strain which induced Mr. Robertson to stop him. Nothing daunted by this interference, he continued to address the people in language that Mr. Robertson did not approve, so he called on his congregation to give no ear to Mr. Gordon, as he was giving them bad advice, and teaching them sedition. With some difficulty he succeeded in stopping Mr. Gordon, and ejected him from the chapel.

Gordon, however, gave out that he would address the people that night at Rock Spring further in the interior of the parish. Thither he proceeded after he left Green Island, and had (my informant tells me) a very large gathering of the black population up to a late hour that night.

I am permitted to suggest that Mr. Robertson and some of the chief members of his church (I can get their names if the Government desire it), be summoned before the Commission to substantiate this.

I have, &c.
(Signed) D. P. TRENCH.
Inspector of Revenues.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary of Executive Committee.

No. 4.

No. 4.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B., to the Right Hon. EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.

(No. 72.)

King's House, March 24, 1866.

SIR, (Received April 12, 1866.)

IN transmitting for your information the accompanying copies of letters which have been addressed to me by Governor Eyre, I have the honour to acquaint you that the delay in their transmission has arisen from their having been submitted, in the first instance, to the Royal Commissioners to assist them in their inquiry, and could not have been forwarded at an earlier period.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., &c. &c. &c. (Signed) H. K. STORKS.

Gov. Eyre to Sir H. Storks. No. 1 of Jan. 15, 1866.
Gov. Eyre to Sir H. Storks. No. 2 of Jan. 16, 1866.
Gov. Eyre to Sir H. Storks. No. 4 of Jan. 22, 1866 with enclosures —321 pages.
Gov. Eyre to Sir H. Storks, No. 5 of Jan. 29, 1866.

Enclosure 1 in No. 4.

Encl. 1 in No. 4.

Governor EYRE to Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B.

(No. 1.)

SIR, Flamstead, January 15, 1866.

As during the inquiry about to be instituted by the Royal Commission some questions may arise as to the publication in this Colony of the naval and military reports, I think it right to place before the Commissioners the copy of a private note addressed by me to General O'Connor, dated 14th October, from Morant Bay, in reference to an official report (the first made) from Brigadier-General Nelson to General O'Connor of the same date, which had been read over to me and was about being forwarded to General O'Connor.

I transmit this communication because it was referred to in an official letter of General O'Connor's, dated 30th October, and published at page 61 of the Confidential* Papers relating to the insurrection in Jamaica, in which General O'Connor quoted my suggestion that Brigadier-General Nelson's report, above referred to, should be made public, but omitted the qualification contained in my note, "if you saw no objection to "the communication being made public, or such portion of it as you may think right."

This copy of my private note was furnished by General O'Connor, as I myself kept no copy of it.

At page 33 of the same papers occurs the following passage in reply, in a letter from General O'Connor, dated 16th October.

"I permitted the reporters to take extracts from Nelson's Despatch, a very satisfactory move."

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry K. Storks, G.C.B., &c. &c. &c. (Signed) E. EYRE.

Major-General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

Jamaica Command, Head Quarters,

SIR, December 13, 1865.

IN compliance with your request of the 12th instant, I have the honour to forward the enclosed copy of your letter of the 14th October 1865.

I have, &c.

His Excellency the Governor. &c. &c. &c. Jamaica. (Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR, Major-General commanding the Forces.

Copy of a Letter from Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR, C.B.

H.M.S. "Wolverine," off Morant Bay,

MY DEAR GENERAL, 9½ a.m., October 14, 1865.

BRIGADIER NELSON is writing to you *particulars*, so *I* will only add a line or two; we are sorely pressed for time, and you will understand that I *must* write to my wife.

Thank God all is well; your promptness in meeting all our requirements will I hope tell in the long run. Nelson is a cool head and quiet practice man, but earnest and zealous, and an excellent officer

* These papers were subsequently presented to Parliament, and will be found printed in Parts I., II., and III., Disturbances in Jamaica.

JAMAICA.

to be in command and to act with, whilst he is, as you know, also an admirable good fellow in every respect.

We are working hard, and endeavouring to hem in the insurgents so as to confine them within a line to the eastward, between Kingston and Annotto Bay, and when we get our stations formed we hope to give them a good *squeeze*. We made a lucky capture of a ringleader at Port Morant about 3 a.m. this morning, and tried and hung him up at once.

We are *now* trying the prisoners from the "Wolverine," and others since taken, with a very similar prospect before them; as soon as this is over we take some more troops on board and proceed at once to Port Antonio, where the bulk of the insurgents are.

I hope all is well in the other parts of the Island, and if so we shall I hope be able to get the rebellion under; *but within a given area* it is general, and the massacres and destruction of property have been horrible.

A line to *Morant Bay*, and another to *Port Antonio*, would reach us in due course.

The Brigadier has written to you officially, and read his letter to me; the public are so interested in hearing what is going on, that if you saw no objection to the communication being made public, or such portion of it as you think right, the act would be *highly appreciated*. It can do no harm in a country like this, and may do good.

The cabin is so dark, and the rain makes it so much more so, that I cannot see what I am writing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

The Executive Committee would like to see the Despatch, if you please.

True copy,
(Signed) FRANCIS O'CONNOR,
Captain, Assistant Military Secretary.

Encl. 2 in No. 4.

Enclosure 2 in No. 4.

Governor EYRE to Sir HENRY STORKS, G.C.B.

(No. 2.)

SIR, Flamstead, January 16, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you, for the purpose of being laid before the Royal Commission, a letter published in the "County Union" newspaper at Montego Bay, by the Rev. J. E. Henderson, Rev. E. Hewett, and Rev. J. Reid, as showing the kind of spirit evinced by three Baptist ministers in that district.

2. In this letter those gentlemen threaten to call away the negroes from their employment at sugar making in order to hold mass meetings to endorse the views of the Baptist party in England.

3. I consider it right to call your Excellency's attention to this announcement, and to the probability that if the course threatened be taken, not only all the peasantry be withdrawn from their occupations, and their minds become unsettled by political agitation, but the peace of the country might be seriously endangered, experience abundantly proving that although it is easy to excite and stir up the negro population, it is not so to control or direct them afterwards.

4. I also enclose a letter published in another newspaper printed at Montego Bay, by the Rev. J. E. Henderson, in reference to one of the subjects about to be inquired into by the Royal Commission.

5. Mr. Henderson is one of those Baptist ministers who took a prominent part in endorsing the statements made in Dr. Underhill's letter at the Underhill meeting held at Montego Bay last year. Mr. Henderson was also one of the Baptist ministers who refused to circulate the Queen's advice.

6. The intention and animus of these two letters are too obvious to require pointing out, but I would respectfully call the attention of the Royal Commissioners to the extract from Lord Metcalfe's Despatch, dated 15th June 1840 (quoted at page 48 of Confidential Papers printed for the Cabinet), as evidencing the baneful influence exercised amongst a peasantry such as that of Jamaica by professing ministers of religion, but who in reality are political demagogues and agitators, or, as Lord Metcalfe appropriately terms them in another letter, "Wolves in sheeps' clothing."

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry Storks, G.C.B., &c. (Signed) E. EYRE.

SIR, Montego Bay, January 10, 1866.

IT has come to our knowledge that an address is being carried round this town for signatures approving the conduct of Mr. Eyre in suppressing the "rebellion" at Morant Bay, and reflecting on the loyalty of the population throughout the Colony. As the British Government has resolved upon a searching inquiry into all matters connected with the suppression of the "rebellion," we would suggest that no attempt be made to bolster up the cause of Mr. Eyre by the presentation of addresses

to that gentleman. To say the least, in the present state of things, such conduct shows anything but good taste. The character of the gentleman now at the head of the Government, the presence of a special correspondent of the "Times," as well as that of an able professional gentleman on behalf of the newly formed Jamaica Committee, are sufficient to satisfy us that the examination about to take place will be fair and thorough, and with this assurance all parties in the Island should, we think, be content. If, however, the course begun is continued, let it be at once distinctly understood that counter addresses will be prepared, and public meetings be called to adopt them. We pledge our words that we will no longer remain silent whilst the masses of the people are maligned and pronounced disloyal. It is due to philanthropists in England, it is due to anti-slavery friends in America, and especially is it due to the great mass of the people here, that means should at once be adopted to *prove* (assertions now are worth nothing) that in all Her Majesty's dominions she has not more loyal or loving subjects than are the natives of Jamaica. We would rather, just now, do nothing, but if certain persons compel us to call the people together, it shall be done, and there is proof enough before us that in England, if not here, the negroes' testimony, supported by that of their friends, will be of value quite equal to that of those who are now signing addresses approbatory of the conduct of Mr. Eyre. It is crop time, and the people cannot be better employed than in making sugar, and it certainly will not be our fault if they are called away from their work to deny the wicked and false statements which are being promulgated in reference to them.

Yours truly,

J. E. HENDERSON.
EDWD HEWETT.
JAMES REID.

From "Lyons' Shipping and Commercial Newspaper" of the 5th January 1866.

To the Editor of "Lyons' Shipping and Commercial Newspaper."

DEAR SIR,

THE leader in your last paper has done good. Explanations are coming in rapidly; proofs of Gordon's guilt are being furnished in abundance. We were told a few weeks ago that papers in Mr. Gordon's handwriting had been found, on which were the names of a Provisional Government. One of these papers is at last produced by the "Standard." And what is it? "A sheet of "foolscap paper signed at the foot and over the leaf by 150 persons or thereabouts." Except the names the sheet is blank, "but had the rebellion proved successful," the blank sheet was to have been filled up by an address to the people, "or *perhaps* by some decree establishing a "Provisional Government." After this let us be satisfied. Let Mr. Chamerovzow be silent. Any more evidence would be superfluous. Well, however (some people are so hard to be convinced), may the Editor say, "This hypothesis we know will be ridiculed by a certain portion of the Press." I rather think it will, and more than that, it will be considered a dastardly attempt, worthy of the "Guardian" itself, and of which I did not think the "Standard" capable, to injure the character of a man who has been foully put to death, but for whose murder some one will yet have to account. But there is more evidence still. Another mare's nest. "In Gordon's papers were also found "several blank titles, among them one from himself to Paul Bogle; this was the land of which Paul "Bogle had possession at the time of the rebellion, and which he was cultivating. Bogle had money. "He must, therefore, have paid Gordon for the purchase;" (what logic) "how is it then that Gordon "was the custodian of the title?" Why if the Editor of the "Standard" will pay me a visit I will show him fifty titles belonging to people who have bought land from me and paid for it, but who choose that I shall be "the custodian" of their titles. You, sir, know that this practice is common where people have confidence. After such trash as this, who can wonder that the "Times" will not disgrace its columns by quotations from the "Jamaica Press." Poor Gordon, this is the kind of evidence, is it, on which men judge and condemn you, and say you have been justly hanged. It would appear that all the manhood of the Island had been crushed out, or such writing as this would be stigmatized in the way it should be.

The "Guardian," the day after Gordon's arrest, positively offered to find the Governor evidence in Vere if he could not get enough in Morant Bay; and now the "Standard," after his death, uses the Deputy Marshal's office to cook up evidence to justify the murder of an innocent man. And the editor of the latter is a professional man! Read it, Mr. Ludlow, he is a solicitor.

Yours truly,

J. E. HENDERSON.

Enclosure 3 in No. 4.

Encl. 3 in No. 4.

Governor EYRE to Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B.

(No. 4.)

SIR, Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

HER Majesty's Government having called for explanations and additional information in reference to certain passages in the reports from the military or naval officers, and such documents having been sent to me by the military authorities for transmission, I have now the honour to lay them before your Excellency and the Commissioners. Further information, where necessary, can of course be obtained direct from the officers themselves.

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With regard to the inquiries about a person styling himself Captain Ford, I can only say there is no such officer in the volunteers or militia of Jamaica; that the General commanding in the Colony is equally ignorant of the existence of any such officer, and that it was not until I received the Secretary of State's Despatch that I became aware that an individual had been engaged in Saint Thomas-in-the-East as a self-constituted officer of what he terms the Saint Thomas-in-the-East Irregular troop.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry K. Storks, G.C.B., &c. (Signed) E. EYRE.
King's House.

Sub-Enclosures in No. 4.

Sub Enclosures in No. 4.

Governor EYRE to General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, December 25, 1865.

REFERRING to my Despatch of the 23rd instant, and to your reply of yesterday's date, I beg to say that I should be glad to receive from your Excellency at as early a date as possible copies of the proceedings and evidence in the case of G. W. Gordon, and without waiting for the other returns or reports.

I should be obliged by your causing them to be forwarded to me at King's House when ready.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Major General O'Connor, C.B., (Signed) E. EYRE.
&c. &c. &c.

General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

SIR, Head Quarters, Kingston, December 26, 1865.

IN reply to your Excellency's letter dated Flamsted, 25th December, requiring copies of Despatches, Courts-martial, &c., &c., which are very voluminous, and the clerical assistance allowed by the Secretary of State for War being only just sufficient to carry on the daily military routine, and great delay would be occasioned in my rendering these documents to you, I have therefore, pending your Excellency's decision, employed two civilians at 5*s.* per diem for the purpose of carrying out your Excellency's instructions without delay, and request your sanction to the same.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR,
Major General Commanding.

His Excellency Governor Eyre,
&c. &c. &c.

Governor EYRE to General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, December 28, 1865.

IN reply to your Excellency's Despatch of the 26th instant, I have the honour to state that under the circumstances I shall be prepared to pay for the hire of two civilians (at the rate of 5*s.* per diem each), to get ready with the least possible delay the documents required by Her Majesty's Government.

As it is important I should be in possession of as many of these as possible for some time in advance of the closing of the next mail, I should be obliged by your forwarding to me each day the documents got ready during that day.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Major General O'Connor, C.B., (Signed) E EYRE.
&c. &c. &c.

Governor EYRE to General O'CONNOR.

SIR, Flamstead, December 26, 1865.

ADVERTING to the inquiries instituted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the purpose of eliciting further information and fuller details with regard to various matters connected with the late rebellion, I think it would be desirable if Colonel Hobbs were called upon to report generally upon the state of the district in which his detachment operated at the time he advanced into it.

He might be called upon to state where he first fell in with Rebels, and how far such locality was from Morant Bay where the outbreak first took place, what damages were done by the rebels in the district to which his operations extended, what estates had been visited and either threatened or plundered by rebels, and generally any other information or particulars he may be able to give calculated to throw light upon the nature, character, and extent of the rebellion, the feelings and intentions of the negro population, and the probability of the insurrection spreading rapidly or extensively, so far as any of these matters came under his observation, or he had any means of judging.

Having only seen one or two of Colonel Hobbs's reports, I have very little information as to the state of the country along his line of march, or whether any rebels were found within any portion of the parish of Port Royal; but assuming generally that St. Thomas-in-the-East, Portland, and St. David

were the only parishes to which the rebellion extended, there would still be 500 square miles of country occupied by and to be operated in by the troops.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Major General O'Connor, C.B., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Governor EYRE to Major General O'CONNOR.

SIR, Flamstead, December 26, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government have called upon me to furnish, with the least possible delay, all information procurable in reference to the circumstances connected with the arrest, trial, and execution of G. W. Gordon, and any evidence tending to show that he was mixed up with, or had in any way led to or brought about the rebellion.

In short, I am called upon to justify and enable Her Majesty's Government to justify all the proceedings in reference to this case, and the approval of the sentence and execution by myself, by your Excellency, and by Brigadier-General Nelson.

I am called upon to report "whether the approval of Gordon's execution rested on evidence of his "participation in the insurrection itself or the actual resistance of authority out of which it arose," or "on evidence of the lesser offence of using seditious and inflammatory language calculated indeed to "produce resistance to authority and rebellion, but without proof of any deliberate design of producing "that result."

Her Majesty's Government also desires "to see it clearly established that he was not executed until "crimes had been proved in evidence against him which deserved death," "and that the prompt "infliction of capital punishment was necessary to rescue the Colony from imminent danger and from "the horrors of a general or wide-spread insurrection and the repetition elsewhere of such a slaughter "of the white and coloured colonists as had taken place in the eastern parts of the Island."

I am also called on to explain why Gordon was arrested at Kingston, to which martial law did not apply, and taken to Morant Bay for trial under martial law.

The reply to this latter inquiry is that the state of affairs was considered so imminent in Kingston that I was specially summoned down from Port Antonio by the Custos, Justices, members of the Legislature, and others for the express purpose of proclaiming martial law over Kingston itself, but that on arrival I considered the evils which would be entailed by placing the capital and chief commercial city of the Colony under martial law of such magnitude, that I preferred taking upon myself the sole responsibility of capturing Gordon to bringing upon Kingston such an infliction.

It would have been easy for me to have avoided this responsibility by proclaiming martial law, as so urgently requested to do, and thereby fully legalizing every act; but I thought it better for the interests of the Colony to act otherwise, and I am prepared to abide by the risk which I then undertook of my action being subsequently questioned or disapproved.

With regard to the other points adverted to, I think it would be desirable that your Excellency should furnish me, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, with a report of your own views and grounds of action so far as the trial, evidence, and carrying out the sentence are concerned, or the state of the Colony at the time as calling for immediate action, and that it would also be important to procure from the various officers engaged in suppressing the rebellion a statement of any circumstances or evidence which came under their notice tending to show the complicity of Gordon, or that the negroes had been led on through his seditious and inflammatory language or writing. I understood from Brigadier-General Nelson, who is now unfortunately absent, that many of the prisoners before execution admitted in distinct though general terms that they had been brought to their deaths through Gordon, or other expressions to that effect. It would be desirable that any evidence which is attainable of this nature should be procured from any of the officers who were present, as well as any other information or evidence tending to throw light upon the subject.

I have, &c.

Major General O'Connor, C.B., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Major General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

Jamaica Command.

SIR, Head Quarters, Kingston, December 28. 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency in reference to the inquiries instituted by the Secretary of State for the colonies that I have called upon the military officers to furnish me with as little delay as possible with full details, which will be transmitted to you as they reach me. Of Captain Ford, St. Thomas-in-the-East irregular troop, I know nothing and have no official or other documents connected with him.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Governor Eyre, Spanish Town.

(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR, Major General Commanding.

Governor EYRE to General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, December 28, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government having called for various information in respect to the late rebellion, and some of the public journals of England having represented that the occurrence was a mere local

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riot, it would be extremely desirable to send home a map on a large scale of the whole of the county of Surry showing the country through which the rebellion extended, the sites of the points or estates at which life or property were chiefly destroyed, the extreme verge to the western after rounding the eastern end of the island to which the rebellion extended, and at which it was met and stopped, and the same information with regard to the country west or north-west of Morant Bay.

It would also be desirable that the routes of the military parties or maroons and military positions occupied should be shown also, that the dates should be given in marginal references, showing the precise day and hour at which the insurgents committed devastations at the respective places, or of the march and route of troops or maroons, and the occupation of military posts.

A map of this description on a large scale would be very valuable if lithographed and got ready for the meeting of Parliament.

As the Colonial Government has no engineers whose services can be made available for the purpose, I should be much obliged if your Excellency would cause such a map, with all the particulars and incidents above suggested, and any other your Excellency may think desirable, recorded on the face of it, to be prepared, and this Government will be prepared to make such fair and reasonable remuneration to the officers who undertake the duty as your Excellency may recommend; the map proposed to be copied is the one which your Excellency had for reference during the rebellion, with all the additional information and particulars referred to added to it.

I should be glad to receive the map at least three or four days before the next packet is to sail.

A return should accompany the map showing the total force of regular troops occupying and operating in the districts under Brigadier-General Nelson and Colonel Hobbs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-General O'Connor,
&c. &c. &c.

Major General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

SIR, Head Quarters, Kingston, December 29, 1865.

IN reply to your Excellency's letter of the 28th, I beg to inform you that no time will be lost in forwarding the replies from officers who lately commanded detachments in St. Thomas-in-the-East, but as your Excellency is aware the evidence must be called to substantiate these replies from distant parts of the Island, delay must ensue.

The returns of prisoners punished and copies of courts-martial are in hand, but being very voluminous it will require time.

The map your Excellency wishes for will, if possible, be prepared in time for the mail.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR,
Major-General Commanding.

His Excellency Governor Eyre,
&c. &c.

Governor EYRE to Major General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, December 29, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of and thank your Excellency for the copy of the proceedings under court-martial against G. W. Gordon.

I should be much obliged by your forwarding to me as early as practicable copies of any proceedings or evidence which may be recorded in the cases of the trials of Paul Bogle and of Lawrence, G. W. Gordon's overseer at the Rhine.

I should wish for the papers to be prepared and sent to me before the other or more general returns called for in the very voluminous requirements of the Secretary of State.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

Governor EYRE to Major General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, December 29, 1865.

REFERRING to the correspondence on the subject of the information and documents called for by the Secretary of State for the Colonies I think it right to mention that I understand Her Majesty's Government to require that amongst those documents should be a complete statement of your Excellency's own instructions to any of the officers in command of troops operating in the field during the late rebellion, and also of all subordinate instructions issued by any other officers actually in the field to those acting under them, whether such orders were written or oral.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B.,

Major-General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

Jamaica Command, Head Quarters,
SIR, December 29, 1865.

IN reply to your Excellency's letter of this day's date, requiring for the Secretary of State for the Colonies,—

"A complete statement of my instructions to any of the officers in command of the troops operating "in the field during the late rebellion;"

I have the honour to inform you the distances between Head Quarters, Kingston, and the scenes of operations in the field, were so great and the means of communication so precarious and irregular, that I did not hamper either Brigadier-General Nelson or Colonel Hobbs with any special instructions, save when either appealed to me for an opinion on particular military and judicial points.

The distinguished services of the first-named officer in India, when on the staff of the late Sir Charles Napier, and as aide-de-camp to Sir Thomas Valiant, fully justified the confidence I entertained in his zeal, discretion, and ability; and Colonel Hobbs having commanded the 21st Fusileers at the "Redan," rendered him, in my opinion, qualified to take charge of 100 men of his, the 2/6th Royals, during the late rebellion.

As regards the last part of your Excellency's letter, I gave "no subordinate instructions written or "oral to any other officers actually in the field."

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR,
Major-General Commanding the Forces.

His Excellency Governor Eyre,
&c. &c. &c.

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR.

(No. 290.)

SIR, King's House, December 29, 1865.

ADVERTING to my letter of this morning's date, asking for copies, as early as procurable, of the proceedings and evidence in the courts-martial on Paul Bogle and Lawrence (Mr. Gordon's overseer at the Rhine), I omitted to ask for copies of my letters or memorandums which may be in your possession either by Gordon, Bogle, or Lawrence. I understand that there were amongst other documents three slips of paper addressed to Mrs. Major by Lawrence, expressing uneasiness of Dr. Major's going down to the Bay. Copies of these will be important.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

Major-General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

Jamaica Command, Head Quarters, Kingston,
SIR, December 30, 1865.

YOUR Excellency having called upon me, in a letter dated "Flamstead, 26th December, 1865," to furnish for Her Majesty's Government,—

"A report of my own views and grounds of action, so far as the trial, evidence, and carrying out of "the sentence are concerned, in the case of G. W. Gordon."

I now do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies,—

That with regard to the arrest, taking to Morant Bay, assembling of court-martial, charges preferred, trial, approval and confirming of the proceedings, "carrying out the sentence," and execution of G. W. Gordon, I had nought to do, nor was I aware a court-martial had been assembled until I received a letter from Brigadier-General Nelson, dated "Morant Bay, 21st October 1865, 8 o'clock "p.m.," with the proceedings of the Court, and a report dated "Morant Bay, 23rd October 1865, "7.15 o'clock a.m.," "of his having just returned from the execution of G. W. Gordon," which documents were duly forwarded by me for perusal by Governor Eyre.

After carefully considering the proceedings of the court-martial, the conviction, finding and sentence, I was opinion the position in which Brigadier-General Nelson had been placed, and the then state of the Colony, called for prompt and immediate action.

As regards the paragraph, "why Gordon was arrested in Kingston, to which martial law did not "extend, and taken to Morant Bay for trial under martial law,"—

Had I been consulted at the Council of War assembled at Head Quarter House, 13th October, I would have advised the county of Surry placed under martial law. Kingston should *not* have been made an exception. And as Governor Eyre very correctly states in his letter to me, "Flamstead, 26th "December 1865," "thereby fully legalising every act" of his Excellency.

I would suggest that Lieut.-Colonel Nelson, being now in England, and copies of the several documents connected with the recent rebellion forwarded to him by the mail, 10th December, he is available to afford valuable information, especially "as to whether many of the prisoners before "execution admitted in distinct though general terms that they had been brought to their death by "Gordon."

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR,
Major-General Commanding the Troops.

His Excellency Governor Eyre,
&c. &c. &c.

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 3, 1866.

IN reply to your letter of the 30th ultimo, which I had the honour to receive yesterday, there occurs the following passage:—

"Had I been consulted at the Council of War assembled at Head Quarter House, 13th October, I would have advised the county of Surry placed under martial law. Kingston should not have been made an exception."

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Permit me to recal to your Excellency's recollection, that when you were good enough to allow the Council of War to meet at Head Quarter House that I myself informed you that you were by law a member of such council, and personally asked you to attend it with me, which you did, and that you were present when I addressed a few remarks to the members assembled and invited generally an expression of the views of the council.

I certainly did not ask you individually any more than I did any other member of the council (except the Chief Justice) to express your views, but my remarks were addressed to all, and I naturally presumed that those members who did not express any opinions coincided in the decision arrived at by the majority, and such is the usual presumption at any council board at which I have ever attended.

The Chief Justice was the only one of all the members present whom I called upon individually, and my doing so was that he might explain to the meeting before they discussed the subject what would be the legal status created by the proclamation of martial law.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 2, 1866.

See App. p. 1135.

CONSIDERING the nature of the inquiries made by the Secretary of State on the very exaggerated statments which have been circulated by the press as to the number of Rebels killed during the late rebellion, it would be extremely desirable that a return should be prepared showing the number of persons shot under sentences of court-martial and the number of persons hung, and an estimate compiled from the statement of the officers in command of detachments of the probable number shot who were not taken prisoners.

I should be much obliged if you could cause such a tabular statement to be prepared from the military records and reports.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

RETURN showing the NUMBER of MEN EXECUTED, IMPRISONED, and FLOGGED in ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST, from 14th October 1865 to 10th November 1865.

Names.	Place of Execution.	Date of Execution.	Imprisonment and Period.	Flogged.
Edward Fleming	Port Morant	October 14	—	—
William Mee	Port Antonio	,, 16	—	—
James Bernard	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Jack Freeman	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Francis Stewart	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Jack Harvey	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Samuel Johnson	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
William Watson	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Richard Barclay	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
John Webber	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
George Dark	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
James Marsh	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Thomas Hermington	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Edward McKenzie	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Thomas Wacker	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
James Lindsey	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Robert Blair	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Henry Graves	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Allen McHoy	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
James Barton	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Richard Cox	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Thomas Drum	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
John Price	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Albert Chrystie	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
William West	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Thomas Williams	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
Joseph Williams	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
George Bland	Ditto	,, 16	—	—
William Marshall	Ditto	,, 17	3 years imprisonment in Kingston Penitentiary.	—
Gilborne Clark	Ditto	,, 17	5 years do.	50 lashes.
Joseph Neville	Ditto	,, 17	—	—
William King	Ditto	,, 17	5 years imprisonment	50 lashes.
John Bunday	Easington	,, 17	—	—
Fredrick Bryan	Ditto	,, 17	Imprisonment until further orders.	48 lashes.
Patrick Bryan	Ditto	,, 17	Ditto ditto.	48 lashes.

Names.	Place of Execution.	Date of Execution.	Imprisonment and Period.	Flogged.
Alex. Kenton	Easington	October 17	2 days imprisonment	24 lashes.
Andrew Ways	Manchioneal	„ 17	—	—
William Jones	Ditto	„ 17	—	—
Thomas Drysdale	Port Antonio	„ 18	—	—
Simon Noyes	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Robert Cuthbert	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Richard Blair	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Robert Turner	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
John McKenzie	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Edward Lewis	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Joseph Samuels	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
James Silva	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
John Richards	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Charles Reid	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Thomas Johnstone	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
John Gibbins	Ditto	„ 18	—	—
Abm. Harris	Manchioneal	„ 19	—	—
Smart Stapley	Ditto	„ 19	—	—
G. H. Dennis	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Wm. Bayley	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Wm. Francis	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
James West	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Robert Crauford	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
John Andrews	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
William Martin	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Alex. Taylor	Morant Bay	„ 20	—	—
Henry Hallgatt	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
William Wilson	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Duncan Stewart	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Richard Prendergast	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
William Grant	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Thomas Young	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Richard Kelly	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Peter Wilson	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Edward G. Burrett	Ditto	„ 20	- - -	25 lashes.
Jos. Henry	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Francis Jacobs	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Colin McDermott	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
David Copland	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
J. McGilleverry	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
William Stewart	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
William Gordon	Ditto	„ 20	- - -	50 lashes.
William Cameron	Ditto	„ 20	- - -	50 lashes.
Simon Taylor	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
William Ward	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Thomas Darland	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Frank McMuir	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
Mary Ward -	Ditto	„ 20	—	—
George Donaldson	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
George Ellistin	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Henry Blakely	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Edward McLean	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Francis Stewart	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Henry Griffiths	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Richard Grant	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Edward Marison	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
John Minot -	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
James Graham	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
James Mitchell	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Thomas Walker	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Edward Cameron	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
James McClowen	Ditto	„ 21	Hung on the 24th.	—
Robert McGregor	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Robert Hamilton	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
John Edwards	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Joe Mitchell	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
George McIntosh	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Richard Thompson	Ditto	„ 21	—	—
Henry Laurie	Golden Grove	„ 22	—	—
John Saurius	Ditto	„ 22	—	—
James McKenzie	Ditto	„ 22	—	—
William Milliter	Ditto	„ 22	—	—
Henry Francis	Ditto	„ 22	—	—
Richard Wilson	Ditto	„ 22	—	—
Sharp Williams	Morant Bay	„ 23	—	—

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Names.	Place of Execution.	Date of Execution.	Imprisonment and Period.	Flogged.
John Brown	Morant Bay	October 23	—	—
John Panton	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Moses Bogle	Ditto	„ 23	Hung on the 24th.	—
Archy Bayley	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Jeffrey Davis	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Alex. Hamilton	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Jas. Buie	Ditto	„ 23	Hung on the 24th.	—
John Blake	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Billy Burton	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Richard Wilson	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Thomas Lewis	Ditto	„ 23	- - -	60 lashes.
Charles Mayne	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
George Cradock	Ditto	„ 23	Hung on the 24th.	—
Edward Howell	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
William Waters	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
James Thomas	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Joseph Clark	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
John Wright	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
William Brown	Ditto	„ 23	—	—
Scipio Cowell	Ditto	„ 23	- - -	50 lashes.
John Wilson	Ditto	„ 23	- - -	25 lashes.
James Hounsten	Ditto	„ 23	- - -	75 lashes.
James McLaren	Ditto	„ 23	- - -	25 lashes.
David Douglas	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
George Thompson	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
James Morgan	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
Stephen Cameron	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
Richard Barclay	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
Paul Bogle	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
George W. Gordon	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
William Chambers	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
Jas. Geoghehan	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
William Bogle	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Thomas Holdgate	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
James Betty	Ditto	„ 24	—	—
Will. Geoghehan	Ditto	„ 24	- - -	50 lashes.
Will. Turner	Ditto	„ 24	Delivered to prison authorities.	75 lashes.
Letitia Geoghehan	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Will. Stevens	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
James Stuart	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
James Williams	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Charles Geohegan	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Lewis Miller	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Thomas Davis	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Will. Thomas	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Lewis Dick	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
Sandy Taylor	Ditto	„ 25	—	—
M. Taylor	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 lashes.
George Graham	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Charles Graham	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
James Scott	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Primis Taylor	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Charles Williams	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
George Winds	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
James Sabin	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Nathaniel Doyley	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Smart Taylor	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Thomas Francis	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
John Hamilton	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Edward Leaycraft	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Archibald Duffus	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
John Davis	Ditto	„ 25	- - -	50 „
Lewis Minot	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
James Lewis	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Joseph Kelly	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
William Martin	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Robert Craven	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Edward Clark	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Richard Johnson	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
John Cullens	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
David Richards	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Lewis McLean	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Phillip McLean	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Benjamin McDermott	Ditto	„ 26	—	—

Names.	Place of Execution.	Date of Execution.	Imprisonment and Period.	Flogged.
Samuel Titus	Morant Bay	October 26	—	—
George Williams	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Andrew Hicks	Ditto	„ 26	—	—
Moses Francis	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Mary Francis	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Joseph Kelly	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Edward Sterling	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Francis Winter	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Colin Read	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Edward Wilson	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
John McKenzie	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Frederick Hill	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
Joseph Livingston	Ditto	„ 27	—	—
John Campbell	Ditto	„ 27	—	100 lashes.
John Mitchell	Ditto	„ 27	—	100 „
James Taylor	Ditto	„ 27	—	100 „
James Winter	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Joseph Phavir	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
George Webber	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Alexander Grant	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
James Jennings	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
James Donaldson	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Robert Beecher	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Alexander Baldston	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Judy Edwards	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Ellen Dawkins	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Joseph Sterling	Ditto	„ 28	—	—
Ellen Thomas	Ditto	„ 28	2 years' imprisonment	—
Daniel Johnson	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Robert Graham	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Edward Burton	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Alexander Panton	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
William Mosey	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Mansf. Panton	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Scipio Cowell	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Edward Donaldson	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Charles Walker	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Thomas Edwards	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Prince Stewart	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Edward Browne	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Richard McCormack	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Samuel Walker	Manchioneal	„ 30	—	—
Richard Edward Wright	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Jackey Lewis	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Allen Rose	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
James Henry	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Samuel Richardson	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Abraham Cornwall	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
Thomas Miller	Ditto	„ 30	—	—
James Stewart	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Edward Harvey	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
James Laing	Morant Bay	„ 31	—	—
Andrew Harris	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Charles Fuller	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
John Bartley	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Joseph Graham	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Frederick Wilson	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Matthew Meven	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
John Burnett	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
George Grossett	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Will. Logan	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Abraham Cornwall	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
James Martin	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Tony Butler	Ditto	„ 31	—	—
Charles Farmar	Manchioneal	November 1	—	—
George Cousins	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
John Williams	Morant Bay	„ 1	—	—
James Robinson	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
Edward Leecroft	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
Robert Jacobs	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
George Harris	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
Richard Harris	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
William Danvers	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
John Paterson	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
William Booth	Ditto	„ 1	—	—

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Names.	Place of Execution.	Date of Execution.	Imprisonment and Period.	Flogged.
James Robinson	Morant Bay	November 1	—	—
Joseph Robinson	Ditto	„ 1	—	—
Samuel Harris	Ditto	„ 1	—	100 lashes.
Laurence McLaren	Ditto	„ 2	—	—
William Taylor	Ditto	„ 2	—	—
Thomas Frulas	Ditto	„ 2	—	—
Joshua Taylor	Ditto	„ 2	—	—
Henry Lawrence	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
Samuel Clarke	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
James Johnstone	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
Charles Ammey	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
John Millar	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
John Afflicks	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
Edward Spencer	Ditto	„ 3	—	—
John Daley	Ditto	„ 8	5 years imprisonment.	—
John Taylor	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
William Simmonds	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
George April	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
James White	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
John Forbes	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
Edward Stewart	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
Francis Cox	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
Prince McLeod	Ditto	„ 8	—	—
Richard Thompson	Ditto	„ 8	—	100 lashes.
William Wright	Ditto	„ 8	—	100 „
John Mingo	Ditto	„ 8	—	100 „
Thomas W. Miles	Ditto	„ 8	2 years imprisonment, hard labour.	50 „
Joseph Cargill, alias *"Jarvey"*	Ditto	„ 10	—	—
John Thompson	Ditto	„ 10	—	—
Thomas French	Ditto	„ 10	—	—
Nathaniel Richard	Ditto	„ 10	—	100 lashes.
P. Richard Smith	Ditto	„ 10	—	—

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 6, 1866.

ON looking again through the evidence recorded of the court-martial on G. W. Gordon I notice that the appendices are lettered from A to I consecutively, excepting G and H. The latter has since been forwarded to me ("The State of the Island"). I will be glad to learn if there was any paper marked G, and if so will be glad to have a copy of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

Major-General O'Connor,
&c. &c.

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 5, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to enclose a copy of a letter from one of the legal gentlemen employed to get up the cases against the political prisoners to be tried at the ensuing court, which is to be held on the 24th inst. under a special commission, in which he points out the importance of the Crown law officers having access to the records of the courts-martials held during the prevalence of martial law. I should be obliged, therefore, by your Excellency allowing Mr. Williams and the other Crown law officers to have the opportunity of inspecting those records and taking copies or extracts of such as may be necessary.

The copies recently furnished to me by your Excellency being required for England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR, C.B.

SIR, Flamstead, January 6, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the map which your Excellency has been good enough to allow to be prepared for the Secretary of State by the Royal Engineers' Department.

As there is still a good deal of information requiring to be filled in to make it as complete and perfect as is desirable—such as the names and sites of estates where life was taken or property destroyed by the Rebels, the track of the Maroons, the dates of the military marches, the position and direction of the principal mountains, &c., I should be much obliged if you would allow the Engineer officer or draughtsman by whom the tracing has been prepared to come over to King's House on Monday morning next by the 9 a.m. train, bringing with him the original map for which the tracing was made and the necessary materials to enable him to fill in the additional details desired.

I will endeavour to get Colonel Fyfe to meet him, to indicate the tracks of the Maroons, and one of the geologists and the Executive Committee to point out as nearly as practicable the positions of the estates or other particulars which it is wished to have indicated in the map.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

Major-General O'Connor, C.B.,
Commanding Forces.

Governor EYRE to Major-General O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 1, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., informing me that your Excellency knows nothing of Captain Ford, St. Thomas-in-the-East Irregular troop, and has no official or other documents connected with him.

As that officer's letter refers to Lieut. Cullen and Dr. Morris as having joined his party prior to a raid being made, which he describes, it would be desirable to refer his letter to those officers for their report upon it.

I think also that his letter should be referred to the officers in command of the detachments operating from Port Antonio and Manchioneal to report upon the statements Captain Ford makes in reference to the proceedings of the parties under their command.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B.,
Head Quarter House.

Lieutenant ADCOCK to the DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

SIR, Kingston, Jamaica, January 3, 1866.

IN reply to your memorandum herewith attached I have the honour to state that "Captain Ford," in charge of an armed body of planters, served under my command from the 21st to 24th October 1865.

The planters were called "Ford's Volunteers."

He also served in the Plantain Garden River district from 24th to 31st October 1865, or thereabouts, until disbanded by Brigadier-General Nelson.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. ADCOCK,
Lieutenant, 6th Foot.

The Deputy Adjutant-General, &c.,
Kingston.

True copy.

(Signed) R. F. BALLANTINE,
Ensign, Fort Adjutant.

ENSIGN CULLEN TO DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

SIR, Uppark Camp, Jamaica, January 4, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to inform you that the detachment under my command marched from Manchioneal at daybreak on 21st October last, in order to effect a junction with the detachment under Lieut. Adcock, 2/6th Regiment, at the Post-office near the Chain Bridge, where we arrived at 9 a.m. I waited until 2 p.m., when I received orders to proceed to Golden Grove, when I placed myself under the command of Lieut. Adcock. I first saw Captain

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Ford in Golden Grove House, where Captain Astwood's troop and all officers were quartered. I know no further than meeting him there as a perfect stranger.

I never served under his command at any time, neither have I any idea as to what raid he alludes, nor has Dr. Morris.

I have, &c.

The Deputy Adjutant-General, &c. &c.

(Signed) F. J. CULLEN, Ensign, 1st W. I. Regimnt.

True copy.

(Signed) R. T. BALLANTINE, Ensign, Fort Adjutant.

HENRY FORD to Colonel ROBT. W. B. HUNT.

SIR, Kingston, January 4, 1866.

I AM in receipt of your communication, No. 296, and in reply state that the letter in question was written by me, but not with any intention or thought that it would be published; it was simply a private letter to my own brother, containing the current news of the district, only portions of which came under my own observation. My brother was applied to for news at a time when great anxiety was prevailing as to the state of matters in Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and after showing my letter, was asked for permission to make *extracts* from it for publication, which he consented to, never anticipating that it would be published as official, or with the name or position of the writer.

In reply to question No. 1, the two prisoners shot on the march from Morant Bay were ordered to be shot by Captain Adcock, the commander of the expedition, who also ordered the catting of the others; there were no formal trials, but the charges were inquired into by Capt. Adcock, and I believe Capt. Astwood, but I was not present at the examinations.

2. The raid of 30 men was under command of Capt. Adcock, who ordered the burning of the houses and the floggings on the raid. The court-martial consisted of Capt. Adcock, Capt. Astwood, Ensign Cullen, and Dr. Morris, but their relative positions I do not know.

3. I am not aware that any officer sanctioned the coat and spectacles of G. W. Gordon being taken from him, I only heard the news that they were taken.

4. The statement that "160 people were shot on the march from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, "seven in Manchioneal, and three on their way to the Suspension Bridge, by the black troops," was made from the current conversation on their joining us at Golden Grove.

5. The statement that, "If the inhabitants ran on the approach of the soldiers they are shot for "running away," was made as No. 4, from the current conversation describing the march from Port Antonio. I never gave any such orders, nor was such a course adopted by the party to which I was attached.

I entered on active service as captain of special volunteers, on Friday, 20th October 1865, under Brigadier-General A. A. Nelson, who placed me under the immediate command of Capt. Adcock as commander of the expedition to the Plaintain Garden River district. Capt. Adcock left me in command at Golden Grove on Tuesday, the 24th October; I remained in command until Wednesday, 1st November, when Ensign Cullen returned from Manchioneal and relieved me.

My duties were to assist in restoring and in maintaining order in the Plantain Garden River district.

I have, &c.

Colonel Hunt, &c. &c.

(Signed) HENRY FORD.

Mr. FORD to Colonel FYFE.

SIR, Golden Grove, October 28, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to send you at foot copy of a Memorandum which I have received through you from Capt. Adcock, which I presume restricts me from further operations in capturing or punishing prisoners. I therefore forward to you *five* prisoners, and enclose evidence and list of charges against them.

As I see no further necessity for keeping my men together, I purpose dismissing them to their private avocations on Monday.

I have, &c.

Colonel the Hon. A. G. Fyfe, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) HENRY FORD.

27/10/65. JAMAICA.

FORD's Volunteers will not consider themselves an armed body entitled to act on the offensive; the marching from place to place of armed parties not properly authorized is strictly prohibited.

By order,
(Signed) H. B. ADCOCK,
A.D.C.

Major-General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

SIR, Jamaica, January 1, 1866.

ADVERTING to your Excellency's despatch, 24th ultimo, requesting I would transmit the several documents from the officers engaged in suppressing the late rebellion, and which the Secretary of State for the Colonies considered "requires further explanation and justification;" See App. p. 1128.

I have the honour to forward in part a further report from Colonel Hobbs, commanding 2/6th Regiment, and Lieutenant Adcock, 2/6th Regiment, received this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SMYTHE O'CONNOR,
Major-General commanding Troops.

His Excellency Governor Eyre,
Spanish Town.

MEMORANDUM of PASSAGES referred to in accompanying DESPATCH.

Colonel HOBBS, 2/6th Regiment.

In his report to Major General O'Connor, dated 15th October 1865, Colonel Hobbs writes:—

"We, however, secured six prisoners, whom I would have shot, but from the fact of their being unarmed. I now regret I did not do so, as they are, no doubt, Rebels. We have, however, killed between 15 and 20 of them at extraordinary long distances, having discovered since several groups of them on the hill sides and in trees."

Again, in his further report, dated 19th October, Colonel Hobbs says:—

"I have reached Stoney Gut from my head quarters, Monklands, having shot a number of Rebels on the way."

"I have directed this rebellious settlement to be utterly destroyed."

In his report, dated the 19th October, midnight, he writes:—

"I found a number of special constables who had captured a number of prisoners from the Rebel camp; finding their guilt clear, and being unable to either take or leave them, I had them all shot; the constables then

Colonel HOBBS' replies.

On Sunday, 15th October, five men and one woman were captured in Mount Lebanus, being unarmed and giving themselves up, were sent to camp for trial; were afterwards released for want of evidence. They were found in a rebel district. Their companions finding they were not shot, gave themselves up in numbers, which caused great inconvenience.

2nd PART.

The 15 or 20 supposed to be shot were armed Rebels, whom we surprised in the chapel in the act of administering the oath; they got away across a ravine, and were running up a lean hill side towards an earthwork, with a flag flying. When the advanced guard fired a volley, they *said* they killed from 10 to 20, distance about 800 yards; no one crossed the ravine to count them; prisoners said they were Rebels; they fired shots from trees. Magistrates and civilians assert that every man in Mount Lebanus was in open rebellion. Houses all deserted and gutted by Rebels.

PRISONERS.

The prisoners here are the same prisoners alluded to in next query, were handed over to me on actual line of march by a party of constabes, taken "red-handed" flying from Morant Bay, and were all murderers, convicts, or Rebels *by their own confession*, ALL tried by drum-head court-martial, of which Captain Field was president, and after the most conclusive evidence sentenced to death and shot. The special constables, about 20 in number, all solemnly swearing before God that they knew them to be Rebels. We were at the time making a forced march for Stoney Gut by order of the Major General. Hundreds of armed Rebels were in the neighbourhood, and had we not acted as we did, they would most probably have been rescued.

(Same prisoners named above.)

After confirming the sentence of court-martial, the entire regiment were appealed to whether they thought them guilty; *every man* said guilty.

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Colonel Hobbs, 2/6th Regiment.

hung them upon trees, 11 in number; their countenances were all diabolical, and they never flinched the very slightest."

"From this we at once went to 'Stoney Gut;' and, to be brief, can only say that had the Rebels been brave and met us there, not a man of the 6th Regiment would have returned to tell the tale."

Again, he speaks of having utterly destroyed "this (Bogle's) vile and rebellious "settlement."

Further, in the same despatch :—

"I have in my possession the most conclusive proof of Mr. G. W. Gordon's being a chief mover in this rebellion, and have sent an express to Morant Bay, requesting him to be sent to me (if there) for execution, and request you to give this publicity. And again, I must not forget to tell you that I have Paul Bogle's valet for my guide, a little fellow of extraordinary intelligence; a light rope tied to the stirrup, and a revolver now and then to his head, causes us thoroughly to understand each other; and he knows every single Rebel in the Island by name and face, and has just been selecting the captains, colonels, and secretaries out of an immense gang of prisoners just come in here, who I shall have to shoot to-morrow morning."

Colonel Hobbs' replies.

They were a most ferocious gang, and treated their doom in the most indifferent manner. Some were said to have been the murderers of Mr. Price. Were asked if they had anything to say. Said, "No." Two or three magistrates present agreed in the verdict.

The extreme difficulty of approaching Stoney Gut cannot be described, the only path is the bed of a muddy stream. Troops cannot advance more quickly than half a mile an hour, and knee deep. Fifty brave men behind an earthwork, with plenty of ammunition, could hold it against 500. I would guarantee to hold it with 30.

On arrival at Stoney Gut, found chapel destroyed by Lieutenant Oxley, R.N.; huts or hovels of the lowest stamp, like pigsties, and all deserted; burned hovels on my return towards Monklands; Lieutenant Oxley did same on his way to Morant Bay; lowest and worst settlement in Jamaica, altogether inhabited by Rebels.

A man named William Anderson, and several *Rebels since shot*, said "it was all Gordon's doings." Have a book given Mrs. Bogle by G. W. Gordon. Gave the ground for building the chapel at Stoney Gut, also the lamps. Did not know when I wrote this that Gordon was at Morant Bay. Did not keep the evidence I then had, after hearing of his execution in another district. Perfectly sure a drum-head would have found him guilty.

William Anderson went with Major General Jackson, Serjeant Neal, and 4 men of the 6th, all mounted, in search of Paul Bogle, tied by the waist to Serjeant Neal for safety. Anderson, being mounted, also behaved so well, he was pardoned by me, and let go free. Volunteered to accompany us; gave the most valuable information, and never told an untruth; knows all about the rebellion; lives with me now, and can tell what he knows. On the night of the 19th saw a gang of Rebels marched in; knew every one of thom, told their names, rank, locality, &c. Every statement of his afterwards confirmed; knows Paul Bogle well; was pressed into his service. Bogle gave him a gun when serving out arms to the Rebels at Coley; found the gun had no lock, &c., and throws it down a gully. Knows part of the oath; administered to the Rebels by Bogle. A. Wellington and Abraham Kelly (local leaders); never took the oath himself, but saw hundreds take it. Oath different at the different places. It was to pay no taxes and to kill every buckra in Jamaica. Is a married man, with wife and two children. Is 22½ years of age. Is possessed of an extraordinary memory and powers of cross-examination, *and has saved many prisoners* from execution, as well as giving the most correct and truthful account of every man taken prisoner in the district. Knows all the by-paths, &c. The prisoners selected by William Anderson were all tried by court-martial, and every one found guilty. Next to him I think Eveline Williams, servant of Mr. Patterson, knows more of the Rebels and rebellion than any one in St. Thomas. I consider them a very extraordinary couple, and are both available to give any information necessary. Anderson's father was a local preacher, could neither read nor write, was tried and shot. Was well known to Mr. Bower, J.P., and his book-keeper, Mr. Francis, as a leader of sedition. Induced his son to leave the Church of England and join the Baptists. Had a chapel of his own, a wretched cabin, burned by me. Always preached from Luke, and after sermon read the lists and collected the money; *advised* no one to pay taxes. As I have been

Colonel Hobbs, 2/6th Regiment.	Colonel Hobbs' replies.
	accused of leading about a child by a halter and shooting every one by his testimony, I think that his Excellency the Governor will do me the justice to contradict this and give the above publicity. On his volunteering to go in search of Bogle, I showed him a revolver and told him that if he attempted to deceive General Jackson, run away, or not tell the truth, he would be shot. *He never was tied to my stirrups;* he was perfectly free during our marches, and is a man of extraordinary pluck and character, by far the most intelligent black man I have ever met. The first day of his capture he gave me a list of about 50 Rebels. I wrote them down and he afterwards identified nearly them all from time to time, giving their names, residences, family histories, &c., in a manner that astonished every one.
Tied to stirrup, &c.	

(Signed) F. Francis Hobbs,
Colonel, 6th Royal Regiment.

Newcastle, Jamaica, W. I.,
December 29, 1865.

Sir, Jamaica Command, Head Quarters, December 26, 1865.

I have the honour to transmit certain extracts from your reports when engaged in suppressing the late rebellion, which the Secretary of State for the Colonies considers "to require further explana-"tion and justification," and request you will furnish with the least possible delay for Her Majesty's Government the fullest and most detailed information.

In making this inquiry it is right to inform you "that Her Majesty's Government does not do so as "prejudging any person concerned in any proceeding, but for the purpose of eliciting information not "given in the reports, but which it is believed will be forthcoming, and without which it is impossible "to justify some of the transactions referred to, and which are only stated by the writers in so brief, "hurried, and incomplete a manner."

I append an extract of a Despatch from the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, M.P., to Governor Eyre, Jamaica, No. 356, of 1st December, 1865, and desire you will afford full, clear, and comprehensive replies to each and all of the several queries contained in this important document.

I have, &c.
(Signed) John Elkington,
Lieut.-Col. D.A.G.

Lieut. Adcock, 2/6th Royal Regiment.

Sir, Kingston, Jamaica, December 29, 1865.

I have the honour herewith to transmit you a more detailed account of my proceedings in the Plantain Garden River district, touched upon in my Despatch of 25th October, 1865, and trust the explanations of the several paragraphs queried may be found satisfactory.

I have also appended a statement about the man Anderson, as I have seen his case commented on, although not alluded to in your letter, hoping by this means to save time and trouble should the authorities think it necessary to inquire further into the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. Adcock,
Lieutenant 6th Regt., late commanding
Flying Column.

Memorandum of Passages referred to in the accompanying Despatch.

Lieutenant Adcock, 2/6th Regiment.	Lieut. Adcock's replies.
I enclose also extracts from a report made by Lieut. Adcock of the 6th regiment dated October 25, and transmitted to Lord De Grey in a despatch by Major-General O'Connor, C.B., of which I enclose a copy.	
"Extracts of a letter from Lieutenant Adcock to Major-General O'Connor, C.B., dated Morant Bay, October 25, 1865."	
"I burnt seven houses in all but did not even see a rebel during the day."	I left Golden Grove before day break with 30 men, all mounted, and visited several villages, I endeavoured if possible to surprise the Rebels by coming on them suddenly, and at an early hour, although I succeeded in partly accomplishing my object as many had no time either to hide or remove their plunder, yet I did not see any one I should feel myself justified in calling a

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Lieutenant Adcock, 2/6th Regiment.

Lieutenant Adcock's replies.

"On returning to Golden Grove in the evening 67 prisoners had been sent in by the Maroons, I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark."

"On the morning of the 24th I started for Morant Bay, having first flogged four and hung six Rebels, I beg to state I did not meet a single man upon the road up to Leith Hall, there were a few prisoners here, *all* of whom I flogged, and proceeded to John's Town and Beckford, at the latter place I burnt seven houses and a meeting house; in the former four houses."

Rebel, no man being armed or having plunder in his possession, the Rebels having always escaped before I entered a village. The seven houses that I burnt were full of plunder, chiefly from the Golden Grove stores and Amity Hall great house (where Mr. Hire was murdered), some buried inside the huts, but the greater part was unconcealed. I was very particular that no house should be burnt until I had personally inspected and it only those in which plunder was found.

I remarked that the houses that contained plunder were invariably deserted.

On this day I did not return to Golden Grove till about 4½ o'clock p.m., having been nearly 12 hours in the saddle. The 67 prisoners that were brought in by Maroons I had at once brought before me and commenced to investigate their cases seven being in my opinion serious, I assembled a court-martial and tried them, six were sentenced to be hung, and one to be flogged, of the remainder I flogged 15 or more summarily, exercising my discretion in accordance with my instructions, and released about a similar number, it then being dark and everybody tired I did not dispose of more cases that night.

The next morning I continued the investigation, flogged four, ordered some to be released, and sent some under escort to Manchioneal, where I heard evidence could be produced against them; they were, however, eventually released, the evidences failing to appear. The six men hung were those sentenced to death by court-martial.

I had previously to executing them sent an express to Brigadier-General Nelson for authority to carry out the punishment awarded, which was granted.

Receiving further instructions from the Brigadier to visit, if possible, the villages of Beckford and John's Town, where it was supposed the Rebels were in some force, I proceeded there without delay. I went first to Leith Hall, which is in a direct line to the villages, there were some prisoners, three or four, that the overseer had taken and locked up; he was very desirous I should take them away, so I inquired into their cases, and found they had been plundering and burning; I then ordered them to be flogged. John's Town and Beckford seemed to me to be a hot-bed of the rebellion; there were upwards of 200 houses, the constables (about 12) asked me to burn down the whole place. Several men and women who had been in the employ of the late Baron Ketelhodt, and who had saved some of his plate and other property, came to me, at once telling me what they had done, and asking for advice; they were unanimous in saying that the villages were full of Rebels, and to prove their assertions pointed out to me a large number of houses, the owners of which had been already executed; they said the people I had seen run away were all Rebels, and would remain in the bush until I left. I burnt in these villages, the same as in others, only those houses in which I found plunder. It was sworn to by constables and others that the meeting-house at Beckford had been used for seditious meetings, and that the preacher had incited the negroes to continue in insurrection; this meeting-house was a sort of a wattled hut, used by a body of local religionists, usually styled Baptists, and not the Methodist meeting-house.

In Amity Hall village I also burnt a meeting-house and flogged a preacher, a man called Anderson, who said he belonged to the Baptist Society; it was proved by six witnesses that he had at a prayer-meeting induced some of his congregation to go down to Morant Bay to finish what their brethren had commenced, telling them

"to hold together, and not to let dissension among "themselves be their ruin; that God would assist "those who endeavoured to assist themselves, and what "could be more noble than to liberate a country so mis-"governed, and in which the rightful owners of the "soil were little better than slaves," he finished up his address by regretting that he was not young enough to lead them in person, although he would be with them in spirit; several men armed with cutlasses (and shells for sounding the private calls) left immediately after this for the disturbed districts. I sent him down to Golden Grove under escort, giving orders to take the evidence of a respectable person he wished to call in his defence. I investigated the matter in the evening, and although it was a serious case, I considered that the ends of justice would be attained by dealing with it summarily.

Anderson did not attempt to deny many of the seditious speeches with which he was accused, but averred that his intention was only to rouse the negro to assert his rights in a lawful manner. I ordered this man to receive 50 lashes, which was at once inflicted.

(Signed) H. B. ADCOCK,
Lieutenant 6th Regiment,
Late commanding Flying Column
in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Major-General O'CONNOR to Governor EYRE.

SIR, Head Quarters, Jamaica, January 2, 1866.

WITH reference to your letter of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to forward certified copies of the courts-martial held on Paul Bogle and H. J. Lawrence, together with copies of all documents connected therewith.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Governor Eyre, King's House. (Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR, Major-General Commanding.

AT a COURT-MARTIAL held at MORANT BAY, on the 3rd day of November 1865.

PRESENT:

Lieutenant Herbert Brand, R. N., *President.*
Ensign William Cole, 1st W. I. Regt. } *Members.*
Ensign Mason Taylor, 6th Regt. }

HENRY JAMES LAWRENCE was charged with—

1st. For that he at divers periods previous to the outbreak of the Rebels at Morant Bay, on the 11th day of October 1865, held treasonous correspondence with late George Gordon, duly convicted of high treason, on the 23rd day of October 1865, thereby conspiring with the said George Gordon to incite insurrection or rebellion.

2ndly. For having on the 11th day of October, the day of the riot at Morant Bay, met Dr. Major as he was leaving the Rhine Estate, at about 7.30 a.m., with intent to take part in the vestry meeting, held on the same day at Morant Bay, and in endeavouring to prevent his proceeding by using the following words, or words to this effect, viz., "Surely, Dr. Major, you are not going to Morant Bay "to-day, have you not heard of the disturbance there;" thereby demonstrating his complicity in, and knowledge of the riot, which did break out on the afternoon of the said 11th day of October.

3rdly. For having on or about the said 11th day of October 1865, written a note to Mrs. Major, the wife of Dr. Major, wherein the following sentence appears, viz., "There is a report about the "Doctor (Major), but the same is not true, the negroes know full well who is fit for retribution!!" thereby showing complicity in, and knowledge of the intended proceedings of the Rebels or Rioters, who attacked the vestry on the 11th day of October 1865, at Morant Bay.

4thly. For having at the Rhine said to Dorothy Johnston, servant to Mrs. Major, at about 4 p.m. on the day of the riot, "I hope the Doctor will be safe, but I have no hope for the Baron and "Herschell;" thereby showing a knowledge of the intended riot which took place at Morant Bay, at about 4.30 o'clock, p.m. on the same day.

The prisoner pleaded "Not Guilty."

Dr. Edward William Major, sworn, states: As I was leaving the Rhine, at about 7.30 a.m., I was driving out of the gate, I asked Mr. Lawrence if I could do anything for him at Morant Bay, he then asked me if I was going on to Morant Bay, I said, Yes, certainly I am, he then said, "Have you "not heard of the disturbance there?" I replied, "No, what disturbance?" Mr. Lawrence then advised me not to go, but I told him I could not think of stopping away; he then said, "Well, you

JAMAICA.

" will hear more of it in Bath, as I hear that Captain Hitchins had orders to have the volunteers ready " at 8 a.m. this morning." I did not believe what Mr. Lawrence said, and I drove on, when I got on to Bath, I found Hitchins there, getting ready, so I sent my servant back for lint, surgical instruments, plaster, &c., expecting a row.

Mrs. Major, sworn, states: On Wednesday, I wrote to Mr. Lawrence, asking him to give me all the information he could, and he wrote me a note, and said, " He had every hope for the Doctor, but " none for the Baron or Herschell." The next morning I heard that my husband was burned in the court-house, but the prisoner came and told me it was not the case, that the Baron and Herschell were dead.

Dorothy Johnston, sworn, states: I am servant to Mrs. Major; on Wednesday of the riot, I took a note to the prisoner, from Mrs. Major, and he said to me, " I hope the Doctor will be safe, but the " Baron and Mr. Herschell will be dead." On the Thursday, I met him again, and he asked me the news, I told him the news was very bad, and he shook his head and laughed, I did not tell him what I heard, as I felt convinced he knew it.

John McKenzie, sergeant of police, sworn, states: By order of the provost, I proceeded to the Rhine, and captured the prisoner and his papers, they are the same that are now before the court.

The prisoner's defence was:—

The letters which have been read from Mr. Gordon to me, and from me to Mr. Gordon, show that they are only replies, and as Doctor and Mrs. Major have been living at the Rhine Great House, while I lived at the works for the last two years, they will be able to inform the court what character I bear.

Question by the Prisoner.—Dr. Major, will you state to the court my general character?—*A.* I have no knowledge of your character.

Question by the Prisoner.—Mrs. Major, during the time you have been living at the Rhine have you ever known me to be at all unkind or uncivil to you or any member of your family?—*A.* We never gave you any cause to be so.

The letters are attached to the proceedings.

Found Guilty. Sentence, DEATH.

(Signed) H. BRAND, President,
Lieut. R.N.

November 3rd.

Approved and confirmed.

(Signed) A. A. NELSON, Brig. General,
Commanding Field Force.

Morant Bay, November 3, 1865.

True copy.

JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel.

SIR, Rhine, April 7, 1865.

I HAVE your letter of the 6th instant, I am astonished at your not having received my letter to you, Morant Bay P. O., dated 4th instant. It was duly posted at Bath P. O.

I shall not fail in sending the agreement to Mr. W. Grant for signature.

I have no reliance in anything Mr. Chisholm may say or do.

All the information I gave you touching Mr. Warren, was derived from Crosbie and Robert Boyd, and I do sincerely hope Mr. W. may be able to repel the charges. I know nothing of myself about Mr. W., all I can do is to give up the names of my authors, and they dare not deny anything I have advanced.

I am unable to do anything in the removal of the stock from Sunning Hill to Pera, as I did not get instructions till Tuesday last, and all the hands I could get to aid me had gone to work on the estates down the river, so that I can do nothing before Monday and Tuesday next. I have seen Mr. Porter, and told him this, he does not expect them till next week, and the receipt of the stock will be forwarded to you next Friday.

In the matter of Mr. W. C. Miller's stock, I would recommend your purchasing them, rather than taking them on pasturage, in the first place you will have to do it at very low rates, and 2ndly, have to employ hands (extra) to mind them, and it is only those who have the immediate management of stock, that can have any idea of the difficulty to be felt in this 2nd instance, together with trespass on negro grounds, &c.

I invariably have your horses shod, when you require them, and tried to do so in " Garibaldi " and " Clyne," but failed, and when Richard got to the Bay, his first duty was to have reported my failure in this respect, to enable you to give instructions as I had told him to do—this conduct admits of no excuse.

Missionary ought not to have been sent here—had I not been so watchful I might not have had two mule colts now, and if he is not removed from this, all my efforts to get five more this year may be in vain. Missionary is now only a wreck of what he once was, Speedwell, full of mange, with broken knee; Rodney, very poor, and could not follow, being led to the Rhine on the night of the 5th, or (according to Richard's acct.) the morning of the 6th instant. The best care shall be taken of them.

Old Jack, Dr. Major, and Dr. Crowdie seem to be making merry at Top House, they have been together since last evening. I think between the Baron and Mr. Jack's other friends they will kill him. Every special and quarterly vestry he is brought down, and then the living seem to be so good (this old man is nothing more than a tool in the hands of Herschell, Baron, &c., and a drink ever so weak must easily influence him: he too must soon go, poor man!) that the senior magistrate seems either loath or *unable* to return to his home. They find they can weedle him as they like, and perchance, the Doctor has an eye to a heifer in a present to one of his daughters, and hence, Mrs. M. actually

rode on horseback to Mullatto River last week, where she spent a day and a night. Dr. Major returned to the Bay yesterday, and said it was for the purpose of meeting some finance committee to get payment for his small-pox accounts, he added that the Island seemed bankrupt. Can this be true?

Mr. Boyd has called and paid up the balance, 12*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*, which I enclose to-day *in another letter, but in this* you have particulars. I suppose you have heard all about Mr. W. McKay. What a lesson! and yet old Jack says, he did not know you was driving against church and state, the time you breakfasted with him at Dr. Major's, or he would not have gone with you. See memo. at foot. (Memorandum refers to sale and purchase of stock, &c., only.)

Can it be the informality of Rodney's jawbone and teeth, where he loses his food after mastication, that has kept his condition low, perhaps you have never observed this.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

True copy.
JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel.

SIR, Rhine, April 28, 1865.

I HAVE your letter of yesterday. I am not disappointed at the verdict in G. *v.* K. I had some idea of the amount of influence employed against you.

The triumph of the Baron-Cooke party is great, even in your own dominions the Herschells, Mr. and Mrs. Hinchelwood and the Majors having congregated at this hour (½ past 8 o'clock a.m.) and the rejoicing going on, as I must suppose over your defeat. At this early hour, those worthies have come together, and I shall not be surprised if as many more do not soon arrive to join them. Under my quarters there are no less than four vehicles, and the yard with horses, boys, harnesses, &c. more like a livery stable than anything else; and I need not say, much to my annoyance; indeed my position here now, is anything but what one could desire, especially one feeling as I do in connection with what is now passing with you and the Baron and his party. I feel that I could be happy anywhere but at the Rhine, and I would sooner be in the woods than have to see or be seen by the present party at Top House, you would believe the capability of deception in certain parties who profess friendship to you.

Old Jack is the best of the lot, he is out with his sentiments, having said this morning on his way to Top House that you ought to, or will be, taken up for treason, by publishing letter in "Sentinel" touching Attorney General, &c.

Did I not feel as I do towards you, all they have to say and do would give me no concern, but unfortunately I have at my very door to endure what is most unpalatable; if I could go from this I would. I must repeat my position is anything but what one could wish.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
G. W. Gordon, Esq., Kingston. (Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

True copy.
(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col.

SIR, Rhine, August 25, 1865.

YOUR letter of the 24th instant is to hand. I must confess my disappointment in this second trial of a verdict being given for the defendant, in Gordon *v.* Kettleholdt, I have great fears of things. This second success of the Baron and his party will be a further inducement for them to continue in the evil course, they are naturally prone to. With what eager anxiety must not Messrs. Cook and Herschell have sought at P.O. this morning to know the decision of the jury? and will not this success influence them to further wrong-doing? We seem doomed to the result of the unrighteousness, which seem to defy all right and reason, and God only knows what will become of poor people. I being one of the real poor people.

I am not disappointed in Mr. Sullivan, although he has no less than two horses running here.

I shall go over to Spring as you request, and would go to Bogg, also, if I had any idea of when you will be coming here.

Mr. Davis would have nothing short of the three horses and harness for the land at Thornton.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
Geo. Gordon, Esq., Kingston. (Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

True copy.
(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col.

SIR, Rhine, September 12, 1865.

I AM in receipt of your letters of 23rd ult. and 11th inst.

The removal of Mr. Jackson from this parish as stipendiary justice by Governor Eyre does not surprise me. It is enough that his principles and that of the custos, rector, and some others of their party, could not accord and hence Governor Eyre, a ready tool, gave way to them. St. Thomas-in-the-East seems doomed to oppression, and how long is this wicked batch to reign and to have influence at King's House.

I have no doubt, and perhaps I am right, when I say Mr. "Snake in the Grass," the Hon. W. P. Georges has had something to do in the removal of Mr. Jackson.

On inquiry of Dr. Major if he had any reply to send to your letter of last week, he said to inform you that he will see you when in town on the 26th inst. Having called upon every medical man who attended small-pox patients and who vaccinated to meet at Barclay house in Kingston, to draw up resolutions touching the above, the Ex. Com. having reduced their accounts. He then inquired of me, if I would have any objection to his enclosing under the barracks for the safety and protection of his carriages. I told him in reply that the inquiry ought to be made of you.

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He then said he would not go to the expense of building, but if you would build he would have no objection to remove his carriages to such building, although on his coming to live here, you told him, "under the barracks was the place to keep his carriage." (This last statement I must beg to say, I do not believe; if you had told him so, it would not have been omitted in the letter of agreement. Indeed the Dr. and his family were in such a wretched state, that I do not think he thought of where to put his chaise, he thought more of where to put himself), and so pointed out where the old grindstone stands, opposite your bedroom blind at Rhine cottage; to the west of the bed-room and to the east of the old mill house wall. Should this spot suit you, and entertain the matter of your going to the expense to build, which will cost for a building 24 feet by 12 feet, *thatched*, *wattled*, and *plastered* and walls washed, with two doors and two blinds or windows, the same will cost about five pounds which he said he would advance the money to have erected, deducting the same from the rent.

If (?) wish you would close *one way or the other* with Mr. A. P. Davis, he is always coming here and making remarks about your never having intended to take the land, and further personal remarks about you which I would rather not be in the way of hearing. I have said all I thought it my duty to say and to guard you against, and now it is left for you to decide. Mr. Davis is pretty civil when he sees you, and because his buckra friends have cut him; but I have no doubt if he were a little better off he would be as saucy and spiteful as any of his white brethren; as far as I am concerned I would avoid him. I think he talks too fast and too much, to be anything that is good.

Yesterday was a very unpropitious day for travelling, but so as not to cause you to feel disappointed, I took my chance in going to Spring, where I found a few of the stock looking very well, having now a good deal of feeding since the rains have been falling.

I looked over the book and found from February last to 31st August 8*l.* 7*s.* collected from rents, but nothing from any other source, and it seems that Mr. Chisholm and his brother and the other members of his family have the entire of the negro house to themselves; Boyd saying that whenever he goes there Chisholm's brother threatens to break his neck, and that now the election is over he had better pack up his jack plane and look for something else to do; no money ready to be sent to you, the tenants saying that "land is to be free," and that though the remarks made to the tenants about him, by Chisholm and his family, they will not pay him any money for rent. Francis Stewart goes on cultivating, under the plea that you told him that he may go on cultivating.

James Deacon, the man to whom you gave notice to quit, says you told him at Morant Bay that he is not to go away again. Boyd, as I told him, ought not to regard anything these two last named might say; but he seems disheartened and discouraged, and which I fancy is because Chisholm and he don't pull together, and I fear things will go on in this way till you have dismissed one or the other. Whenever I point out to Boyd, how I would act if in his place, he tells me about Chisholm. I know that Boyd is sufficient for Francis Stewart.

James Deacon, or any of those refusing to pay rent, he has proven himself already, and it is for you to act.

To-day again I have nothing to remit; plenty rain but not nothing to regret from it.

The Rev. Victor told Marks that in six weeks time he will join in holy matrimony Mr. C. Sullivan and Mrs. Sophia Cushion, Mr. J. D. Cushion being still alive. How will the worthy curate do this? Mr. Charles is regular in his attendance under the preaching of this worthy. Can he be sincere, can he be true to you?

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

Geo. Gordon, Esq., Kingston.

True copy.
(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col.

SIR, Rhine, September 15, 1865.

YOUR letter of the 14th inst. is to hand. Roswell and his wife came to Bath yesterday with papers from the Govt., but Mr. W. P. K. has shifted all the blame on some policeman, and said he had "nothing to do with it," being well assured that the Govt. party in this parish will fight his battles and pay his expenses out of parochial receipts.

Dr. Major and family, with Mr. Herschell, has been too much engaged in entertaining Col. Hunt, who came here yesterday on his tour of inspection of volunteers to afford me an opportunity of seeing him since I last wrote you. I have seen nothing of Mr. Davis, he must be up at Manchioneal spending time with his friend, Rev. Bourne.

There is in this country a combination against truth and mercy, and I fear the last moments of Mr. G. H. will be like those of Mr. William Bruce, formerly of the "Jamaica Courant." I think Mr. G. H. must never have been endowed with a sense of shame or gratitude, if he had he would never have written as he has in the "Guardian" of 12th instant.

Unmistakably the exultation must be great in the 2nd verdict against you and the removal of Mr. Jackson.

I have been ill with fever for the last two weeks, especially since I went to Spring and when I got a severe wetting and wet feet all day, so as I have been unable to look after money matters, I must, therefore, beg you to bear with me; soon I shall remit something.

From Bogg I hope and trust you shall have something also.

I thank you for the "County Union;" everything in it is good and true, and so with respect to "Junius" letter. I return it to-day together with dray licence for Henry Clyne, which I hope you will find correct.

Your obedt. Sr.
(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

True copy.
JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col.

MRS. MAJOR,

DEAR MADAM,

THINGS seem in a fearful way; the Dr. did not seem to know of the rebellion at Morant Bay till I told him, but I beg you won't be troubled.

I have no doubt that the feeling will be quieted. The volunteer force moved on to the scene of action this morning at 1 o'clock.

I shall let you know if anything important transpires.

Yrs. faithfully,
(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

N.B.—I beg you to send me a newspaper of last post.

True copy, J.E.

DEAR MADAM,

I AM sorry I have no reliable news for you. I have heard a good deal, but think much of what I hear is false; there is a report about the Dr. (Major) but the same is not true; the negroes know full well who "fit" for retribution.

If your milk should not be good at any time I beg you to let me know.

Yours truly,
(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

True copy, J.E.

DEAR MADAM,

IT may be some satisfaction to you even at this late hour to state that the Dr. is quite safe with Dr. Gerrard at Stoney Gut. It seems true that Messrs G. M. Hall, Hitchins, and Herschell, and Reid were killed yesterday, and nobody but white men like themselves allowed to remove the carcasses.

Things seem dreadful, and what is to be the end of this unhappy affair remains to be seen.

Yrs. truly,
(Signed) H. J. LAWRENCE.

Mrs. Major. True copy, J.E. October 12, 1865.

SIR, Kingston, October 25, 1865.

I AM directed to request that you will have the information which Dr. Major is able to give, taken and laid before the Brigadier-General Commanding or any other authority, so as to cause proceedings to be immediately adopted against the persons whom that information shows to have been concerned in the rebellion and outrages attendant and consequent upon it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. MYERS, S. E. Committee.

G. D. Ramsay, Esq., Provost Marshal, Morant Bay.

True copy.
JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col.

PROCEEDINGS of COURT-MARTIAL assembled for the trial of Prisoners.

Morant Bay, October 24, 1865.

Colonel A. H. Lewis, *President.*
Lieut.-Col. Henry Hutchings, } *Members.*
Capt. P. A. Espeut. }

Paul Bogle charged with rebellion. Found guilty. Sentence, Death.

(Signed) A. H. LEWIS, President,
Col. St. Catherine Regt. Militia.

Approved and Confirmed.
(Signed) A. A. NELSON, Brigadier-General Commanding Forces.

Morant Bay, October 24, 1865.

True copy.
JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel.

No. 11. GOVERNOR EYRE to MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 3, 1866

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date, forwarding certified copies of the Courts Martial held on Paul Bogle and H. Lawrence, with copies of all documents connected therewith.

I have, &c.
His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B. (Signed) E. EYRE.

No. 6. GOVERNOR EYRE to MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR.

SIR, King's House, January 2, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, forwarding in part a further report from Colonel Hobbs, commanding 2nd Batt. 6th Royal Regiment, and Lieutenant Adcock, 2nd Batt. 6th Royal Regiment, for which I beg to return my thanks.

I have, &c.
His Excellency Major-General O'Connor, C.B. (Signed) E. EYRE.

MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Head-Quarters House, Kingston, January 4, 1866.

WITH reference to my letter of yesterday's date, I have the honour to forward to your Excellency the enclosed report from Captain Hole, 2/6th.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR,
Major-General Commanding.

His Excellency Governor Eyre, &c. &c.

CAPTAIN HOLE.

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the Right Honourable EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P., to GOVERNOR EYRE, No. 356, of December 1, 1865.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. The number of persons tried and of those sentenced by courts-martial specifying the charge and sentence, and whether or not the sentence was executed, and under whose authority, and whether minutes were taken of the evidence on which the sentence was founded in each case. All minutes of evidence so taken to be appended to the return. The return should show also at what places and times respectively the offences were charged to have been committed, and the accused persons were arrested or captured, and tried specifying in each case whether the offence was committed *before or during martial law;* whether the arrest or capture was made *during martial law, and in a place to which martial law extended,* and if the person accused was arrested or captured in a place to which *martial law did not extend, and removed to a place to which it did extend, there to be* tried by martial law, and for an offence not committed during and under martial law, it should be stated by *whose authority* this was done, and whether under the advice of the Attorney-General of Jamaica.	I cannot state the number of prisoners tried. Courts-martial with minutes on thirty-three Rebels were handed by me to the Brigadier-General; there were some other courts-martial awarding imprisonment, these were forwarded by me to the Provost-Marshal at Port Antonio. I did not keep any duplicates. I was the confirming officer. The sentences were carried out under my order. The whole of the offences were committed after the Morant Bay massacre. All arrests or captures were made during martial law, and in places where martial law extended.
2. Whether any persons were hanged, flogged, or otherwise punished without trial; and if so, by whom, and under whose authority, in each case specifying the name, sex, colour, and quality of the person punished, the nature and date of the punishment, the nature and date of offence, and the grounds on which it was assumed to have been committed.	No persons were hanged without trial; but several were flogged by my authority on sworn evidence. I have specified their names in return marked A. They were all black, and of the lowest class—chiefly males; there were a few females flogged with a light cat. All the females were given the option by me of restoring the plunder, and then being allowed to go free, or of submitting to the punishment; they accepted, as a rule, the latter alternative.
3. The number of persons, so far as can be ascertained, who were shot in the field or in the bush, their names, sex, quality and colour, and whether adults or children, specifying in all cases whether they were resisting or flying, whether armed or unarmed, and if armed, with what weapons, whether such as are used only for purposes of offence, or such as are used also in agricultural or other peaceful occupations.	About sixty—I have been unable to ascertain their names—they were all males—full-grown men, flying from the troops to the thick bush. A fowling piece was taken from one, a pistol from another; several had machetts—they are agricultural implements, which, when sharpened (which several were), can be used as cutlasses, and can inflict most serious wounds, some were unarmed.
4. Whether any and what oral or written instructions were given to officers in command of detachments sent in pursuit of Rebels, whereby they might know on what evidence or appearances other than hostile action or attitude they were to assume that those they might meet with were Rebels, and whether those officers, or any of them, were led by their instructions or otherwise, and without authority induced to assume that all persons flying or hiding from pursuit, or all persons found with plunder, or all persons leaving their labour on plantations, were to be regarded as Rebels and shot when met with, copies of all written instructions should be furnished.	No instructions were given whereby I might know on what evidence or appearance, other than hostile action or attitude, I was to assume those I met were Rebels. I was directed by word of mouth to engage, and punish the Rebels, should I come across them. Information as to the position of Rebels had to be gathered from time to time on the march. I had to assume for myself, backed up by the opinion of two magistrates, and by what I heard from the local police and other people, who attached themselves to my force, who were Rebels and who were not. (Signed) S. B. HOLE, Captain, 2nd Battn. 6th Regiment. True copy. J. ELKINGTON, Lt.-Col.

True extract.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, D.A.G.

MEMORANDUM of PASSAGES referred to in the accompanying Despatch.

Captain Hole, 26th Regiment.

Captain Hole reports, on 17th October 1865 :—

On arriving yesterday at Long Bay I found the huts full of plunder. I had every hut within a quarter of a mile of the road in which plunder was found fired, and in doing so upwards of 20 of the rebels were killed. After remaining about an hour I pushed on for Manchioneal.

The rebels were firing some of the houses in front, and everywhere fled at our approach. A house called the Cottage was in flames within a mile of us. Every black man who did not give an account of himself was shot.

I am of opinion that upwards of 60 rebels were killed yesterday by the troops under my command, among whom I hear there are some ringleaders.

I intended to have destroyed all houses in which proved rebels have resided.

In his subsequent Report of 19th October, he states that three men of the 1st West India Regiment—

Private Beckley,
,, Bates,
,, Moody,

got separated from this party, and proceeded as far as the Plantain Garden River district, and from their reports I learn a great number of Rebels are lurking in that district.

They informed me on their return last evening that they had shot about 10 Rebels, three of whom were concerned in the murder of Mr. Hire.

They brought back with them two cart loads of recovered property, some of which belonged to the late Mr. Hire (as in one of the pockets of a coat I discovered the two accompanying letters), and some to Mr. Shortridge, the same being discovered by the crest on two plated tea-pots. They also brought in various other articles, not yet identified. I consider that these three men had done good service.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieut.-Col., D.A.G.

Captain Hole's replies:—

Cog Hall, adjoining Long Bay, was pointed out to me as a nest of rebels; it fact, it was from this place I was informed that threats had been sent through all the country which I had just traversed. I had also been told that at the point I might meet the rebels. On arriving there I sent a skirmishing party through the village, which was situated on the side of a hill, and was thickly covered with bush, so much so that two huts could hardly be seen at one time. On the party entering it men ran out of the huts, and endeavoured to make their escape into the dense bush. It was in making this attempt that about 20 of them were shot. I entered several huts, and found them full of plunder, some of which was identified. My force being a small one of 44 men, 26th Regiment, and about 50 of 1st W. I. Regiment, I could not detach any men to collect and bring on the property there discovered. I likewise could get no carts or vehicles of any description. I felt that if I did not complete my work as I proceeded, on the morrow I might not be in a position to do so. I could not then imagine that people who had risen in rebellion and spread it 40 miles in less than three days, would quietly allow me to march through a most difficult country and not offer opposition. I expected a stand to be made by them every moment. Rather than allow the rebels a second time to regain possession of the stolen property, I directed the huts with their contents to be burnt.

The country from Cog Hall to Manchioneal afforded great cover to Rebels (as did all the country from Port Antonio) from its bushy nature. Parties were detached to scour the vicinity of the road. Several men were concealed in the bush, everywhere they fled, and several were shot down; many, however, escaped.

I have the honour to add, that from Long Bay to Manchioneal, a distance of about nine miles, the houses of the white gentlemen had all been completely sacked, and the most wanton damage had been committed; mattresses, arm-chairs, and plunder of all sorts were lying in the road. Mulatto River house, the residence of Mr. Hinchelwood, had been burnt down. I ascertained that wherever the rebels had appeared, with a few exceptions, they had been receiving the greatest aid from the inhabitants, numbers of whom had joined them, and that in despoiling the different houses of people that ought to have assisted in preserving the goods were those who had been busy in the work of destruction and thieving. The cry everywhere that had been raised was, "Colour for colour."

I am of opinion that, but for the arrival of the troops in the district, that there would not have been a loyal man remaining in it.

(Signed) L. B. HOLE,
Captain 2nd Batt. 6th Regiment.

True copy,
JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieut.-Col., D.A.G.

This statement is as given me by Corporal Beckler, 1st I. W. Regiment.

I reported it at once to the Brigadier-General. The Plantain Garden River district was in a most disturbed condition.

(Signed) L. B. HOLE,
2nd Bat. 6th Regiment.

True copy,
JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieut.-Col., D.A.G.

JAMAICA.

PRISONERS summarily disposed of by the Officer commanding the Troops at Manchioneal during the Rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East Island of Jamaica.

A.

Names.	Witnesses.	Offence.	Punishment.
James Minot.	Charles Grant. George Francis.	For being with the rioters at Elamwood Great House and stealing, 14th Oct., 1865.	100 lashes.
James Bryant.	Donaldson Panton.	For stealing a turkey and a chair from Mulatto River House, 14th October, 1865.	100 lashes.
John Clare. Billy McAn.	James Drompson.	For being with rioters in the neighbourhood of Holland House, on the night of Mr. Hire's murder, 12th October, 1865.	100 lashes each.
E. Josiah.	John Curak.	For stealing at Williamsfield.	100 lashes.
Charles Vine.	Omitted in notes.	For being found with harness in his possession, the property of Mr. Hinchelwood, and not satisfactorily accounting for it.	100 lashes.
Latitia Cousine.	Wm. Pamber.	For stealing from Read House, the residence of Mr. Flemming.	30 lashes.
Harriet Lindsay. Ellen O'Drain.	Amelia Cane. Janet O'Neil.	For being with rioters and stealing.	30 lashes each.
Joseph Harris. William Harris.	Peter Nugent. Robert Fuller.	For being with rioters.	Jos. Harris, 100 lashes; William Harris,50 lashes.
Jacob Burnett. Patrick Murray. Esther Brown.	Robert Sims.	For stealing shirts.	The two men 100 lashes each ; E. Brown,30lashes.
William Strong. James Perkins. Sophia Murray.	Isaac McDonald. Philip Patrick.	For stealing from Williamsfield, the residence of Rev. E. Jones.	The two men 100 lashes each ; S. Murray, 30.
Charles Harry. Charles Donaldson. Edward Anderson.	Peter Nugent. Robert Nicols. J. McDonald. Charles Robinson.	For being with rioters. For stealing from Williamsfield.	100 lashes each. 50 lashes.
James Christie.	James Nicholas. George Parks.	For stealing from Williamsfield.	100 lashes.
John Williams.	Wm. McNab.	For being with rioters at Williamsfield.	50 lashes.
James McAn.	Omitted in my notes.	For stealing.	30 lashes.
William Sherwood. Richard Lindsay.	Anthony Titus.	For being with rioters.	50 lashes each.
John Hall. John Lewis.	Bius Hall Andrew Sidwidge. Robert Sewood.	For being with rioters at Williamsfield and stealing.	50 lashes each.
Ellen Lindsay.	Andrew Sidwidge.	For being with rioters at Happy Grove and stealing.	30 lashes.
Julius Bignell.	Omitted in notes.	For having stolen goods in his possession.	50 lashes.
Ellen Taylor.	Henry Panton.	For stealing.	30 lashes.
Joseph Darling.	Mr. T.S. Flemming.	For being with the rioters.	50 lashes.
Celich Welch.	Thomas Gibbert.	For being with the rioters.	50 lashes.
William Johnson.	Capt. Hunter, 1st W. I. Regiment. Jos Deslis.	For stealing and being with rioters.	100 lashes.
John Webber.	Sander Holmes.	For stealing and being with rioters.	100 lashes.
Henry Cousins. Richard Kelly.	Mrs. Sambie.	For being with rioters at Read House and plundering it.	100 lashes.
— Burke. — Parker.	Mr. Eder. Mr. Collins.	For stealing a pig.	50 lashes each.
Edward Clarke.	Omitted in notes.	For being with rioters, prevaricating and lying to Captain Hole.	50 lashes.
Mary Lewis. Agnes Clarke. John West. Mrs. McAn.	Omitted in notes.	Rioting and stealing.	John West, 100 lashes ; remainder, 30 lashes each.
Robert Cousins. Thomas Scott.	Francis Hill. John Grant.	For being with rioters. For being with rioters and stealing.	100 lashes.
Jos. Harris.	James Forsyth.	For wilfully breaking a window at Peron when with rioters.	50 lashes.
Richard Grey.	James Forsyth.	For being at Peron with rioters and cutting the sash of a window.	100 lashes.
Thomas Saunders.	James Forsyth.	For being at Peron with rioters, and being the first man to break into the house.	150 lashes.
Thomas Clarke. Robert Marshall. Edward Stephens.	James Forsyth.	For being with rioters at Peron.	100 lashes each.
Thomas Richards.	James Forsyth.	For being one of the first men to break into Peron house.	150 lashes.
Mary Hart.	Thomas Cousins. Louisa Fisher.	For stealing from Mr. Kirkland's store at Manchioneal.	30 lashes.

PRISONERS summarily disposed of by the Officer commanding the Troops at Manchioneal during the Rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, Island of Jamaica.

Table A.—*cont.*

Names.	Witnesses.	Offence.	Punishment.
Nath. Logan.	Corporal Beckler, 1st W. I. Regt.	For leaving things belonging to the late Mr. Hire in his house, and running away from soldiers.	150 lashes.
Joseph Milligan.	M. Eder. M. Cameron.	Omitted in notes.	100 lashes.
William Russell.	Henry Burke. Henry Thompson.	Omitted in notes.	100 lashes.
John Ricketts.	Hugh Speed.	For being with rioters in Mr. Kirkland store with a machett, 13th Oct. 1865.	100 lashes.
George Munay.	Joseph Thompson.	For receiving stolen goods.	150 lashes.
Joseph Franks.	Mr. Cleaver. Edward Aflick.	For stealing.	100 lashes.
Edward Bickerstaff.	Mr. Cleaver. Edward Aflick.	For having a mustard pot, belonging to Rev. E. Jones, in his possession.	100 lashes.
James Knowles. George Barrett. Margery Winter.	Corporal Smith. Private Chambers, 2/6th.	For having stolen goods in their possession belonging to Rev. E. Jones.	The two men 100 lashes each ; M. Winter, 30.
Jarvis Martin.	Constable Burton.	For stealing.	100 lashes.
Abraham Scott.	Mr. Davidson.	For stealing a bible.	100 lashes.
George Panton.	Mr. Bolton.	Omitted in notes. Memorandum.—In my notes are these words, "It would have been a capital punishment, but there being only one evidence, I have disposed of the case summarily."	150 lashes.
Hannah Geddes.	Edward Aflick.	Stealing from Williamsfield.	30 lashes.
Elisha Aflick.	John Hughes.	Omitted in notes.	100 lashes.
Rosamond Dashly.	Mr. Chaucer. Edward Aflick.	For denying she had stolen goods in her house, and the same being afterwards found there.	30 lashes.
Betsy Anderson.	Mr. Chaucer. Edward Parker.	For stealing from Williamsfield.	30 lashes.
Samuel Doyley.	Mr. Chaucer. Edward Aflick.	For having two carpets in his yard belonging to Williamsfield.	100 lashes.
Jos. Lewis.	Mr. Chaucer. Edward Aflick.	For being with rioters at Mr. * shop.	100 lashes.

* Sic. in or

I certify that I was generally assisted in examining into the before-named cases by a magistrate; that I carefully investigated the various charges against the prisoners; that I arrived at no hasty decision; that for the first few days I released the women, but an opinion going forth that they could steal as much as they liked and pass unpunished, I at last reluctantly awarded corporal punishment to them; that in almost every case against women the option was given them of restoring the stolen goods and passing free to their houses, or of submitting to the punishment; that I regret that my notes are not more complete; that the omission was occasioned by the immense amount of work that I had to go through, their being no Provost-Marshal to assist me; that in 17 days I summarily disposed of 73 cases; that in addition about 50 were tried by court-martial, of which the preliminary examinations had to be made by me; that I dismissed several cases, no evidence appearing in support of them; and that during the time I commanded at Manchioneal fully 150 prisoners were brought in by volunteers, constables, and other parties, sent out to apprehend them. I also certify that my command at Manchioneal was from October 16, 1865, to November 5, 1865.

(Signed) G. B. HOLE,
Capt. 2/6th Regiment.

Port Antonio, January 1, 1866.

True copy.

JOHN. ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col., D.A.G.

GOVERNOR EYRE to MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR.

No. 7.

SIR, King's House, January 2, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to enclose acopy of a report addressed by Lieutenant Brand, R.N., to His Excellency Vice-Admiral Sir J. Hope, G.C.B., relative to a case in which it is alleged that on the 18th October last Mr. Provost Marshal Ramsay had a man who was being flogged taken down and hung without any trial or any authority.

I should be glad to learn whether the circumstance has been reported to your Excellency, or you have any information respecting the occurrence, as it is now for the first time brought under my notice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Major-Gen. O'Connor, C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

JAMAICA.

MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Head-Quarter House, Kingston, January 4, 1866.

IN reply to your Excellency's letter, No. 7, with enclosure having reference to a case in which it is alleged that on the 18th October last Mr. Provost Marshal Ramsay had a man hanged without trial or authority,—

I have the honour to inform you that I have no report of such and know nothing of the case, but read it strongly animadverted in the London papers.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Governor Eyre, &c. &c.

(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR, Major-Gen. Commanding.

MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR to GOVERNOR EYRE.

Head Quarters, Kingston,

SIR, January 3, 1866.

State of Island.
List of Rebels shot, flogged at Monklands, and copies of drum-head court-martials.
Lieut. Adcock's Orders.
Statement of prisoners confined in Up Park Camp.
Further Report from Col. Hobbs, and enclosures.

I DO myself the honour to forward the documents as per margin, as requested by your Excellency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNOR, Major-Gen. Commanding.

His Excellency Governor Eyre &c. &c.

LIST of REBELS shot by COLONEL T. F. HOBBS' Field Force at Monklands :—

1865. October 16 and 19.—William Carr, leading rebel, Robert Dyke, Jack Garden, and 9 men, names unknown, flogged at Jiggerfoot Market.

October 20.—A. Kelly, Thomas Ross, Charles Smith, Robert Francis, James Reid, I. Walter, Sunny McFarline, J. Crossion, and 18 others, names unknown.

October 21.—Arthur Wellington, Daniel McClarin Graham, leading rebels.

October 23.—George Hamilton and William Gilespie.

October 25.—George Rankine, J. Spense, J. Brown, William Carr, jun., D. Brown, Sammy Becket, B. Grant, Peter Bignel, A. Betty, Alexander Charles, Fortune Carr, J. Johnson, William Robinson, George Goulborne, C. Williams, Thomas Johnson, and I. Grant.

October 26.—E. Edwards, I. Kelly, L. Connsent, Ross Grant,* James Gibbins.

Total shot, 64.

RETURN showing the Names of men upon whom Corporal Punishment has been inflicted :—

Names.	No. of lashes inflicted.	Remarks.	Names.	No. of lashes inflicted.	Remarks.
E. Gordon	50		D. Davis	50	
R. Campbell	24		J. Braday	50	
J. McFarline	50		C. Herns	50	
A. Whiley	50		R. Beckford	50	
H. McFarline	50		J. Francis	50	
J. Knight	50		J. Hamilton	50	
W. Hayes	50		W. Williams	50	
E. Smith	50		H. Wilson	50	
M. Williams	50		D. Francis	50	
J. Grant	50		E. Gardner	50	
W. Antoniono	50		R. Atkinson	50	
N. Logan	100		A. David	50	
P. Stewart	50		A. A. Atkinson	50	
R. Francis	50		C. Hamilton	50	
W. Morrison	50		D. Medder	50	
T. Watson	50		J. Smith	50	
H. Francis	50		J. Logan	50	
J. P. Deacon	50		John Hill	50	By Cap. Field, commanding detachment 2/6 Royals, Monklands, 28th October, 1865.
W. Robinson	50		Simon Stewart	50	
A. Francis	50				

Corporal punishment inflicted by Colonel Hobbs .. .. 37 men.
„ „ Captain Field .. .. 2 „
39

(Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS, Colonel 6th Royals, Commanding Troops Central Division.

New Castle, October 30, 1865.

True copy.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Col.

* A gold watch found on him.

Enclosure No. 2. JAMAICA

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from the RIGHT HON. EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P., to GOVERNOR EYRE, Jamaica, No. 356, of 1st December 1865.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. The number of persons tried and of those sentenced by courts-martial, specifying the charge and sentence, and whether or not the sentence was executed, and under whose authority, and whether minutes were taken of the evidence on which the sentence was founded in each case, all minutes of evidence so taken to be appended to the return. The return should show, also, at what places and times respectively the offences were charged to have been committed, and the accused persons were arrested or captured and tried, specifying in each case whether the offence was committed before or during martial law, whether the arrest or capture was made during martial law, and in a place to which martial law extended, and if the person accused was arrested or captured in a place to which martial law did not extend, and removed to a place to which it did extend, there to be tried by martial law, and for an offence not committed during and under martial law, it should be stated by whose authority this was done, and whether under the advice of the Attorney General of Jamaica.	For court-martial, &c., *vide* court-martial return attached; minutes of evidence at all times taken, a few instances occurred of prisoners taken in rebel districts, who were unable to account for themselves, were dealt with by summary flogging with the concurrence of three officers. List of names, number of lashes, &c. attached. I was the commanding officer and confirmed the sentences by virtue of a warrant from the Major-General under martial law. St. Thomas-in-the-East, only Monckland's district. Whole country in open revolt. For offences committed during martial law chiefly. Yes. All for offences committed in St. Thomas-in-the-East only. No. No. No such case occurred. Had no communication with the Attorney-General of Jamaica.
2. Whether any persons were hanged, flogged, or otherwise punished without trial, and if so, by whom and under whose authority in each case specifying the name, sex, colour, and quality of the person punished, the nature and date of the punishment, the nature and date of offence, and the grounds on which it was assumed to have been committed.	2. No person was either hanged or shot by the troops under my command without trial and the court sworn, except as below. (Answer 3.) Some men were flogged with the concurrence of three officers, at times when it was impossible to hold a court-martial, but always under my own authority, and I never delegated this authority to any other officer. Quality, comfortable settlers. No woman or boy was flogged, all black; but one, a yellow man, a convict released from prison by Bogle (flogged). Date from 15 to 29 October 1865, for being in a rebel district and in company with rebels.
3. The number of persons, so far as can be ascertained, who were shot in the field or in the bush, their names, sex, quality, and colour, and whether adults or children, specifying in all cases whether they were resisting or flying, whether armed or unarmed, and if armed with what weapons, whether such as are used only for purposes of offence, or such as are used also in agricultural or other peaceful occupations.	3. As far as I can judge, twenty is the very outside. When I wrote on the 15th October, I thought between 15 or 20 men that in Mount Libanus, names not known, all black, adult males, quality unknown. No children ever molested, and no man was ever shot but in a rebel district, and either resisting or flying and armed, or supposed to be hostile. Rebels armed in most instances with double and single-barrelled guns and pistols. The cutlasses found by me were nearly all blood-stained, and although used generally in agriculture, from their make and finish had not been used for that purpose.
4. Whether any and what oral or written instructions were given to officers in command of detachments sent in pursuit of Rebels, whereby they might know on what evidence or appearance other than hostile action or attitude they were to assume that those they might meet with were Rebels, and whether those officers or any of them were led by their instructions or otherwise and without authority, induced to assume that all persons flying or hiding from pursuit, or all persons found with plunder, or all persons leaving their labour on plantations, were to be regarded as Rebels, and shot when met with; copies of all written instructions should be furnished.	4. Received no instructions on starting. On martial law being proclaimed, and on marching into St. Thomas-in-the-East, *then in open revolt*, acted under the instructions and upon the information of 3 or 4 local magistrates and 8 or 10 small proprietors, and according to the best of my judgment and the utmost of my ability to put down a terrible blood-thirsty and wide spread rebellion. Never allowed a shot to be fired or house burned without the most undeniable evidence of their being Rebels or the houses of Rebels. Consider that were it not for the prompt measures taken by me to check, head, and punish the Rebels that they would have carried out their intention of burning

Kingston, passing through St. Davids, where hundreds were ready to join them, as I can prove. I consider that no undue harshness was used, no case of wantonness ever committed by the troops, no one ever shot whilst hiding, *nor at random.* The troops behaved nobly, underwent the most excessive hardships without a murmur, and we received, when leaving, a numerously signed address. The prisoners at all times when possible had time given them to prepare for death and had a person to pray with them. Almost all confessed their guilt and laid the blame on their religious ringleaders. The magistrates and special constables were constantly urging me to adopt more severe measures. On the 16th October received letter from D. Adjt.-Gen., extract attached and marked A., and on the 20th received letter from Major-Gen. O'Connor, B.C., marked B. and also attached.

(Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS,
Col. and Lieut.-Col., 6th Royal Regiment.

New Castle, Jamaica, December 30, 1865.

True Copy.
(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieut.-Col., D.A.G.

A.

EXTRACT from MEMORANDUM from DESPATCH from DEPUTY ADJUTANT GENERAL, dated Monday, October 16, 1865.

THE Major-General would like you to be careful about burning villages, and not to do so without it is clear the inhabitants have joined the insurgents.

The Major-General can give you no instructions, and leaves all to your judgment.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, D.A.G.

SIR, Head Quarter House, Kingston, October 20, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your several despatches as per margin, the last received this morning at 8 o'clock, a.m. Clearly understanding the difficulties and impediments arising from the mountainous and flooded state of the country through which you are marching, and the continued inclement weather, I fully appreciate the steady perseverance and unflinching patience exhibited by yourself and the troops under your command.

It is to be regretted that you did not arrive sooner at Stony Gut, but the sailors and marines under Lieut. Oxley, but much greater facility and better roads in the advance from Port Morant.*

*Sic in orig.

I instructed Lieut.-Colonel Elkington, Acting D. A. General, to order you to make Monklands your head-quarters for some time, sending out parties in various directions to scour the adjacent country and capture any Rebels they may discover. I am much pleased by your adopting a decided course with regard to captured Rebels, the many you have sent into camp on mere suspicion or vague charges have caused some embarrassment. One of two courses seems to me under martial law to be the rule for your conduct, if on careful investigation the captured persons are innocent (always give them the advantage of a doubt), then release them, but if guilty and taken "red handed" summary justice and execution of the sentence.

I request that you will convey to Captain Field, 2/6th Royals, Lieut. Roworth and Deputy Assistant Commissary General Gibbs, the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the detachment under your command, my more than ordinary satisfaction from their steady and orderly conduct, and hope that by continuing in the same creditable course, opportunity will be given me of bringing them to the notice of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. SMYTHE O'CONNER,
Major-General Commanding the Forces.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM-HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at Monklands on the 1st November 1865, by order of COLONEL FYFE, Commanding Maroons and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Captain Spencer Field, 2/6th Regiment.

Members.—Lieut. Graeme, 2/6th Regiment, and Staff Assistant Surgeon Strawghan.

The under-mentioned prisoners are brought before the Court:—

W. Francis, J. Kelly, Sammy Stewart, Abraham Anderson, R. Meadows, Charles Hall.

The Court is sworn in the usual manner. The prisoners above-named are tried on the following charges,—

CHARGES.

With sedition and murder, and being present with unlawful assemblies and taking no steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Court having heard sworn evidence in support of the prosecution are of opinion they are guilty.

SENTENCE.

The Court having found the prisoners guilty, do now sentence J. Kelly, Sammy Stewart, A, Anderson, to suffer death, and also sentence William Francis, R. Meadows, and Charles Hall, to suffer corporal punishment, the two former to 50 each and the latter 100 lashes.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Battalion 6th Royal Regiment,
President.

Approved as regards Sammy Stewart and A. Anderson, but I would wish the Court to reconsider their sentence against J. Kelly on the ground of his restoring the coat when ordered. It is said that he did not intend to steal or plunder.

(Signed) A. G. FYFE,
Colonel Commanding M. F.

The Court having assembled according to order to reconsider their former sentence on J. Kelly and do now sentence him to undergo corporal punishment of 100 lashes.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD.
Capt. 2nd Battalion 6th Royal Regiment,
President.

Approved. Marklands, November 1, 1865.

(Signed) A. G. FYFE,
Colonel Commanding Maroon Force.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM-HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at MONKLANDS on the 23rd October 1865, by order of COL. HOBBS, commanding troops at this station, and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Capt. Field, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.
Members.—Lieut. Raworth, Lieut. Hall.

The under-mentioned prisoners are brought before the Court:—George Hamilton, William Gillespie, Richard Blake, Jamaica Dennis.*

The Court is sworn in the usual manner.

George Hamilton, William Gillespie, Richard Blake, and Jamaica Dennis, are tried upon the following charges, viz:—

With sedition and murder, or being present with unlawful assemblies taking no steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Court having heard sworn evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that they are guilty.

The Court having found the prisoners George Hamilton and William Gillespie and Jamaica Dennis are guilty, and that there is no evidence to convict Richard Blake.

SENTENCE.

The Court having found the prisoners George Hamilton, William Gillespie, and Jamaica Dennis guilty, do now sentence them to death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.
President, Oct. 23, 1865.
CHAS. E. RAWORTH,
Lieut. 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.
A. C. HALL, 6th Regt.
T. F. HOBBS, Colonel,
Lieut. Com. Central Div.

Oct. 23, 1865.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM-HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at MONKLANDS, St. Thomas-in-the-East on October 25, 1865, by order of COL. HOBBS, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt. commanding troops at Monklands, and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Capt. Spencer Field, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.
Members.—Lieut. Hall, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt. and Lieut. Graeme, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.

The undermentioned prisoners are brought before the Court:—George Colburn, C. Williams, T. Johnson, and J. Grant.

The Court is sworn in the usual manner.

The prisoners above-named are tried on the following charges:—

With sedition and murder, and being present with unlawful assemblies, and not taking steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

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* Jamaica Dennis. Punishment commuted to 50 lashes.

(Signed) S. FIELD, Capt.

JAMAICA.

The Court having heard sworn evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that George Colburn, C. Williams, J. Johnson, and J. Grant, are guilty.

The Court having found the prisoners guilty, do now sentence them to death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Bat. 6th Regt. President.
A. C. HALL, Lieut. 6th Regt.
R. GRAEME, Lieut. 6th Regt.

Approved and confirmed.
(Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS,
Colonel Com. Field Forces,

Monklands, Oct. 25, 1865.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM-HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at MONKLANDS, October 26, 1865.

On the 26th October, by order of Col. Hobbs, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt. commanding troops at Monklands, and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Capt. Spencer Field, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.
Members.—Lieut. Hall, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt. and Lieut. Graeme, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.

The under-mentioned prisoners are brought before the Court. E. Richards, J. Kelly, L. Connissant, Ross Grant, and James Gibbons.

The Court is sworn in the usual manner.

The prisoners above-named are tried on the following grounds :—

With sedition and murder, and being present with unlawful assemblies and not taking steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Court having heard sworn evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that they are guilty, and to suffer death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Batt. 6th Regt. President.
A. C. HALL,
Lieut. 2nd Batt. 6th Regt.
R. GRAEME,
Lieut. 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.

Approved and confirmed.
(Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS,
Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel, 6th Royals
Com. at Monklands.

Monklands, October 26, 1865.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM-HEAD COURT-MARTIAL, assembled at Monklands, November 3, 1865, by order of CAPTAIN W. G. ANNESLEY, commanding troops at Monklands, and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Captain Spencer Field, 2nd Bat. 6th Royal Regiment.
Members.—Lieut. Graeme, 6th Regt., and Ensign Grundy, 2nd Bat. 6th Regt.

The under-mentioned prisoners are brought before the Court :—

Gilbert Thomas, Willie Donaldson, Richard Penderson, Solomon Braham, and George Roberson.

The Court is sworn in the usual manner.

The prisoners above-named are tried on the following charges :—

With sedition and murder, and being present with unlawful assemblies and taking no steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Court, having heard sworn evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that they are guilty.

The Court, having found the prisoners guilty, do now sentence them as follows: Gilbert Thomas and George Roberson to suffer death, and Willie Donaldson, Richard Penderson, and Solomon Braham to receive 50 lashes each, in the usual manner.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt., 2nd Bat. 6th Reg. President.

Approved and confirmed.
(Signed) W. G. ANNESLEY, Capt.,
2nd Bat. 6th Regt. Commanding at Monklands.

Monklands, November 3, 1865.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM-HEAD COURT-MARTIAL, assembled at Jiggerfoot Market, Jamaica, on the 19th day of October, 1865, by order of COLONEL HOBBS, commanding the troops, and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Capt. Field, 2nd Bat. 6th Regiment.
Members.—Lieut. Raworth and Lieut. Hall, 2nd Bat. 6th Regiment.

The prisoners, Robert Dyke, Jack Gordon, and nine other Rebels, names unknown, are brought before the Court.

The Court is sworn.

The prisoners, as above, are tried on the following charge:—

CHARGE.

With sedition and murder, or being present with unlawful assemblies taking no steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Court, having heard the evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that the whole of the prisoners are guilty.

SENTENCE.

The Court, having found the prisoners guilty, do now sentence them to suffer death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Batt. 6th Reg., President.

MEMORANDUM.—This was carried into effect on the line of march at Jigger Foot Market.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Bat. 6th Regt., President.

Confirmed.

(Signed) T. F. HOBBS, Colonel,
October 19, 1865. Commanding Monkland Division.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at Jigger Foot Market, Jamaica, on the 20th day of October 1865, by order of Colonel Hobbs, commanding the troops, and under authority of a Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Capt. Field, 2nd Bn. 6th Regiment.
Members.—Lieut. Roworth, 2/6th Regiment, Lieut. Hall, 2/6th Regiment.

The prisoners Arthur Wellington, A. Kelly, Thomas Ross, Charles Smith, Robert Francis, Jno. Reid, Jno. Walters, Sunny McFarline, Daniel McLarin, Graham Crossin, and 18 others, names unknown, are brought before the Court.

The Court is sworn.

The prisoners as above are tried on the following charges:—

CHARGES.

With sedition and murder, or being present with unlaw ful assemblies, taking no steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Court having taken evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that the whole of the prisoners are guilty.

SENTENCE.

The Court having found the prisoners guilty, are of opinion that they should suffer death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD,
Capt. 2nd Bn. 6th Regiment,
President.

Sentence legally executed on line of march.

(Signed) T. F. HOBBS, Colonel,
Monklands, October 21, 1865. Commanding Central Division.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at Monklands, October 25, 1865, by order of Colonel Hobbs, commanding troops at Monklands, and under authority of Royal Warrant declaring Martial Law.

President.—Capt. Spencer Field, 2nd Bn. 6th Regiment.
Members.—Lieut. Hall, 2/6 Regiment, and Lieut. Graeme, 2/6 Regiment.

The under-mentioned prisoners are brought before the Court:—

G. Rankin, J. Breren, J. Spencer, W. Carr, D. Breren, S. Becket, B. Grant, P. Bignel, A. Betty, A. Charles, F. Carr, C. Wheeler, W. Robinson.

The Court is sworn in the usual manner.

The Prisoners above mentioned are tried on the following charges:—

CHARGES.

With sedition and murder, or being present with unlawful assemblies, taking no steps to prevent the murder of certain subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

SENTENCE.

The Court having heard sworn evidence in support of the prosecution, are of opinion that they are guilty, and do now sentence them to Death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD, Capt. 2nd Bn. 6th Regiment, President.
A. C. HALL, Lieut. 2/6th Regiment.
R. GRAEME, Lieut. 2/6th Regiment.

Approved and confirmed.

(Signed) T. F. HOBBS, Colonel 6th Royals,
Monklands, October 26, 1865. Commanding Troops Central Division.

V.R. Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.
(TO WIT.)

WE, the undersigned, having carefully examined the accompanying sworn evidence before the magistrates, and believing him to be a ringleader in the present rebellion, and by virtue of a proclamation signed by his Excellency the Governor, consider William Carr to be guilty, and hereby sentence him to immediate death.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD, Capt. 2/6 Regt., President.
CHAS. E. RAWORTH, Lieut. 2/6 Regiment.
A. C. HALL, Lieut. 2/6 Regiment.
R. GRAEME, Lieut. 2/6 Regiment.
MASCIE H. TAYLOR, Ens. 2/6 Regiment.

Confirmed and approved. (Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS, Colonel,
Commanding the Forces in the Parish.

JAMAICA. The prisoner before execution, having been allowed a short time for prayer, made a *full* confession of his guilt to General Jackson, J.P., and Captain Field, 6th Regiment, saying, "I did join the Rebels, I am guilty, I did it."

(Signed) FORBES JACKSON, Major-Gen. and J.P.
SPENCER FIELD, Capt. 2/6 Regiment.

I also heard the above confirmed.

(Signed) T. F. HOBBS, Colonel,
6th Royal Regiment.

WILLIAM CARR.

Prosecution (evidence against the prisoner).

First witness (*Evelina Williams*).—I saw the prisoner in the Monklands shop, he was in company with the Rebels, he carried a cutlass, this was last Thursday. I saw the prisoner taking goods out of the shop; I saw him take a bottle of porter.

(Signed) EVELINA WILLIAMS.

Second witness for prosecution.—*William O'Gilvie* being duly sworn, says, that he believes that the prisoner asked for him with a view to murder him.

Third witness for prosecution.—*Richard O'Gilvie* being duly sworn, says, on Saturday last, 14 inst., I was coming from my ground. Prisoner asked me if I would join the black crew? I told him No. Prisoner said, if you don't join the crew we will take off your head. I look upon the prisoner as one of the ringleaders. Paul Bogle is the chief and prisoner is the second man.

Eliza Ford, being duly sworn, says, I saw the prisoner at the Monklands shop last Thursday. Prisoner entered the bottom house into the bed-room, lifted up the mattress searching for Mr. Paterson (James). I told him he warn't there; he asked me for Mr. Alex., I said I did not know; he believed he slept there last night; he said he must get him to take off his head.

(Signed) CHARLES LASCELLES, Sen., J.P.
JOHN DAVIDSON, J.P.
WILLIAM C. CLARKE, M.D., J.P.

This evidence was sworn in my presence, and I entirely agree with regularity and calmness with which it was investigated.

(Signed) T. F. HOBBS, Colonel,
October 16, 1865. Commanding 6th Royals.

PROCEEDINGS of a DRUM HEAD COURT-MARTIAL assembled at MONKLANDS, in the county of Surry, assembled by order of Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel commanding 2/6th Regiment and under authority of a Royal Proclamation issued on the 13th day of October 1865, by his Excellency the Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, Edward John Eyre, Esq., whereby Martial Law was declared in the above county of Surry and other places, the parish of Kingston excepted.

President.—Captain Field, 2/6th Regiment.

Members.

Lieut. Roworth, 2/6th Regiment. Lieut. Graeme, 2/6th Regiment.
Lieut. Hall, 2/6th Regiment. Ens. Taylor, 2/6th Regiment.

The prisoner, William Carr, a Rebel in arms against the constituted authorities, is brought prisoner before the Court.

CHARGE.

The Court having been duly sworn according to custom in such cases, the prisoner was tried upon the following charge:—For having on or about the 13th day of October 1865 acted as a ringleader to sundry Rebels in arms, having with them entered the house of Mr. Patterson in search of his body with intention to take his life and destroy his property. The evidence attached being produced to the Court and read, and the Court having also heard the evidence in support of the prosecution, and the prisoner having nothing to offer in his defence, are of opinion that he is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

SENTENCE.

The Court having found the prisoner guilty, unanimously sentence him to immediate death by virtue of martial law under the Royal proclamation signed by E. J. Eyre and E. Jordon, Governor's Secretary.

(Signed) SPENCER FIELD, Capt. 2nd Bn. 6th Reg., President.
CHARLES E. RAWORTH, Lieut. 2nd Bn. 6th Regt.
A. C. HALL, Lieut. 2/6th Regt.
R. GRAEME, Lieut. 2/6th Regt.
MASCIE W. TAYLOR, Ens. 2/6th Regt.

Monklands, October 1, 1865.

Approved and confirmed.

The sentence to be immediately carried out; these three magistrates being present and approving the sentence.

(Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS, Colonel, 6th Royal Regt.,
Commanding Troops 6th Regt.

Octoher 16, 1865. Monklands district, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica.

STATEMENT of CIVILIAN PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP, between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865.

No.	Names.	When confined.		By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of.		How disposed of.	Remarks.
		Date.	Hour.			Date.	Hour.		
1	Joseph Thomson -	14 Oct.	3 p.m.	Inspector Downer -	Traitorous rebellion; threatening language.	21 Oct.	6 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 20th October; released.	Sentenced 50 lashes; inflicted.
2	Richard Prendergast	14 „	8 p.m.	Col. Elkington -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay for trial.	
3	William Henry -	15 „	2 p m.	Justice Kent -	- - - -	19 „	4 p.m.	Released, being deemed innocent.	
4	James Blisset -	16 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6, Kingston -	- - - -	19 „	4 p.m.	Released, do.	
5	William McCloud -	16 „	11 a.m.	Cons. Newland -	Traitorous, rebellious, and threatening language.	21 „	5 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 20th October; released.	Sentenced 50 lashes; inflicted.
6	James Beard -	16 „	1 p.m.	P. Sergt. McTaggart	Deserting from police force	19 „	10 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay - -	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston.
7	Henry Brown -	17 „	7 p.m.	Gd. 2/6, Kingston -	- - - -	28 „	6 a.m.	Released, being deemed innocent.	Do. do.
8	Edward Lodge -	17 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	28 „	6 a.m.	Released, do. -	Do. do.
9	John Keen - -	17 „	8 p.m.	Col. Hobbs, 2/6 Regt.	Joining in the rebellion -	30 „	7 a.m.	Tried by court-martial, 20th October; released.	Sentenced, not guilty.
10	—— Moseley -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	21 „	5 p.m.	Do. do. -	Sentenced 50 lashes; inflicted.
11	Douglas McGowan -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	30 „	7 a.m.	Released, deemed innocent -	Cautioned.
12	Richard Francis -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay	
13	Leudrick Wilson -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	25 Oct.	4 p.m.	Trial by court-martial, 21st October.	Sentenced death, commuted to seven years' penal servitude.
14	Thomas Gardner -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay - -	No evidence.
15	Thomas Williams -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	25 Oct.	4 p.m.	Trial by court-martial, 21st October.	Sentenced death, commuted to seven years' penal servitude.
16	Gilbert Francis -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	26 „	4 p.m.	Trial by court-martial, 24th October.	Sentenced 50 lashes; inflicted
17	James Reid - -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay for trial or acquittal.	No evidence.
18	Nicholas Durrant -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	2 „	5 a.m.		
19	George Anthony -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	25 Oct.	4 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 21st October; penitentiary.	Sentenced death, commuted to seven years' penal servitude.
20	Henry Francis -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay - -	No evidence.
21	Mary A. Colbourne -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	19 Oct.	4 p.m.	Released, being innocent.	
22	Sarah White -	17 „	8 p.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	30 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. -	Cautioned.

STATEMENT of CIVILIAN PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865—*continued.*

No.	Names.	When confined.		By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of.		How disposed of.	Remarks.
		Date.	Hour.			Date.	Hour.		
23	Thomas Dinglas -	18 Oct.	8 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston -	Joining in the rebellion -	25 Oct.	4 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 21st October; penitentiary.	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston. Sentenced death, commuted to seven years' penal servitude.
24	John Vergin -	18 „	8 a.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	25 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	Arested by civil authorities, Kingston.
25	William Hamilton -	18 „	8 a.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	18 „	10 a.m.	Released, innocent - -	
26	George Meloin -	18 „	8 a.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay - -	No evidence.
27	James Spencer -	18 „	8 a.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	18 „	10 a.m.	Released, innocent - -	Do.
28	Richard McKay -	18 „	11 a.m.	Police, Monklands -	Do. do. -	28 „	1 a.m.	Do. do.	
29	Mary A. McKay -	18 „	11 a.m.	Police, Monklands -	Do. do. -	28 Oct.	6 a.m.	Released, innocent.	
30	Jane Williams -	18 „	4 a.m.	Do. -	Do. do. -	28 „	6 a.m.	Do. do.	
31	Robert Kirkland -	18 „	1 p.m.	R.A. Port Royal -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	To Morant Bay - -	No evidence.
32	J. A. Subas - -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
33	George Harris -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
34	James Nixon -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
35	Samuel Harris -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
36	John Patterson -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
37	Richard Harris -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
38	Charles Francis -	18 „	1 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Do.	
39	Francis Reid -	18 „	6 p.m.	Police Escort -	- - - -	19 „	4 p.m.	Released, deemed innocent.	
40	Daniel Hart - -	18 „	6 p.m.	Do. -	Idly boasting - -	28 „	6 a.m.	Summarily; received 36 lashes.	
41	James Anderson -	18 „	7 p.m.	Do. -	- - - -	19 „	10 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
42	W. Kelly Smith -	19 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston -	- - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Sent on board "Aboukir" -	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston.
43	E. Goldson - -	19 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
44	Isaac M. Very -	19 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
45	Rob. Osborne -	19 „	11.30	Police, Monklands -	- - - -	21 „	11 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
46	Thomas Rennie -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
47	David Le Heste -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	
48	Jas. R. Birch -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	
49	Jas. Robertson -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	
50	Wm. Jas. Ronley -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	Sentenced 50 lashes; inflicted.
51	Edward Prince -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	26 Oct.	4 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 24th Oct.	
52	William Moore -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
53	Jas. Sylvester -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	
54	Denis Fuler -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	
55	Stephen Teefes -	19 „	11.30	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do.	

STATEMENT of CIVILIAN PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865.—*continued.*

No.	Names.	When confined. Date.	When confined. Hour.	By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of. Date.	When disposed of. Hour.	How disposed of.	Remarks.
56	William Dancer	19 Oct.	11.30	Police, Monklands	- - - - -	26 Oct.	6 p.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
57	Jno. Dancer	19 „	11.30	Do.	- - - - -	26 „	6 p,m.	Do. do.	
58	William Bood	19 „	5 p.m.	Cons. Taylor	- - - - -	26 „	6 p.m.	Do. do.	
59	Jas. Unwicke	19 „	5 p.m.	„ J. Anderson	- - - - -	26 „	6 p.m.	Do. do.	
60	Wm. Robinson	19 „	5 p.m.	„ J. Anderson	- - - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Do. do.	
61	H. J. Dick	19 „	6 p.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	- - - - -	21 Oct.	4 p.m.	Sent on board "Aboukir" -	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston.
									Do. do.
62	T. McLean	19 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	
63	Daniel Wheeler	19 „	6 p.m.	Cons. Benjamin	- - - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
64	Alex. Miller	20 „	6 p.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	- - - - -	21 Oct.	4 p.m.	Sent on board "Aboukir" -	Do. do.
65	John H. Crole	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
66	Wm. McCormack	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
67	Thomas Harry	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
68	Alex. Jeffries	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
69	James Roche	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
70	John Williams	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	2 Nov.	5 p.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
71	Thomas Read	20 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - - -	30 Oct.	7 p.m.	Released, innocent - -	Cautioned.
72	General Lubin	20 „	5 p.m.	Police Escort	-	11 Nov.	10 a.m.	Released, having been deported	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston, Haytien.
									Do. do.
73	Jos. A Lubin	20 „	5 p.m.	Do.	-	11 „	10 a.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
74	Anueren Lubin	20 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- Plotting against the	11 „	10 a.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
75	Villas Lubin	20 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- Haytien Government	11 „	10 a.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
76	General S. Jeune	20 „	5 p.m.	Do.	-	9 „	1 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
77	Emilie Pierre	20 „	5 p.m.	Do.	-	9 „	1 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
78	Jean Bart	20 „	5 p.m.	Do.	-	9 „	1 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
79	Fred. Walker	20 „	7 p.m.	Inspector Downer	- - - - -	25 Oct.	8 a.m.	Released, innocent.	
80	Fras. Kellerman	21 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Sent on board "Aboukir" -	Arrested by civil authorities, Kington.
									Do. do.
81	Samuel Clarke	21 „	7 a.m.	Do.	- - - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay - -	Do. do.
82	John Wood	21 „	7 a m.	Do.	- - - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
83	Hy. N. Harris	21 „	7 a.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 Oct.	4 p.m.	Sent on board "Aboukir" -	Do. do.
84	Edwin Palmer	21 „	7 a.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
85	Robert Davis	21 „	7 a.m.	Do.	- - - - -	21 „	4 p.m.	Do. do. -	Do. do.
86	Solomon Lemoth	21 „	1 p.m.	Police, Kingston	- Plotting against the	8 Nov.	7 p.m.	Released, deported - -	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston, Haytien.
					- Haytien Government				Do. do.
87	Archilde Cejus	21 „	1 p.m.	Do.	-	13 „	1 p.m.	Do. do. - -	
88	Jane Brown	21 „	11 p.m.	Police, Halfway Tree	- - - - -	23 Oct.	11½ a.m.	Released, innocent.	
89	Alice Maddox	21 „	11 a.m.	do.	- - - - -	23 „	11½ a.m.	Do. do.	

STATEMENT of PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865—*continued.*

No.	Names.	When confined. Date.	When confined. Hour.	By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of. Date.	When disposed of. Hour.	How disposed of.	Remarks.
90	Thomas Richards	21 Oct.	2 p.m.	Police, Halfway Tree	- - - -	30 Oct.	7 a.m.	Released, innocent	Cautioned.
91	Alfred Despuet	21 „	2 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	30 „	7 a.m.	Do. do.	Do.
92	William Amos	22 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	Plotting against the Haytien Government	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay	Civil authorities, Kingston.
93	Joseph Oleiva	22 „	7 a.m.	Do.	Plotting against the Haytien Government	- -	- -	Handed over to military authorities on termination of martial law.	Haytien.
94	Geo. Williams	22 „	7 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	9 Nov.	6 p.m.	Released by order of M. G.	Civil authorities Kingston.
95	Max. C. Benuggie	22 „	8 a.m.	Police Escort	- - - -	- -	- -	Handed over to military authorities on termination of martial law.	Do. Haytien.
96	Fred. A. B. Vinen	22 „	8 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	9 „	6 p.m.	Released by order of M. G.	Do. do.
97	Edward Curtin	22 „	8 a.m.	Major Anton	- - - -	23 Oct.	4 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
98	Robert Brown	22 „	4 p.m.	Police	Found armed	28 „	6 a.m.	Summarily; received 3 doz. lashes.	Do. do.
99	Thomas Williams	23 „	10 a.m.	Do.	Traitorous and rebellious language.	25 „	4 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 24th October.	Sentenced, 50 lashes.
100	Pierre Walsh	23 „	4 p.m.	Spa. T. Police	- - - -	28 „	.m.	Released, innocent.	
101	James Copeland	23 „	4 p.m.	Kingston Police	- - - -	26 „	6 p.m.	Sent to Port Morant.	
102	Henry Burgess	23 „	4 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	25 „	3 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
103	George Steadman	23 „	4 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	25 „	3 p.m.	Do. do.	
104	Edward Burnside	23 „	9 p.m.	Police	Practising obeism and being a rogue and vagabond.	27 „	2 p.m.	Summarily; received 3 doz. lashes.	
105	Mary Johnson	24 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	- - - -	27 „	2 p.m.	Released, innocent	Arrested by civil authories, Kingston.
106	C. G. Morgan	24 „	8 a.m.	Vols. Spa. Town	- - - -	9 Nov.	6 p.m.	Released by order of M. G.	
107	James Bryan	24 „	2 p.m.	Kingston Police	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
108	Thomas Davis	24 „	9 p.m.	Police from Halfway Tree	Disrespectful and threatening language to a J.P.	1 „	7 a.m.	Released, innocent	Cautioned.
109	Jane Mitchell	24 „	9 p.m.			30 Oct.	7 a.m.	Do. do.	Do.
110	Henry Wallace	24 „	9 p.m.			28 „	6 a.m.	Tried by court-martial, 27th October.	Sentence, 50 lashes.
111	Thos. Hamilton	24 „	9 p.m.			30 „	7 a.m.	Released, innocent	Cautioned.
112	George Freeman	24 „	9 p.m.			25 „	11½ a.m.	Do. do.	
113	Robert Graham	24 „	9 p.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston.
114	James Manuel	25 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Regiment	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
115	Alex. Garoner	25 „	8 a.m.	Police	- - - -	30 Oct.	7 a.m.	Released, innocent	Cautioned.
116	Elizabeth Hemming	25 „	8 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	30 „	7 a.m.	Do. do.	Do.
117	Walter Whitfinch	25 „	8 a.m.	Escort from Spa. Town	- - - -	9 Nov.	6 p.m.	Released, by order of M. G.	

STATEMENT of CIVILIAN PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865—*continued.*

No.	Names.	When confined. Date.	When confined. Hour.	By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of. Date.	When disposed of. Hour.	How disposed of.	Remarks.
118	Noel Croswell -	25 Oct.	3 p.m.	Mr. Nairne - -	Complicity in plotting against the Haytien Government.			Handed over to military authorities on termination of martial law.	German.
119	Dr. Robert Bruce -	25 „	9 p.m.	Escort from Spanish Town -	- - - -	26 Oct.	6 p.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
120	Alexander Phillips -	25 „	9 p.m.		- - - -	26 „	6 p.m.	Do. do.	
121	Benjamin Morris -	25 „	9 p.m.		- - - -	26 „	6 p.m.	Do. do.	
122	Frederick Jones -	25 „	11 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Regiment -	Traitorous and rebellious language and inciting to sedition.	27 „	4 p.m.	Tried by court-martial 26th October.	Sentenced to be hanged.
123	Richard Warren -	26 „	1 p.m.	Police - -	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
124	David Philips -	26 „	5 p.m.	Do. - -	Insolent to and threatening a volunteer sentry.	28 Oct.	6 p.m.	Summarily ; received 4 dozen lashes.	
125	Bryan Saunders -	27 „	11 a.m.	Major Anton -	Obtaining money under false pretences.	27 „	1 p.m.	Do. do.	
126	Robert Thompson -	27 „	10 a.m.	Police - -	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
127	E. Davis - -	27 „	11 a.m.	Do. - -	- - - -	27 Oct.	2 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
128	J. W. Maynard -	28 „	7 a.m.	Inspector Nairne -	- - - -	6 Nov.	1 p.m.	Do. do.	Deported American.
129	William Carr -	28 „	10 a.m.	Inspector Downer -	Threatening the life of an old man and being a thief and vagabond.	28 Oct.	11½ p.m.	Summarily ; received 40 lashes.	
130	Robert Lery -	28 „	7 p.m.	Constable - -	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
131	William Sinclair -	29 „	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Arrested by civil authorities, Kingston.
132	William T. March -	29 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
133	James Dandsin -	29 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
134	William Barclay -	30 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	2 „	2 p.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
135	John Francis -	30 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	30 Oct.	2 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
136	George Wellington -	30 „	7 a.m.	Do. -	- - - -	10 Nov.	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Dane.
137	Edward Spencer -	30 „	12½ a.m.	Inspector Downer -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
138	Robert Sanson -	30 „	12½ a.m.	Do. -	Insubordinate conduct to Inspector Arrowsmith.	30 Oct.	5 p.m.	Summarily ; received 4 dozen lashes.	
139	Joseph Campbell -	30 „	2 p.m.	Police - -	Seditious language -	7 Nov.	6 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 6th November.	
140	Daniel P. Nathan -	30 „	2 p.m.	Inspector Nairne -	- - - -	12 „	2 p.m.	Released by order of M.-Genl.	
141	Robert Williams -	30 „	7 p.m.	Police - -	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
142	Alexander Murray -	30 „	7 p.m.	Police - -	- - - -	2 Nov.	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
143	John Marble -	30 „	5 p.m.	Vol., Spa. Town -	Seditious language -	6 „	7 a.m.	Tried by court-martial, 3rd November 1865.	6 years' penal servitude.

STATEMENT of CIVILIAN PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865—*continued.*

No.	Names.	When confined.		By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of.		How disposed of.	Remarks.
		Date.	Hour.			Date.	Hour.		
144	James Roone	31 Oct.	5 p.m.	Vol., Spa. Town	Seditious language	3 Nov.	6 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 2nd Nov.	50 lashes inflicted.
145	George Tucker	31 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	3 „	6 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
146	James Davis	31 „	5 p.m.	Do.	Seditious lauguage	3 „	6 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 2nd November.	50 lashes inflicted.
147	James Williams	31 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	10 „	7 a.m.	Released, innocent.	
148	James Ashburn	31 „	5 p.m.	Police, Kingston	- - - -	1 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Cautioned.
149	David Dempster	1 Nov.	7 a.m.	Gd. 2/6 Kingston	- - - -	6 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Arrested by civil authorities, cautioned.
150	Princes Hall	1 „	9 a.m.	Police, Halfway Tree	- - - -	2 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
151	Amelia Hall	1 „	9 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	2 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
152	Thomas Francis	1 „	9 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	2 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
153	William Roberts	1 „	9 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	2 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do. do.
154	John Miller	1 „	5 p.m.	Vols., Gordon Town	- - - -	2 „	5 a.m.	Sent to Morant Bay.	
155	George Anthony	2 „	11 a.m.	Overseer Penitentiary	No charge - -	3 „	1 p.m.	Sent back to Penitentiary.	
156	Albert Baily	2 „	11 a.m.	Do.	Seditious language -	6 „	7 a.m.	Tried by court-martial 3rd November.	5 years' penal servitude.
157	Thomas Denton	2 „	1 p.m.	Police, Halfway Tree	Murder - - -	6 „	4 p.m.	Do. do.	Sentence death, hung.
158	Thomas McLean	2 „	1 p.m.	Do.	Threatening language -	9 „	6 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
159	David Hanes	2 „	6 p.m.	Inspector Downer	Infringement of orders -	3 „	6 p.m.	Summarily ; received 3 dozen lashes.	Cautioned.
160	James Cuffeon	2 „	6 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	3 „	6 p.m.	Do. do.	Do.
161	John McPherson	3 „	9 a.m.	Vol., Spa. Town	- - - -	9	6 p.m.	Released by M. G. commanding.	
162	Thomas F. Warner	3 „	9 a.m.	Do.	Seditious language -	7 „	6 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 6th November.	Sentenced 50 lashes, remitted.
163	Robert O'Malley	3 „	9 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	- -	- -	Handed over to military authorities on termination of martial law.	
164	Chas. Williams, sen.	3 „	11 a.m.	Police, Halfway Tree	Stealing grass - -	3 „	6 p.m.	Summarily ; received 2 dozen lashes.	Cautioned.
165	Chas. Williams, jun.	3 „	11 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	3 „	6 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
166	David Marshall	3 „	11 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	3 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Cautioned.
167	Charles Osborne	3 „	11 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	3 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do.
168	Richard Beeck	3 „	11 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	3 „	7 a.m.	Do. do. - -	Do.
169	Patrick Thompson	4 „	6 a.m.	Police, Spanish Town	Seditious language -	7 „	6 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 6th November.	50 lashes inflicted.
170	William Anderson	6 „	11 a.m.	Rural constable	Stealing chow chow -	6 „	7 p.m.	Summarily; received 48 lashes.	
171	John Edwin	6 „	11 a.m.	Do.	Stealing timber - -	6 „	7 p.m.	Do. do. 36 lashes.	

STATEMENT of CIVILIAN PRISONERS confined at UP PARK CAMP, between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865—*continued.*

No.	Names.	When confined. Date.	When confined. Hour.	By whom confined.	Charge.	When disposed of. Date.	When disposed of. Hour.	How disposed of.	Remarks.
172	Jerem. Armstrong	6 Nov.	11 a.m.	Spanish Town Police	Seditious language	8 Nov.	5 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 7th November.	Guilty, but acquitted of criminality.
173	Moses Panton	7 „	11 a.m.	Kingston Police	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
174	William Lindsay	7 „	11 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Do. do.	
175	Wm. Step. Henry	7 „	4 p.m.	Halfway Tree Police	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Do. do.	
176	Edward Duany	7 „	4 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Do. do.	
177	Sarah Lamb	7 „	4 p.m.	Do.	Stealing yams	7 „	6 p.m.	Released, reprimanded, and cautioned.	
178	Alex. Cook	7 „	4 p.m.	Do.	Stealing sugar canes	7 „	6 p.m.	Summarily; received 4 dozen lashes.	
179	Samuel Hargett	7 „	5 p.m.	Mil. Auth. Camp	Rebellion	9 „	4 p.m.	Tried by court-martial, 8th November.	To be hanged, inflicted.
180	William Lewis	8 „	10 a.m.	Spanish Town Police	Seditious language	9 „	11 a.m.	Do. do.	50 lashes inflicted.
181	Alex. Williams	8 „	11 a.m.	Halfway Tree Police	Stealing sugar canes	8 „	2 p.m.	Summarily; received 48 lashes.	
182	Denis Leud	8 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	9 „	7 a.m.	Released, innocent.	
183	Robert Hull	9 „	9 a.m.	Police, Kingston	Seditious language	9 „	11 a.m.	Received 4 dozen lashes, summarily.	
184	Jonas Mack	9 „	9 a.m.	Vol., Spanish Town	Do.	9 „	11 a.m.	Do. do.	
185	Charles Richards	9 „	2 p.m.	Police, Halfway Tree	Mocking the soldiers, &c.	9 „	5 p.m.	Do. do.	
186	Thomas Brown	9 „	2 p.m.	Do.	Do. Do.	9 „	5 p.m.	Reprimanded and cautioned.	
187	Edward Thomas	9 „	2 p.m.	Do.	Do. Do.	9 „	5 p.m.	Do. do.	
188	Bryan Rookwood	9 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	10 „	1 p.m.	Do. do.	
189	Thomas Richards	9 „	5 p.m.	Vol., Gordon Town	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Do. do.	
190	Charles Stewart	9 „	5 p.m.	Do.	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Do. do.	
191	John Jackson	10 „	10 a.m.	Halfway Tree Police	- - - -	10 „	2 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
192	Patrick Duncan	10 „	10 a.m.	Do.	Stealing yams	10 „	2 p.m.	Summarily; received 2 dozen lashes.	
193	Tobias Lewis	10 „	10 a.m.	Do.	Unjustly accused by Darling of seditious language.	10 „	2 p.m.	Released, innocent.	
194	Frederick Darling	10 „	10 a.m.	Do.	Unjustly accusing Lewis of seditious language.	10 „	2 p.m.	Summarily; received 48 lashes.	
195	Hugh Roberts	11 „	9 a.m.	Do.	- - - -	11 „	5 p.m.	Released, reprimanded.	

True copy.
(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieut.-Col. D.A.G.

JAMAICA.

COLONEL HOBBS.

Jamaica Rebellion, Monklands District.

SIR, New Castle, Jamaica, December 30, 1865.

IN reply to your letter of the 27th December, I have the honour now to state, for the information of the Major-General commanding and his Excellency Governor Eyre, that I have appended answers to all the queries contained in the accompanying documents, and feel sure they will be considered satisfactory, and beg to state as briefly as possible that when the state of the country is taken into consideration, it will be found that the utmost promptitude, coupled wtth moderation, characterized all our movements.

On assuming command of the two companies of the 6th Royal Regiment at Arntully, the residence of Mr. Lascelles, J.P., on the night of the 14th October last, I found there four local magistrates and a number of refugees and gentlemen from St. Thomas-in-the-East, all present, were loud in their statement of the necessity for an immediate advance towards Monklands, where large bodies of armed Rebels had assembled on the 12th October and on that very day, and attacked the house and stores of Mr. James Patterson, intending to take his life, robbing all before them, sacking the house and stores, and smashing the mahogany doors of his drawing-room and dining-room to splinters, and plundering all other shops and stores in the district, blowing horns, firing guns, and beating drums. On marching into the district the following morning, Sunday, the 15th, martial law being then proclaimed, the magistrates present and many others assured me that every man in the district had risen in open rebellion, urging me to shoot every man I met. Some shots were fired from the hills, and we saw several flags flying from small fresh mounds on hill sides, like earthworks. The magistrates there begged of me to go through Ross Island to Mount Lebanus, where every man was in open rebellion and had joined Bogle; we did so and actually met Paul Bogle on horseback in Mount Lebanus, about 16 miles from Morant Bay. Found all the houses emptied out by the Rebels; found Mr. Patterson's goods in a house near the chapel, and from the fresh marks of feet on the mud of the chapel floor, the small and a large Bible recently upset on the floor, it was clear the Rebels had just fled from it, and we afterwards learned that they were just in the act of swearing in their recruits as we arrived. Found bludgeons and cutlasses there. I have no doubt they were surprised, as we presently saw a large body of armed Rebels running and creeping up the hill sides. Secured two prisoners, who stated they (the men on the hills) were Rebels. Advanced guard fired at them at about 800 yards. Cannot say with what effect, as no one crossed the ravine, as we every moment expected to meet the main body, which we knew were close to us. After this returned to Monklands and made daily excursions into rebel strongholds and settlements, and found one worse than another. Every white and coloured person in the greatest terror, and all fled to the bush, as the Rebels had told them they would chop them in thins and pieces. Many black people also were threatened and guns presented to them, as they were friendly to the whites. Mr. Davis, a black schoolmaster, for example, now alive, two coloured ladies, now at Jiggerfoot, Mrs. Patterson, the Miss Hallyburtins, and a large number of people living all round Monklands, can and will, if required, state this. All labour suspended, scouts on all hill tops; drums, firearms, powder, blocks of lead, powder horns, new cutlasses, never used before for agricultural purposes, poison, bludgeons, and thumbscrews. Found all houses deserted and the furniture removed, and numerous indications, impossible to mention, which must convince any man in his senses that the whole country for upwards of 30 or 40 miles was in a state of preparation for a considerable time for a general rebellion, and the prisoners never for a moment attempted to deny it. Found hundreds of tickets for "tea meetings to discuss politics," and for a variety of purposes. In the different settlements people in the greatest comfort, furniture of a very superior kind, and unable to learn from anyone what grievances they had. Many poor creatures complained bitterly that they took the first oath to secresy not to divulge the real oath, and never heard the secret. I have no doubt that "obiaism" and the deepest religious fanaticism had much to do with this rebellion, especially in Somerset, where Arthur Wellington bewitched them. He had immense power and was much dreaded, and persuaded the people they could not be wounded or killed by the buckra. The country through which I marched was most fertile and almost in every kind of production, and the negroes lived in luxury (Stoney Gut is an exception to this). I believe the better off the negroes were the more bitter they were against the whites. Some discharged soldiers of the late 8th West India Regiment taught them their drill, and a drummer of the same regiment used to march in front and was getting up a band (shot by me). In proof of the above statement and opinions, which are shared by all officers with me, I believe, I would beg to enclose the within statements of six of the local magistrates, whose experience and information must be very superior to mine. They one and all agree in believing that the rebellion was wide spread, and but for the prompt measures used must have become universal over the entire of Surry.

de Map.)

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. FRANCIS HOBBS,
Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding
6th Royal Regiment.

True copy.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
" Lieutenant-Colonel, D.A.G.

COPY of a Letter addressed by Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Hobbs, commanding 2nd Battalion 6th Regiment, to the leading Magistrates in the Monklands district of St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica.

SIR, New Castle, December 27, 1865.

HAVING been requested to furnish answers to several questions respecting the state of the country, &c., during the late rebellion, and as you were kind enough to accompany the troops during a part of their expedition, would you do me the favour of stating—

1st. Your opinion as to the state of the Monklands district of St. Thomas-in-the-East on the 15th October last, when the troops first marched into it.

2nd. Whether you consider the emergency warranted the steps taken to punish the Rebels?

3rd. Your opinion, from either personal observation or hearsay knowledge, of a reliable nature, as to the loyalty or otherwise of the following negro settlements:—Mount Lebanus, Somerset, the Barracks, and Coley, Stoney Gut, Garbrand Hall, Font Hill? Whether you have reason to believe that disloyalty prevailed in any or all of the above settlements; if any armed parties used to assemble for political or other causes; and your opinion as to whether or not you think undue harshness was used.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. F. HOBBS,
Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding
2/6 Royal Regiment.

True copy of a copy.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

COPY of a Reply to Queries addressed by Colonel Hobbs, 6th Regiment, to Charles Lascelles, Esq., J.P. for Saint David's and Port Royal.

SIR, Arntully, December 28, 1865.

I DULY received your despatch late last night, and it affords me much gratification in replying to your questions.

My opinion is that the district was in open defiance of all law and constituted authority, and the peasantry in a state of rebellion.

Most decidedly, for if not taken and checked so promptly as if it was done, the disaffection would have spread into the adjoining parishes of Saint David's and Port Royal, where there is no doubt many were ready to join them.

From my personal observation and hearsay as to the loyalty of the small freeholders and peasantry of the settlements named, I am of opinion they were most rebellious and disloyal, inasmuch as large bodies of men from those settlements, armed with cutlasses, guns, and other weapons, had visited the Monklands at various times during the three previous days, searching the premises for Mr. Patterson, whose life they threatened to take, and other indignities to the ladies, besides committing various larcenies and depredations to the buildings; furthermore, on visiting the dwellings of the above-named freeholders and peasantry, every article of furniture and other valuable material had been removed, and the owners not to be seen, for, by evidence brought before us, they had collected in large numbers at Stoney Gut to resist any power that might be brought against them.

I have every reason to believe that disloyalty must have prevailed in the settlements, as there are instances of the inhabitants clubbing together their money to provide for their going to the wars, as they termed it; and by evidence brought before you, almost all of them were down at Morant Bay on the day of the outbreak.

From what I can glean of the causes of the rising of the people was, first from the preaching and haranguing of a certain class of men who by their inflammatory language respecting their alleged wrongs, their low wages and high taxes, raised their passions to such a height that they became ungovernable and unbounded, so as to cause them to form vain ideas of the lands of the proprietary body to be divided amongst them, and having the knowledge of the vast disparity in numbers and arms of the white people at the time to resist them, many of the convicted having confessed that it was from bad advice they had received which caused them to join.

I am of opinion that every one brought up and tried by Court-martial only merited the fate they received, for every one of them were allowed time to prepare a defence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES LASCELLES, J.P.,
St. David's and Port Royal.

True copy.
(Signed) H. K.

True copy of a copy.
(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel.

JAMAICA.

Copy of a Reply to Queries addressed by Colonel T. F. Hobbs to Mr. Clark, M.D., Justice of the Peace.

Sir,

I have received your letter of 27th December, and feel much pleasure in answering your inquiries.

1st. I believe the whole district below Monklands was in an excited state, and that the majority of the people were in armed rebellion against the authorities.

2nd. I certainly think that the energy shown by the troops so intimidated the people that it will be our best safeguard against future outbreak; and, further, had the military not acted with great decision many more valuable lives would have been sacrificed and property destroyed.

3rd. In passing through the villages and settlements mentioned I think we had abundant proof of the disaffection of the inhabitants.

The negroes having made a complete exodus.

We furthermore had very good and reliable statements made upon oath at magisterial investigations, &c., of the positive guilt of many of the inhabitants of these particular districts, who were actually ringleaders of the rebellion; also that there were many and frequent night meetings, at which sedition, murder, and rapine were freely discussed.

I feel sure no one was punished at Monklands or anywhere else by the officers and men under your command against whom clear and convicting proof of crime was not amply adduced. I think a large amount of clemency was shown to the captured Rebels, caught as they were almost in the act of murder, and proved to be guilty of the most atrocious barbarities to their victims.

(Signed) William C. Clark, M.D., J.P.

True copy of a copy.

(Signed) John Elkington, Lieut.-Colonel, D.A.G.

Copy of Reply to Queries addressed by Colonel T. F. Hobbs, 6th Regiment, to John Davidson, Esq., J.P., Saint David's.

1st. I consider the Monkland district of St. Thomas ye East to have been in a state of utter rebellion, as in evidence of the fact of hundreds of armed men having taken possession of Monkland estate, insulted and threatened the ladies there, and caused Mr. Patterson the proprietor and his nephew to fly for their lives. The evidence in the case of the man Billy Carr shows very plainly and distinctly that the object in visiting Monklands was to take Mr. Patterson's life and ransack the place.

(Signed) J. Davidson, J.P.,
St. David's.

2nd. I consider the emergency not only warranted the steps taken, but the example to the neighbouring parishes was at once wholesome and effective.

(Signed) J. Davidson, J.P.,
St. David's.

3rd. I have every reason to believe from hearsay knowledge that disloyalty prevailed in the settlements named in Question 3. Evidence taken at the trials abundantly shows this. The settlement of Ross Isle was also a seat of treason and rebellion.

(Signed) J. Davidson, J.P.,
St. David's.

4th. As in the previous answer, I said that disloyalty prevailed in the settlements named. Here I repeat it, and believe political meetings were held. Events have since shown that such was the case, and I feel bound on honour as well as in candour to state that as far as I saw no undue harshness was exercised by the troops, but that the detachment of the 6th Regiment, under Colonel Hobbs, went into the affair with a determination to do that duty, but with the feeling that it was a most painful and unpleasant one.

(Signed) J. Davidson, J.P.,
St. David's.

True copy of a copy.

December 31, 1865. (Signed) John Elkington, Lieut.-Colonel, D.A.G.

Copy of Reply to Queries addressed by Colonel T. F. Hobbs, 6th Royal Regiment, to Mr. James Patterson, Justice of the Peace for Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

1st. My opinion regarding the question is, that the people from Monklands towards Morant Bay were showing a rebellious spirit for some time previous to the outbreak on 11th October, and I have no doubt that if the troops had not made their appearance on the 15th (while the rebellion was still continuing), and used the measures they were necessitated to do, that the rebellion would have spread immediately into the neighbouring parishes.

2nd. I consider that the emergency warranted the punishment inflicted on the Rebels fully to the extent carried out.

3rd. My opinion of the loyalty of the inhabitants of the within-named negro settlements, including

Ross Isle, is, that they had for some time clandestinely been holding meetings, arranging their modes of procedure regarding the rebellion, and I have no doubt that all the settlers at those places had information or knew previous to the outbreak.

4th. From hearsay I believe that armed parties did attend those meetings, and there pledged themselves and others as to their mode of procedure regarding the rebellion.

5th. My opinion to this question is, that most certainly there were no undue hardships used, considering the critical state of the parish and I believe of the whole island, and that nothing but the decisive examples at once made would have brought tranquillity to this district and prevented the spirit of rebellion from spreading.

Monklands, 28th December, 1865. (Signed) JAS. PATTERSON, J.P.

True copy of a copy.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON.
Lieutenant-Colonel.

STATEMENT of Alexander Francis, Book-keeper on Coley Estate, Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

ON Wednesday, 11th October, about eight o'clock at night, I heard a good many people passing the works making a great noise, saying they had killed all the buckras and burnt down the Court-house. On the following morning several men armed with guns and cutlasses came into the yard. One man fired at me, but the gun snapped. They said they wanted to kill all the white and coloured people and take the country to themselves. They then made me take an oath that I would join them, which I was compelled to do to save my life. I afterwards made my escape from them and fled to the woods, until I heard the "Wolverine" had arrived at Morant Bay.

The troops from New Castle arrived at Monklands on Saturday, the 15th instant, which had an instantaneous effect, as they then got alarmed and were running to the woods; and if the troops from New Castle had not been so prompt in marching through the country to Monklands the rebellion would not have been so soon put down.

(Signed) A. FRANCIS.

True copy of a copy.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

COPY of a Reply to Queries addressed by Colonel Hobbs, 6th Regiment, to Mr. C. Bowen, Justice of the Peace for the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

FIRST. In open rebellion, and all the respectable inhabitants had to flee for their lives. Their dwellings, stores, &c., were plundered and destroyed to a great extent, and there is not the slightest doubt if it had not been for the prompt arrival of the troops from New Castle a great many lives would have been lost.

Second. Most certainly.

Third. With the exception of a few at Coley and barracks, the whole were disloyal and in open rebellion.

I have every reason to believe that disloyalty prevailed from the manner in which the people behaved; the barbarous manner in which the custos, magistrates, clergymen, and others were cruelly murdered at Morant Bay; the burning of the Court-house and other buildings; and if the "Wolverine" had not arrived so promptly I do not believe that a white or coloured man, woman, or child would have been left alive in the parish. We in the mountain district owe a deep debt of gratitude to Colonel Hobbs and his brave men, who marched night and day through swollen rivers and mountain paths that were almost impassable for the speedy suppression of the rebellion, and had not such prompt measures been adopted the revolt would have spread through the island, and the loss of life would have been fearful before the rebellion could have been quelled.

(Signed) JAS. BOWEN,
Justice of the Peace for Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

True copy of a copy.

(Signed) JOHN ELKINGTON,
Lieutenant-Colonel D.A.G.

COPY of Replies to Queries addressed by Colonel T. F. Hobbs, Sixth Regiment, to Major-General Forbes Jackson, Justice of the Peace for the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

SIR, Mahogany Vale, December 28, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 27 instant. At the particular request of his Excellency the Captain General and Governor of Jamaica, I led through the mountains of Port Royal and St. David's and concentrated two detachments of H. M. Sixth Royals at Arntully on the western frontier of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Mr. Lascelles the proprietor having communicated to me (*en route to the Governor*) to solicit the aid of troops, that he expected hourly that Arntully would be attacked by the rebels from Monklands,

JAMAICA. where they were in strong force. On the concentration of the detachments at Arntully I there learnt that Mr. Lascelles' report was correct.

Sensible that we could make a good stand at Arntully I proceeded on Saturday the 14th October immediately after the arrival of the second detachment personally to reconnoitre Monklands; on reaching Mr. Patterson's residence I found that the doors of the dwelling house and the large store rooms had been battered in, and a considerable quantity of the stores kept by that gentleman for the supply of the district had been plundered. I was immediately surrounded by a number of coloured and black women and a few coloured men and one or two blacks, retainers of Mr. Patterson's family, and they informed me that Paul Bogle had defiantly sent to tell that Mahogany Vale general to bring on his white troops, he was ready for them, and that he after depositing his first booty would return to Monklands.

On return to Arntully at dusk I found that you had arrived and assumed command of your regiment. A Mr. Ross and two other gentlemen who had been compelled to fly into the bush came in on the arrival of the troops and stated that I had missed a very large body of rebels by five minutes.

In reply to your first question, no one in his senses could doubt that not only the Monklands district but the entire parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East were in open rebellion on the 15th October, and that Paul Bogle and other Rebel leaders had formed positions from which to attack the British troops; I believe there were some at Arntully on Saturday the 14th, who were adverse to the onward movement of the Sixth Royals in consequence of their numerical strength.

I myself was for an onward dash to cut in two the Rebel districts, well aware that anything like vacillation or hesitation on the part of British troops would have lighted the torch in St. David's and the Port Royal mountains, and led to a descent upon Kingston through the defiles of Chatsworth and the Long Mountain, turning the rear of Rock Fort on the Windward road.

In reply to your second question, I consider the masterly and strategical movement of the Sixth Royals through the mountains into the very centre of the rebel positions, due to the resolute firmness of his Excellency the Captain General, not only saved the capital but the rising of the whole island against the whites and browns, and that the emergency fully warranted and imperatively called for the steps taken to punish the Rebels, vide the reports of the cold-blooded and savage murders in St. Thomas-in-the-East, where the savages cut out the tongue of a clergyman, and the women tore out the entrails of the dying bodies.

In reply to your third question, it is I consider fully answered by the fact of every proprietor and manager of estates in the flanks of the main road from Monklands to Mahogany Vale flying from their residences, and others of minor degree taking to the thick jungles. I repeat it was my full impression that a spirit of disloyalty prevailed amongst the blacks throughout the island. In this parish, Port Royal, one of my properties was allotted to a black man, and Green Valley, about half-a-mile from Mahogany Vale, was allotted to another, and the blacks were heard to say they would mix the white and brown blood and drink it, and moreover a black man committed by one of the magistrates had endeavoured to induce the African apprentices on Green Valley to murder the overseer. On Friday the 13 the large hall at Mahogany Vale was crammed with fugitives, and there was but one opinion regarding the rebellious spirit amongst the blacks, and the consequent vigorous operation of the troops to check the same. That I was not blind to the spirit prevailing amongst the blacks will be best shown by the annexed copy of a letter to the custos of Port Royal dated three months previous to the outbreak. So far from undue harshness being used, I consider that vigorous measures on the opening of the rebellion is humanity.

I read in the public prints one of the very few of your despatches published expressing compunction to carry out executions without previous reference to head-quarters, for which compunction at a most critical moment, on which hung the safety of the island and the massacre of the white and brown population, you were universally condemned by the public voice; but your subsequent conduct, and that of your officers and men, has been since most highly appreciated and acknowledged by the citizens of Jamaica in a spontaneous subscription for testimonials to be presented to the detachment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FORBES JACKSON, Major-General and J.P.

P.S. In consequence of a severe attack of rheumatism crippling and confining me to my bed I have been unable to answer your queries as fully and clearly as I could have desired.

Certified a true copy.

(Signed) HENRY KITCHEN,
December 31, 1865. Lieut. and Adjutant, Sixth Foot.

True copy of a copy.

(Signed) R. BALLANTINE, Ens.
Fort Adjutant.

To the HON. STEPHEN MAIS, Custos, Parish Port Royal.

SIR, Port Royal Mountains, 16th August 1865.

I HAVE the honour to request you will convey to his Excellency the Governor of Jamaica this my resignation of a commission as a justice of the peace for the parish of Port Royal.

You will remember at our luncheon in the Court-house, Roden Vale, on the 15th ultimo, on a disgraceful riot there occurring through the unruly and impertinent interruptions by certain intruding demagogues of the parish, ultimately calling in the police, I brought to your notice that latterly I had refrained from attending vestry and other parochial boards as I had formerly done, assigning as a reason the undignified position I was frequently subjected to as a component thereof by those boards,

and the magisterial bench being incessantly interrupted by insolent and overbearing addresses and demeanour of a class of demagogues who made it a rule to infest every parochial board and petty sessions, acting evidently with the view of obtaining a preponderating influence over the more humble and peaceful, and at the same time intimating my intention to send in this resignation as a consequence.

Under prevailing events that have become obvious to all observers I regret I find it necessary to resign my place amongst the magistrates at such a juncture, more particularly as I have been gratified by the urgent remonstrances of brother magistrates, vestrymen, and others against my resignation.

Moreover, under existing circumstances, I believe the mountain district of the parish can ill afford to lose a resident magistrate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. JACKSON.

Copy.

The original withheld at the earnest request of the magistrates, vestrymen, and others.

True copy.
(Signed) H. K.

True copy of a copy.
(Signed) R. BALLANTINE,
Ensign and Fort Adjutant.

(No. 5.) Enclosure 4 in No. 4.

Encl. 4 in No. 4.

Governor EYRE to Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B.

SIR, Flamstead, January 29, 1866.

HAVING been called upon by the Secretary of State to furnish information showing the grounds which existed for supposing that a spirit of disaffection was general, or which would justify the steps taken to repress and punish the late rebellion, I was engaged in procuring this information when your Excellency arrived and superseded me in the Government.

Gov. Eyre to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell. Jan. 1866, with 9 Enclosures. Printed in Encl. No. 1, page 1.

I now therefore transmit the documents which I have collected, accompanied by my own report upon them, to your Excellency, for the purpose of being laid before the Royal Commissioners and attached to their proceedings as part of the evidence to be laid before Parliament.

I think the documents now forwarded will clearly show that if there was not an organized combination to act in concert throughout the different parishes, there was at least in most of them a disaffected and seditious spirit, and both a preparedness and an intention to rebel, which any trifling circumstance might at any moment have stimulated into open revolt, and that, from the character of the people, wherever the wave of rebellion reached the black population would as a body have joined it.

With such a state of things in so many parishes, and with but very small means of meeting any emergency which might arise, there was no other alternative to ensure the public safety than to punish the Rebels of the eastern districts with such promptness and severity as might intimidate the disaffected of other districts and deter them from following the example set in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

So far from this spirit of disaffection arising from any real grievances or from any impoverished condition, the tendency of the evidence is to show that most of the Rebels in the eastern parishes were well-to-do and comfortably off, and that both there and in other parishes the desire and the intention, often openly expressed, was to possess themselves of lands, goods from stores, or other property without paying for them; in fact, to dispossess the white man and inherit his possessions.

Most of the parties whose testimony is now adduced are accessible to the Commissioners, should they desire to obtain further information from them; and the several reports will themselves indicate the character and degree of information the writer is enabled to give.

The belief in the imminency of a general rebellion, only averted by the steps taken by the Government, is all but universal, and this belief is founded upon the only grounds which could be expected to be met with—an intimate knowledge of the habits and character of the people, and the observation of a variety of small facts and circumstances indicating the tone of feeling, wishes, or intentions of the peasantry.

I would particularly call the attention of the Commissioners to the abundant testimony borne to the beneficial effects produced, not only in the eastern parishes, but in the other districts of the Colony, by the course taken by the local Government; and I would ask them to contrast the improved prospect which was in consequence gradually becoming confirmed with the unsettled, excited, dissatisfied, and threatening state of affairs which

JAMAICA.

is now said to exist, and to have arisen since the views expressed and the action taken by persons in England have been made known to the negroes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Sir Henry Storks, G.C.B., &c. &c. &c.

No. 5.

No. 5.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B., to the Right Hon. EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.

(No. 85.) King's House, April 7, 1866.
(Received April 30, 1866.)

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a letter from Governor Eyre, giving cover to a Despatch his Excellency has addressed to you.

Gov. Eyre to Sir H. Storks. No. 14 of April 6, 1866. Mr. Eyre to Right Hon. E. Cardwell. April 6, 1866.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. K. STORKS.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., &c. &c. &c.

Governor EYRE to Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY K. STORKS, G.C.B.

(No. 14.)

SIR, Flamstead, April 6, 1866.

Mr. Eyre to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, April 6, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to request your Excellency will be pleased to transmit the accompanying Despatch, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the packet which leaves on the 9th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

His Excellency Sir Henry Storks, G.C.B., &c. &c. &c.

SIR, Flamstead, Jamaica, April 6, 1866.

No. 1.—Statement by Mr. Eyre. No. 2.—Document referred to in Statement. Book of Addresses, printed as Appendix, *vide* page 457. No. 3.—Documents relating to "Treason" case.

Encl. No. 1.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a portion of a paper containing statements which I wished to give in evidence before the Royal Commission, but which the Royal Commissioners decided to be inadmissible in their entirety, because they embodied summaries, inferences, or an occasional reference to circumstances which had transpired since the termination of martial law.

Some of the facts mentioned and most of the documents referred to were given in evidence, but not in the connexion in which they are now placed; and as I think it important to show in a continuous form the action and influences which were agitating the country, stirring up discontent, and creating a tendency to rebellion, I would respectfully request that this communication may be laid before Parliament, together with the proceedings of the Royal Commission.

In order to judge fairly of the position I was placed in, and of the action I deemed it right to pursue, it is necessary not only that the abstract facts should be recorded, but that the impressions and inferences which those facts produced upon my own mind should also be stated.

It is an important point, too, to show, by a reference to a few documents or occurrences subsequent to the expiration of martial law, that the state of things which existed prior to its termination still continued for some time afterwards, and consequently that I had not formed a wrong estimate of the condition of the country, and of there being good grounds for fearing a liability to further disturbance.

Even as recently as the 14th ultimo, Sir H. Storks found it necessary to send 150 soldiers to enforce an order of the Supreme Court at "Hartlands," within four miles of Spanish Town, the seat of Government, and whilst the Royal Commission was actually sitting. The negroes in possession of that tract of land having collected in numbers, and declared that they would not allow the surveyors to make the surveys ordered.

This incident shows forcibly the state of feeling amongst the negroes even now in respect to such questions; and as there are many cases very similar to that of "Hartlands" all over the island, but without the advantage of their being near the seat of Government, and within the immediate reach of a large military force, it is almost certain that great difficulty, if not disturbance, will arise whenever attempts are made to

ascertain whether the negro occupants have any legal right to the lands upon which they have located themselves, or to put in possession the legitimate owners where the negro occupants can establish no such right. JAMAICA.

The first portion of the paper which I had originally prepared, and the tabulated statement which accompanied it, containing references to and abstracts of documents received between the commencement of the rebellion and the termination of martial law, having been received and recorded in full in the words and form in which I read it before the Commission on the 20th March, I wish the remaining portion of the papers now transmitted to be considered as a sequel to and continuation of the statements then made, and to be read in connexion with them. Encl. No. 1

The documents referred to in the enclosed statement, which were not handed in to the Royal Commissioners (when continuing my evidence on the 21st March), are now attached to this statement. Encl. No. 2

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

P.S.—I have omitted to notice in my statement two points which, though not before me during the existence of martial law, and therefore not in any way influencing my course of action during that period, may perhaps very fairly be taken into consideration by Her Majesty's Government in judging generally of late events.

The first is that Lieutenant Edenborough, commanding a Confederate vessel of war which called at Jamaica between three and four months before the outbreak at Morant Bay, was applied to by G. W. Gordon either to sell the vessel and her armament, to be sent to "Black River," or to charter her for a voyage to "Inagua," to convey arms and ammunition and certain Haytians from that place to be landed at "Black River."

Mr. Gordon also spoke to Lieutenant Edenborough of "a new West India republic." (See communication referred to at page 253 of "Papers relating to the Disturbances "in Jamaica." February 1866. Part I.)

The other point is, that a large number of persons actually concerned in the disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East were indicted for "treason," and true bills found against them by the grand jury.

They were subsequently tried for the minor offence of "felonious riot," because, as the Attorney-General states in an explanatory letter (herewith attached)—

First, "Nobody wanted to see 84 people even sentenced to be hung;" and, secondly, the Attorney-General was influenced "by a consideration of the effect which a verdict of 'guilty of treason' would have had in the mother country, more especially as the Royal Commission was appointed to inquire (*inter alia*) into the nature of the unquestionably atrocious rise against constituted authority in St. Thomas-in-the-East." Encl. No. 3

I append the various documents connected with the "Treason" case which have been furnished to me by the legal gentlemen employed by the Crown.

E. EYRE.

The Right Honourable E. Cardwell, M.P.,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure No. 1 in GOVERNOR EYRE'S DESPATCH, dated Jamaica 6th April 1866, to the Rt. Hon. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

STATEMENT for the Secretary of State for the Colonies in connexion with and in sequence to the evidence given by Mr. Eyre before the Royal Commissioners on Tuesday, 20th March 1866.

I call attention to two documents found amongst Paul Bogle's papers (documents handed in to the Royal Commissioners), tending to show an intention on the part of the negroes of undertaking the administration of justice themselves. I also place on record a leading article from a local newspaper (the "Jamaica Tribune") published three months before the outbreak, showing that even at that time mock courts of justice were being held in other parishes. ("Jamaica Tribune" of the handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

Government received information that these courts were established in St. Andrew's, St. David's, and St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I also call attention to a document placarded in St. John's parish, calling out the St. John's No. 1 Volunteer Corps for drill. (Document handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

These documents tend to show a disposition and ultimate intention on the part of the black people to establish for themselves institutions similar to those in vogue amongst white people, as nearly as their capacity and powers of organization would enable them to do so. It must be borne in mind that documents or acts which appear to us as simply ridiculous are not so viewed by the black people; and here I would give an illustration showing how little the estimate which a negro forms of any document can be measured by the importance which it bears in the opinion of Europeans, and showing also how

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credulous, ignorant, and obstinate they are in putting their own interpretation upon even official documents issued by the Government.

The Rev. Bassett Key, a clergyman of the Church of England, writes to me, that after reading to his congregation Sir H. Stork's notification with regard to the use of threatening language, and the circulation of reports tending to mislead the labouring classes, the greater part asserted that the notification did not come from Sir Henry but from myself, and that the purport of it was "to ask pardon of "the people as the Queen was on their side."

Upon the clergyman trying to undeceive them they declared "that parson was humbugging them," and that they did not believe either him or the notification.

It is difficult to know how to produce any effect upon such people except by the strong hand of power, when they outrage or set at defiance the laws.

I append the Rev. Bassett Key's letter and a copy of the notification referred to. I also append a letter from the Rev. D. Panton, one of our best and most earnest clergymen, showing how greatly the negroes have misunderstood the nature of the proceedings connected with the Commission of Inquiry, and the evil results likely to flow from such misunderstanding. This letter, emanating from a man of Mr. Panton's high character, zeal, and experience, deserves a most attentive and thoughtful consideration.

From all the communications (received prior to the termination of martial law) which I have laid before the Commissioners, it was clear to me that there was not a parish in the island where some grounds for apprehension or an urgent necessity for taking protective measures did not exist.

The custodes (who are quasi lord lieutenants), or the magistrates, or other persons of position or respectability, were continually pointing out the defenceless and unprotected state of their parishes; reporting that disaffection existed, that seditious or threatening language or expressions of sympathy with the Rebels were openly made use of, that nightly meetings were taking place, or secret drillings being carried on, and that letters threatening to destroy life or property were being received or placarded up; making applications for arms and for permission to embody volunteers; calling out the rural or enrolling special constables, and urging upon the Government to send troops or ships of war to afford protection, or to keep down expected risings. Specific applications of this kind (for troops or ships of war) were received on behalf of no less than 10 parishes, namely, Portland, St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, St. Elizabeth, Vere, Westmoreland, St. Mary's, St. Ann's, Clarendon, Hanover, and Manchester, in addition to which Kingston was considered in such danger that the pensioners had to be embodied as additional troops. St. James Trelawney and St. George's had to be garrisoned. Metcalfe had to be visited by troops. St. Catherine's, St. Andrew's, and Port Royal had military stations in them, and St. David's, St. Thomas-in-the-East, and Portland were the theatre of active military operations.

Thus 19 parishes out of the 22 of which the Colony consists had to be occupied or visited by troops, in addition to which large numbers of volunteers were embodied, or rural or special constables called out in every parish as an additional protection. The whole island was like a country in a state of warfare.

All these circumstances too, be it remembered, were either prior to the proclamation of the amnesty or within a very few days afterwards, and before martial law terminated; indeed many of the applications for troops could not be met until after the amnesty had been proclaimed; as, for instance, Manchester, Black River, Port Maria, Brown's Town, Falmouth, Montego Bay, and Lucea.

There was also an universal opinion expressed throughout the Colony that if disturbances did arise in any district, or if the wave of rebellion from without should reach it, there were plenty of negroes in every parish ready to join in such rebellion, whilst none were likely to obstruct or resist it.

In addition to the documents from which abstracts or extracts have been given, I received many private letters myself, or saw private letters written to other persons, which cannot now be produced, and I was in constant communication orally with custodes, magistrates, or others, in reference to the state of the Island or of particular districts.

The tendency of all the information which thus reached me was to produce an absolute conviction on my own mind (and this conviction was shared in by my constitutional advisers) that the whole Colony was in the most imminent danger, and that the least mistake of policy or any delay in carrying out the policy considered necessary would inevitably have been fatal to the peace and safety of the country, and would have led to a repetition in other parishes of disturbances similar to those which occurred in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Such was the state of things which existed with regard to the Colony at large prior and up to the time when it was decided to proclaim an amnesty (to all persons in the disturbed districts, excepting some who were to be specially excluded); and I have given evidence before the Commissioners that had any rising taken place at this period there was not a single soldier available who could have been spared to suppress it, one half of our small force being engaged in military occupation of and in preserving order in the eastern parishes, and the other half in guarding some few outposts, or in protecting Kingston, which itself was considered to be in great peril from the seditious feeling known to exist amongst a considerable number of its inhabitants.

The additional troops from Nassau and Barbadoes did not arrive until the 28th October, and could not be distributed for some three or four days afterwards.

It then required some little time longer to enable the Government to judge how far the military dispositions made were likely to be efficacious in preserving the peace of the country.

Shortly before this time the Government obtained possession of a letter written by Mr. Levien, proprietor and editor of the "County Union" newspaper, to Dr. Bruce, of Vere, indicating a conspiracy to agitate the people for the purpose of creating anarchy and tumult. This circumstance, and the seditious tendency of the writings in the "County Union" generally, made it necessary to arrest Mr. Levien, a step which was reported by Colonel Whitfield to have created an unsettled state

of things at Montego Bay (where Mr. Levien resided), and a threatened riot. Other arrests of suspected persons had been made in Vere, Kingston, Spanish Town, or other places. There was a general state of excitement in these and in many other districts, and a consequent necessity that all the measures of the Government should be of the most prompt and decisive character, The police were utterly insufficient in point of numbers, ineffective in point of discipline and arming, and of a class little to be depended upon in any real emergency. The volunteers were for the most part recently embodied, inefficiently armed, and comparatively undisciplined. At this time, too, it was supposed that the Haytien refugees were complicit in the rebellion which had broken out in Jamaica. The vicinity of Haiti—the fact that a rebellion was at the time going on in that country—and the sudden appearance at a port in the disturbed districts of this Colony of a vessel laden with gunpowder, and with Haytiens on board, all gave a strong colouring to this supposition.

There were thus many and substantial grounds for great anxiety on the part of the Government in reference to the entire Colony.

Whilst such was the state of affairs generally, the particular case of the eastern parishes stood thus:—The rebellion had been headed, hemmed in, and crushed. Many of the ringleaders or chief instigators had been tried and executed, but there were still many prisoners on hand yet untried. These, as well as any still at large who had been guilty of arson or murder, and were uncaptured, were excepted from the amnesty.

I wish also particularly to call attention to the fact that from personal communication with many of the individuals who had been obliged to fly for their lives, and from statements made to me by other persons who had had similar communication, I was aware that what in England is termed a "local riot" had extended in a very brief space of time for about 40 miles in one direction from Morant Bay (to Elmwood, three miles beyond Mulatto River), and for nearly 20 miles in another and almost opposite direction (to between Monklands and Arntully); that at those extreme points properties had been plundered and threats used; that the whole of the intervening country had been more or less in possession of the rebels, and the properties therein more or less injured; that parties belonging to all parts of the country within the area referred to had taken part in these proceedings; that threats to kill all the white and coloured men, and to reserve the ladies and estates for themselves, had been freely indulged in, and that there had been a certain amount of combination and organization.

All these circumstances satisfied me that the occurrences in the eastern districts could be designated by no other term than that of wide-spread rebellion, whilst the facility and rapidity with which the inhabitants of so large a tract of country took up and joined in the movement necessarily made me most anxious as to the whole Colony, and forced upon me the conviction that opportunity alone was wanting for rebellion to blaze from one end of the Island to the other.

With these facts before me prior to the meeting of the Legislature on the 8th November, I could have no doubt in my own mind, and I did not hesitate to express in my opening address my opinion, that a conspiracy existed to murder the white and coloured inhabitants.

If an attempt at military organization and the administration of oaths to persons, binding them to join the Rebels, an endeavour to form an alliance with the Maroons, an expressed intention to destroy all the white and coloured males, or to reserve the females for their own use, and the preservation of properties from destruction in order that they might occupy those properties themselves, do not indicate a conspiracy to get rid of the dominant race and to take by force their possessions, it is difficult to imagine what would be considered sufficient proof of conspiracy.

This design was actually being carried on in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and towards, if not into, St. David's on the one side and Portland on the other; and it was the arrival and prompt action of the military forces which alone prevented the rebellion from being extended into other adjacent parishes in Surry, where it was known there were plenty of sympathizers and other evil-disposed persons ready to join at a moment's notice.

The state of the county of Cornwall, which necessitated the sending of vessels of war to western ports in July and August, and the official reports of custodes and other magistrates throughout the Island, not only gave valid reasons to the Government for a *bonâ fide* belief that this same design would manifest itself in other parishes by overt acts of a similar nature to those in St. Thomas-in-the-East, but rendered it absolutely imperative upon the Government to deal with the whole state of affairs in all the parishes so as to meet all actual and probable results.

The same causes which produced effect in St. Thomas-in-the-East were also the causes which had been set in operation in the other parishes. The lower orders of the people in all the parishes had been worked upon in the self-same manner by persons whose writings and conduct demonstrated a unity of action and a common object—the setting up the minds of the lower orders against the higher orders of society by means of pretended wrongs and oppressions.

I refer especially to the articles in the "Watchman" and "County Union" newspapers, and to the inflammatory speeches held all over the country.

Up to the time of the delivery of my address to the Legislature, and even up to the holding of the Commission, nothing had been shown to alter the views taken by the Government with the almost unanimous pressure and approbation of the community.

It was therefore considered necessary to continue martial law after the proclamation of the amnesty, for the following reasons:—

1st. In order to deal summarily with the cases excepted from the operation of the amnesty, many of the parties being as guilty as those tried by courts-martial previous to the amnesty, and there being no valid reason why they should not be dealt with in the same manner.

2nd. To preserve peace and good order in the districts where the rebellion had existed, and to afford time to reorganize the civil institutions. The custos, the magistrates, the clergy, and other principal

JAMAICA. inhabitants had been killed, wounded, or driven away, The inspector of police had been killed and the force become disorganized and demoralized; the Court-house itself was burnt to the ground.

It was impossible to re-establish civil institutions and relations at such a juncture, or without a sufficient time being allowed for reconstruction and for the return of the magistrates, clergy, and other inhabitants who had been compelled to fly during the rebellion.

3rd. It was important that for some short time longer at least the Government should continue martial law, to operate as an example and a warning in terrorem over the disaffected of other districts, without the necessity of imposing it in those districts.

4th. The indication which the continuance of martial law in the county of Surry for some days after the amnesty gave of the determination of the Government to deal promptly and decisively with persons guilty of rebellion, or the concomitant crimes of murder and arson, was the most efficacious step it could take to overawe the evil-disposed in other parts of the Colony, and thereby prevent any rising amongst the negro population of the districts where disaffection and seditious tendency were known to exist.

The documents to which reference has been made are designedly carried down to a date 10 days subsequent to the expiration of martial law, the object being to show that good grounds for anxiety and apprehension of disturbances continued to exist, not only during the whole period of martial law, but for some time after it was over.

(See reference (attached) to documents received between 13th November and 23rd November.)

The last document quoted shows that even as late as the 23rd November, after all the troops and ships of war at the disposal of the Government had been distributed, three members of the Legislative Council and seven members of the House of Assembly, resident in and intimately acquainted with the parishes of St. Elizabeth, Trelawny, Westmoreland, St. James, and Hanover, waited upon me in a body to represent the inadequacy of the arrangements made "either to prevent or to repress outbreaks "in the interior of the parishes of the county of Cornwall."

Illegal drillings in various parishes, or the preparation or repairs of weapons, were officially reported to the Government at still later dates.

These facts and reasons will, I trust, satisfy Her Majesty's Government that martial law was not unnecessarily imposed in the first instance or continued for an undue period of time afterwards.

In proof of my own unwillingness to have recourse to martial law unless upon the fullest and most absolute conviction of there being no other alternative compatible with the safety and protection of the Colony, I would call attention to the fact that I twice refused to impose it, once when called upon most urgently to do so by the custos and magistrates of Kingston, and once when requested to do so by the general commanding in the Colony, upon the representation of the officer in command of the troops stationed in the western districts of the Island.

I call attention to the evidence of the Rev. B. Millard, Baptist Minister (given before the Royal Commissioners) impugning my statement to the Secretary of State on the 25th April 1865, that the petition from the poor people of St. Ann's was the first fruits of Dr. Underhill's letter. Mr. Millard states that two weeks before Dr. Underhill's letter was heard of that petition had received a large number of signatures, and that early in March some of his people came and asked him if they should sign it.

I have no means of ascertaining the exact date when Dr. Underhill's letter first appeared in the public journals of the Colony, but it must, I think, have been about or soon after the middle of March. I know it was printed in the "Guardian" newspaper of the 21st March.

The number of signatures attached to the petition from St. Ann's was only 108 altogether.

The petition itself states that it was signed in St. Ann's on the 28th March 1865.

It was referred by me to the Hon. C. Royes, the custos of the parish, on the 4th April, and on the 18th of that month after full inquiry and careful consideration Mr. Royes made an analytical report in which occurs the following passage:—

"An attentive consideration leads to the conclusion that it is based upon Dr. Underhill's letter to the Colonial Secretary on the distress said to exist among the emancipated population in Jamaica, and that if such letter had not been written neither would the petition have appeared."

At a later period of the year, when the petition from St. Ann's and Her Majesty's reply to it had been made known, I received from Mr. Justice Ker a copy of a presentment made by the grand jury of St. Ann's, in which the following passage occurs in reference to the petition:—

"Foremost as those memorialists may appear among the many of other parishes in endorsing the views of Dr. Underhill as to the starving condition and nakedness of our peasantry, this memorial cannot be considered as expressive of the actual condition of the labouring population of St. Ann's, nor is it approved of by the more industrious and well-trained of our peasantry."

"We have ascertained that it emanated from but a small portion of our labouring people residing in the district of Ocho Rios, and was concocted by some idle persons living about the villages, that it was prepared without the knowledge or consent of their ministers, to whose churches they profess to be attached, nor did the memorial bear the signatures of such ministers, or vouched for by any persons of respectability."

(Original petition handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

It will be noticed on reference to the petition that it purports to be from the "poor people of Jamaica "and parish of St. Ann's," and that therefore the objection which has been made to sending the reply to it to other parishes than St. Ann's has no validity.

I have placed before the Royal Commission in my evidence an extract from a Despatch which I addressed to the Secretary of State on the 25th April 1865, in reference to the effect likely to be produced by Dr. Underhill's statements and the use made of them by designing persons.

I desire to place on record the following extracts from subsequent Despatches:—

In a Despatch dated the 17th May 1865, I wrote to Mr. Cardwell, "You will observe, however, that

"the 15th resolution calls upon the descendants of Africa throughout the Island to form societies "or hold meetings and co-operate for the purpose of setting forth their grievances."

"There are always a number of political demagogues ready to stir up the people to a belief of imaginary wrongs, and I can only repeat the opinion that I expressed in my Despatch, No. 117, of the 25th ultimo, that Dr. Underhill's letter will be productive of much evil to this Colony by unsettling the minds of the peasantry and making them discontented."

And in a Despatch dated the 22nd August 1865, I again wrote to Mr. Cardwell:—

"It is quite clear that if the ministers of religion residing amongst an ignorant, debased, and excitable coloured population take upon themselves to endorse and reiterate assertions such as those in Dr. Underhill's latter, to the effect that the people are starving, ragged, or naked, that their addiction to thieving is the result of extreme poverty, that all this arises from the taxation being too heavy, that such taxation is unjust upon the coloured population, that they are refused just tribunals and denied political rlights, then such ministers do their best not only to make the labourer discontented but to stimulate sedition and resistance to the laws and constituted authorities."

"Nor should I be surprised if in the districts where such a course is taken a refusal to pay the taxes and consequent disturbances in enforcing them should be the result."

In my evidence before the Royal Commission I stated that Dr. Underhill's letter was not published by me. I wish to place on record exactly what took place.

On the 5th January 1865 Dr. Underhill wrote an official letter to the Secretary of State, containing very serious allegations in reference to the treatment of the coloured classes in Jamaica. That letter asserted that they were starving and naked; that this condition, though aggravated by a temporary drought, arose in a great measure from over-taxation, and that in consequence of their destitute condition they were driven to steal. The letter further alleged that they were unjustly taxed, that they were refused just tribunals, and that they were denied political rights. The natural, in fact the necessary, consequence of such a communication having been addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies was (as Dr. Underhill must have been aware would be the case), that it was at once referred to the Governor of the Colony, that the statements made might be tested and reported upon.

The Governor in his turn, in order to make a full and impartial report, was necessitated to refer the communication to the custodes, to the ministers of religion of all denominations (including the Baptists, to which Dr. Underhill belongs), and to various other persons of position, influence, and experience in the Colony.

This is exactly what was done, and it is just what Dr. Underhill might and ought to have foreseen would take place. He ought also to have foreseen that where a statement had to be made known to such a variety of persons (though only sent as an enclosure to a letter to each individual whose opinion was sought), some one would be sure to make the document public, and this is what did happen.

Dr. Underhill, in a letter printed in the "Times" charged me with publishing his letter in the "Island Gazette." This is not correct, and I repeat that I never did publish it in any way in the sense referred to by Dr. Underhill, nor do I know who did. Dr. Underhill expressly distinguishes publication from the issuing of circulars to custodes, &c., &c.

But, under any circumstances, Dr. Underhill must or ought to have known that in writing such a letter at all to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he ensured the subject-matter of it being sooner or later made generally known in the Colony to which it related.

I append a copy of the circular addressed to the ministers of religion, enclosing Dr. Underhill's letter.

Since writing the above a letter has been published in the "Colonial Standard" newspaper, announcing that the Rev. J. Henderson, a Baptist minister at Montego Bay, himself published Dr. Underhill's letter, and sold it to the negroes at three halfpence per copy. I append the letter referred to.

Circular appended, Mr. Austin to Ministers of Religion, 13 March 1865.

I call attention to a "County Union" newspaper of the 23rd May 1865, purporting to give an account of an Underhill meeting held at Montego Bay on the Friday previous.

("County Union" of 23rd May 1865 handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

Notwithstanding the inaccuracy of the reports in the Jamaica newspapers generally, and the probability that any violent or reprehensible portions of speeches would be left out, I think there will still be found in the records given sufficient to show the part taken by some of the Baptist ministers in reference to Dr. Underhill's letter, and the effect likely to be produced by the teachings of those ministers upon the minds of an ignorant, excitable, and easily misled people. It must be remembered, too, that these speeches were published in a newspaper printed and circulated in the immediate neighbourhood where those ministers resided, and remained uncontradicted.

The Rev. Mr. Hewitt:—

"How can be we rich when we have got 40 thieves in the House of Assembly?

* * * * * *

"I can speak of my congregation, they don't dress now as they used to do. Parents of children are now not able to send them to school as they used to do. Why? because they are too poor to supply them with the necessary clothes. I would like to see the rich of the country. If there be one let him hold up his hand (a pause, and dead silence).

"We are too heavily taxed; there is not a piece of pork you eat that you don't pay a tax for, not a piece of bread you eat there is not a tax paid on. I firmly believe that the 40 thieves would tax the water that you drink and the air you breathe if it were possible, and why don't they? It is because they can't get hold of either.

"If they could lay hold of the drops of rain as they fall from heaven they would tax them; than the they grasp the air as we breathe it, they would tax it also. There are not better tax payers ogsheads people of Jamaica, taxed until they are crushed down. Poor country, exporting only 30,000 hogsheads of sugar and 20,000 puncheons of rum, to be taxed so heavily. We want to know why we are called

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upon to pay 50,000*l.* to support the Established Church; I would like to see those who talk of sectarians pay their church. Why do they ask you and me to pay for the building of their churches, for their wine, their organ and surplices? I won't say a word of their doctrine.

"We are taxed enormously for immigration purposes; all of you have to pay for it. (Mr. W. Kerr.—No, No, No; I deny it. I say No. The planters pay that (sensation), and amidst confusion Mr. Kerr left the platform.) Mr. Hewitt continued, I say Yes, you will have to pay the debt incurred by immigration. I am sorry anything I say should disturb the meeting, but I again say it is we who have to pay the debt. 18,500 immigrants have been brought to Jamaica, and what good has this done the country? It is you, the labourers, who ought to work, and then you will prosper."

Rev. J. Reid.—"The Assembly did not study the interests of the people but squandered away their money. In Dr. Underhill's letter he states that there was not sufficient means in this country to support its population. There was not. In a short time there would not be sufficient food for people to eat, nor money to buy it with if there was."

Rev. J. Henderson.—"The object of the meeting is to take into consideration Dr. Underhill's letter."

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"I go for doing away with the House of Assembly; I look on it as a curse to the island. I do not believe we should be in this position if they had dealt fairly with us. If a representative Assembly would deal fair with the people I would say keep it up. They impose a tax of 10*s.* on small freeholders and shut their mouths. I have just been reminded that it was a friend of the people who robbed them. I never expected to have lived long enough to see Mr. Jordon rob the people in this country of their rights; I do not believe it was only he, but through the 40 thieves."

* * * * * * * *

"In 1864 the debt due by the country was 454,000*l.*, if I am not mistaken in 1865 it will be about 900,000*l.* How is this enormous debt to be paid with estates going down every day? The Europeans will soon be leaving the country, and it is time for you, the people, to know how it is to be paid. Who is to pay it when the Europeans have left it and there are no planters? You will be left in the country, and you, the people, will have to pay it all."

"If your money was used for proper purposes and for the benefit of the people it will not be regretted. Part of the large debt was borrowed to bring immigrants. Have they done any good? (Voices, No, no.) Do they pay taxes? (Voices, No, no.) The natives, who are the labouring population, are driven away from the estates and coolies taken in their stead. The debt was contracted before the Export Duty Bill was passed. It is said by everyone that the salaries of the judges and other officials should be reduced. Why should it not also be said that we cannot afford to pay 45,000*l.* a year for keeping up the Established Church. I say we cannot and will not continue to pay it."

* * * * * * * * *

"A great reduction in taxation may be made and must be made.

"It may be said, in fact it has been said, that people like you ought to be ashamed to say you are poor, but if the estates cannot give you more than 3*s.* or 4*s.* per week (Voices, 4*s.*? No, some 2*s.* 6*d.*, some only 1*s.* 6*d.*) how can you live? Very likely the very lazy persons only get 1*s.* 6*d.*, those who are industrious 4*s.*

"Whether 4*s.*, 3*s.*, or 2*s.*, the question is, whether it would be enough for strong men to live on. The country cannot be prosperous when strong men like you cannot make more than 4*s.* per week."

Mr. Samuel Holt (a black man and local preacher of Saint Elizabeth).—"We all feel the hardships of the times, but did not know the cause of it. Sometimes we go to bed and in the night we hear a rumbling, but we turn ourselves and do not know what the rumbling is. In the morning one man meets another and he asks, did you feel the earthquake last night? Then we know what was the rumbling; just so. We all felt the hardships of the times, but did not know what was the cause; we did not know what the rumbling was till everyone ask, have you read Dr. Underhill's letter? Then we knew what all the disturbance was, and the rumbling that brings us here to-day."

* * * * * * * * *

"A reduction in taxation must take place; we shall have it made. We won't submit to be crushed down any longer. My friends read the Acts of the Apostles. When the ship was in danger of being wrecked did the vessel keep the heavy load in her till she went down to the bottom. No; they threw over some of the heavy load, and though the ship was lost those men who took wise counsel got up to land. On the same principle, why should we wait until all is lost. Why not throw overboard the weight of taxation and save those who could be saved. Why should we wait till all are entirely crushed, and do nothing before we cry out, Lost, lost?"

The Rev. W. Dendy.—"The people of the island are very heavily taxed. Why do they come to market with small baskets on their heads? If there was not such a heavy tax upon carts they would be more used, which would be a great saving of labour and time, and be the means of giving employment to carpenters and smiths in building them. What do we know of the laws that are made and the grants by such laws in the Assembly until they call upon us by taxation to pay them."

When the recognized ministers of the Baptist Mission, deserting their proper duty of inculcating peace and goodwill and submission to the authorities and laws, openly engage at public meetings in political harangues calculated to cause agitation and dissatisfaction amongst an excitable, impulsive, and ignorant population, to bring the authorities and the laws into contempt or odium, and to lead that population to believe that they are oppressed and wronged, and that they are taxed unjustly and excessively to provide for a church to which they do not belong, and for the importation of alien labourers who displace them, the natives of the soil, from the labour field of right belonging to themselves: and when those ministers further add, we cannot and will not continue to pay this taxation, is it to be wondered at that the black population should be stimulated to evade or resist the laws, or that other persons

of a less recognized status than such ministers and without any of the influences to restrain them which might reasonably be supposed to operate upon a member of the Baptist Mission, should proceed even still further and more plainly in the use of language calculated to foment discontent and to excite sedition.

This is exactly what did take place, and though the Government was not informed of it at the time, they were made aware soon after the rebellion broke out that speeches of the most violent and inflammatory kind had been used at Underhill meetings held under the chairmanship of G. W. Gordon or others.

Five individuals (Rev. E. Palmer, stated by the Rev. B. Millard to be in connexion with the "Jamaica Baptist Union," the Rev. J. Crole, E. J. Goldson, and T. Harry) have since the arrival of the Royal Commission been tried and convicted before a civil tribunal of uttering seditious language prior to the insurrection at Morant Bay. Whilst professing ministers of religion and other persons were thus stirring up and exciting the people by inflammatory harangues, a scurrilous and licentious press was engaged in misrepresenting and traducing all persons in authority and all official acts, and in still further stimulating agitation and disseminating statements well calculated to lead to rebellion.

In my evidence before the Commission I referred to a letter dated 11th September 1865, written by Mr. Levien, editor and publisher of the "County Union" newspaper, to Dr. Bruce, of Vere, stating that he was engaged in writing editorial articles "to second the noble exertions of the Vere people, and "to shield you and them from the charge of anarchy and tumult that in a short time must follow these "powerful demonstrations."

(Original letter handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

I submit in connexion with that letter the "County Union" newspaper of the 12th September 1865, containing the editorial referred to. This paper also contains an account of the Underhill meeting in Vere and a copy of the resolutions adopted.

All are valuable as showing the connexion and combination between G. W. Gordon, Dr. Bruce, Alexander Phillips, Sydney Levien, and others, in the agitation which was being stirred up from one end of the Island to the other at the so-called Underhill meetings, and through the agency of a portion of the press.

("County Union" of 12th September 1865 handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

I call attention to a letter dated 29th September 1865, and a portion of a letter undated, but evidently written about the early part of September, from Dr. Bruce to G. W. Gordon (both found among Mr. Gordon's papers).

(Documents handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

I also append a letter dated 4th July 1865, from Sydney Levien to G. W. Gordon. These papers still further show the political connexion between G. W. Gordon and Dr. Bruce, Mr. Levien, and Mr. Phillips.

I also call attention to an original deposition by W. R. Peart, giving the substance of Dr. Bruce's speech when introducing G. W. Gordon to the Vere meeting.

(Document handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

I call attention to two "County Union" newspapers, of the 17th and 24th October, referred to in my evidence before the Commission, as testifying to the powerful effect in restraining seditious language or writing produced by the steps taken with regard to G. W. Gordon and others.

(These papers were stated to be already in evidence before the Royal Commissioners).

The article in the paper of 17th October, headed "Our Fatal Infliction," was written with a knowledge of the massacre at Morant Bay, but before the arrest of G. W. Gordon.

The article in the paper of the 24th October, headed "The Rebellion as it is," was written after the arrest of G. W. Gordon and others was known.

I call attention to two lists of names found among Alexander Phillips' papers in Vere, purporting to be lists of "names of persons enlisted" or "to be enlisted as volunteers."

(Documents handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

These volunteers had no connexion with nor any sanction from the Government.

I also call attention to a somewhat similar list of names found amongst G. W. Gordon's papers at Cherry Garden.

(Document handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

This list has no superscription stating the object for which the names are put down, but it is headed by the name of "Paul Bogle," and includes the names of others of the chief ringleaders in the late rebellion who were subsequently executed. This list was not found until December 1865, when Mr. Gordon's residence at Cherry Garden was entered by the Deputy-Marshal under an execution for debt.

(Deputy-Marshal's letter forwarding the list hereunto attached.)

It will be observed that many of the parties named in the list were tried and executed for rebellion long before the list was even known of.

I call attention to the original document in the handwriting of G. W. Gordon, from which the placard headed "State of the Island" was printed.

(Document handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

I also call attention to a copy of the "Watchman" newspaper of the 4th of September, purporting to give an account of the Underhill meeting held at Morant Bay on the 12th August 1865.

("Watchman" newspaper of 4th September 1865 handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

It contains also a report of the resolutions adopted, and an editorial article on the same subject, "recommending the people to be united and firm, and agitate too till they are heard and their wrongs "redressed."

These documents tend to show that persons who took a prominent part at those meetings were for

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I add a handbill for posting up containing a copy of the resolutions.

(Document handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

This document was taken from a very large packet of similar ones found on board a vessel coming up from Montego Bay to Kingston addressed to Mr. Gordon. The placard on the face of it shows that it was printed by Mr. Levien at Montego Bay, although there were many printing establishments at Kingston, one of which too (that of the "Watchman") was under Mr. Gordon's own control.

An examination of the resolutions adopted on the 12th August, especially the 9th, will show the influence exercised even at Morant Bay by the teachings of the Baptist missionaries on the 19th May at Montego Bay, some 170 miles distant.

(See extracts from the speeches already quoted.)

In October of last year the Government was put in possession of notes taken by Mr. Fouché (a reporter), of seditious speeches made by various persons at Underhill meetings which had been held in Kingston under the presidency of G. W. Gordon, and in Spanish Town under the presidency of Mr. A. Lewis.

(Mr. Fouché's deposition as to speeches referred to handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

Several of these persons, as Harry, Crole, Palmer, and Goldson, have since been convicted before a civil tribunal of using seditious language. Mr. Levien, the editor the "County Union," has also been convicted of publishing a seditious libel. All are now undergoing imprisonment for these offences.

I append copies of the judge's notes taken at these trials, at the trials of certain parties for felonious riot, and at the trials of certain parties for conspiring.

All these various documents tend to show that intercommunication or intimacy, or a combination for political purposes, existed amongst a large number of persons belonging to different and distant parishes, and that they were engaged in concert in political agitation.

Chief amongst these persons were G. W. Gordon, Dr. Bruce, Mr. S. Levien, Alexander Phillips, Harry, Crole, Goldson, Roach, Palmer, and others.

I call attention to some depositions relative to Dr. Bruce.

One from Robert Russell.

One from James Riddell.

One from James Allmond.

(Depositions handed in to Royal Commissioners.)

All these were taken prior to Dr. Bruce's apprehension.

One from W. St. Leger Tivy.

(Deposition handed in to Royal Commissioners.)

This was taken the day after Dr. Bruce was brought to Spanish Town, and is an important document, as showing the tenor and tendency of the opinions openly expressed by Dr. Bruce, and that he fully endorsed the sentiments expressed at the Vere meeting by G. W. Gordon, when recommending the negroes of Jamaica to do as the Haytiens had done.

Mr. Tivy is a highly respectable gentleman, brother-in-law of Mr. Griffiths, of Liverpool, a merchant of high standing, and proprietor of five sugar estates.

I append depositions from Robinson, Gordon, C. A. Douglas, M. M. Howett, and John Curnon.

These were taken on the 20th November 1865.

In connexion with the correspondence found amongst Mr. Gordon's papers, and the known fact of the part taken by Dr. Bruce at the Underhill meeting at Vere, these documents constituted the grounds upon which Dr. Bruce was arrested and subsequently kept in custody for trial. A true bill was recently found against him for conspiracy to create disaffection against the Government, but he was acquitted by a jury consisting of six black men and one coloured person.

The circumstances were, however, brought very imperfectly before the jury, in consequence of its being necessary to close the case by a certain date, as the judges who presided had then to leave Kingston to open courts in other districts.

In consequence of this pressure the case was closed whilst nine witnesses against Dr. Bruce were still unexamined.

In connexion with the whole question of the apprehension of persons suspected of complicity in the rebellion, I would bring under notice that the Local Acts, 29th Vict. cap. 1, "An Act to indemnify "the Governor and all other officers and persons concerned in suppressing the late rebellion in this "island;" and 29th Vict. cap. 2, "An Act to enable the Governor to detain persons arrested during "the prevalence of martial law," have given the same practical legality to the proceedings of the Jamaica Government that an Act to suspend the Habeas Corpus is now giving to the Government of Ireland. The only difference being that the British Parliament was enabled to pass the law suspending the Habeas Corpus beforehand, whilst the Jamaica Government was from circumstances necessitated to act first and obtain the sanction of law afterwards.

I imagine also that even if the local laws referred to were now to be disallowed, yet as they have been in valid operation for some time subsequent to any of the transactions intended to be covered by them, and as they are essentially retrospective, the indemnity provided would still remain complete.

There is one point connected with martial law which I wish to bring under notice.

When proceeding in the "Caravelle," on the 13th October, we met the "Wolverine" coming back from Morant Bay, and I went on board to learn the news and see the refugees. I found there were many prisoners on board the "Wolverine" who had been taken at Morant Bay, and two questions arose in connexion with them; first, whether if the ship went up to Kingston (a district not under martial law) they could be reconveyed back to Morant Bay for trial; and, secondly, whether they could be tried at all under martial law for offences committed before martial law was imposed.

I at once sent for the Attorney-General, who came from the "Caravelle" to the "Wolverine" to discuss these questions. On the first point I understood that although the "Wolverine" went up to Kingston, yet if the prisoners were not landed they might still be considered as prisoners captured under martial law, or at all events there was little prospect of an habeas corpus being sued out or executed under the circumstances.

In reference to the second point, I understood the Attorney-General to be of opinion that although some doubts might exist as to the strict legality of trying persons under martial law for offences committed before the proclamation of it, yet that it was done during the martial law of 1832, that if the emergency was sufficient it might be done, and that the Attorney-General would not hesitate to do it himself, trusting to an Act of Indemnity being subsequently passed.

I have no doubt the Attorney-General will corroborate this statement. Colonel Fyfe was also present when it took place.

The bearing of this opinion with regard to G. W. Gordon's case will readily be perceived.

It was a well-known fact that Mr. Gordon visited most of the parishes in the island during the few months immediately preceding the rebellion, that he held meetings, both public and private, and that his avowed object was to agitate and to stir up the people to obtain redress for their supposed wrongs. It was also currently stated that Paul Bogle accompanied him on his tour or during a portion of it.

The knowledge that so many persons of better position or education, and possessing considerable influence amongst the negro population, were or had been engaged in proceedings calculated to excite sedition, when taken in connexion with the actual outbreak of rebellion at Morant Bay, necessarily occasioned the Government much anxiety, and afforded strong grounds for believing that disaffection was widespread and a readiness to revolt general.

It was impossible to tell how many others, besides those who were known to have taken part in seditious proceedings, might not be similarly implicated, and indeed the custodes, magistrates, and other persons of position and influence in the different parishes were (as I have already shown) continually bringing under notice the existence of disaffection, the use of seditious or threatening language, and the necessity for affording immediate protection.

In order therefore to guard as far as possible against further outbreaks it became essential that Government should exercise the utmost vigilance, promptness, and decision.

The two latter could only be secured by the continuance of martial law for a period sufficient to enable the Executive both to make their military arrangements with regard to the Colony generally, and to see the effect of such arrangements in preventing any further disturbances.

Having been personally present in the eastern district up to the 20th October, and considering that one of the chief grounds stated for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry was an allegation of "excessive and unlawful severity," I think it right to mention that no such cases came under my own observation, nor were any brought to my notice, or any complaints made to me against the officers in command during the whole period of martial law.

About the period that martial law terminated three instances came to my knowledge in which misconduct was alleged.

One a complaint that a Mr. Codrington, a local magistrate, had improperly caused some persons to be flogged.

Finding the statement to be true, I at once removed Mr. Codrington from the commission of the peace and directed the Attorney-General to prosecute him, but it was found the prosecution could not be carried out, being barred by the Act of Indemnity.

Another was an instance in which the provost marshal, Mr. Ramsay, was alleged to have acted improperly towards a Mr. Marshalleck, a storekeeper and magistrate of Morant Bay.

Mr. Ramsay was severely reprimanded.

The third was an allegation that Mr. Ramsay had caused a person to be hung without a previous trial by court martial.

I was engaged in making inquiries into this case when Sir H. Storks arrived and relieved me in the Government.

It is only justice to Brigadier-General Nelson to record my fullest conviction that all that officer's proceedings and all instructions given by him to those acting under him were characterised by the utmost consideration and humanity consistent with the duty which devolved upon him of putting down and punishing an extensive and serious rebellion.

In reference to the arrest of G. W. Gordon I may state that my constitutional advisers and I were unanimous as to the advisability of the arrest being made, and that opinion was backed up by the almost unanimous voice of the public.

After the arrest and when on board the "Wolverine" Mr. Westmorland I think suggested that Mr. Gordon might be tried by a Special Commission, but I did not consider the state of the country, or the circumstances of the moment such as to admit of that course being taken. I wish, however, to state distinctly that this was only a mere suggestion in talking over the matter.

There was no regular consultation or any formal recommendation or advice tendered, nor was there any difference of opinion between myself and my constitutional advisers in reference to this or any other course of action taken by the Government during the rebellion. It was unanimously agreed by my advisers and by the custos of Kingston that Gordon could not with safety to the public peace be detained a prisoner at or near Kingston, where the number of troops was considered insufficient to prevent a rising or the firing of the town, should such have been attempted, as was feared might be the case. Besides I had been to Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and from what I there heard had become impressed with the necessity of at once capturing Mr. Gordon and bringing him to a summary trial.

With regard to the trial and execution of G. W. Gordon, I think it right to mention that as the case was somewhat exceptional, and a Sunday intervened between Gordon's condemnation and the day

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appointed for his execution, Brigadier-General Nelson transmitted the proceedings of the court-martial by which Gordon was tried to Major-General O'Connor.

Major-General O'Connor read the proceedings to two members of the Executive Committee (Mr. Westmorland and Mr. Hosack), and then transmitted them to me unaccompanied by any expression of dissent either from himself or from the members of the Executive Committee named.

Those proceedings satisfied me as to Gordon's complicity in the occurrences at Morant Bay, and as I firmly believe that in order to put a stop to seditious writings, speeches, and acts, and thereby save the Colony from the horrors of renewed rebellion, it was essential to make a severe example, I had neither scruple nor hesitation as to the course the public safety required to be taken.

Nor do I doubt but that Gordon's execution had the most powerful influence in putting down sedition and deterring others from revolt.

What, however, I wish to place distinctly on record is the fact that the Major-General commanding, two members of the Executive Committee, and myself all saw the proceedings in Gordon's court-martial in time to have taken the necessary action to stay execution, had we deemed it right to do so.

Brigadier-General Nelson was aware of this, and before execution actually took place must thus have felt satisfied from our non-interference that we did fully concur in the justice of the sentence. He had also received a private note from myself explicitly stating my own opinion.

(Private note from Governor Eyre to Brigadier-General Nelson, dated 22nd October 1865, handed in to the Royal Commissioners.)

I call attention to this private note, as I wish it to be clearly understood that there is nothing in connexion with the late rebellion and the course of action taken by myself or by Brigadier-General Nelson which we desire to conceal or withhold. We had a very difficult and a very anxious duty to discharge, and we endeavoured to perform it to the best of our judgment and ability, and with a single view to ensuring the safety of the Colony and upholding the honour of the Crown.

Printed as Appendix, *vide* p. 457.

Finally, I append, with, I trust, a pardonable pride, a volume of addresses * which have recently been presented to me, signed by thousands of colonists of both sexes, and of all ranks, classes, occupations, and politics, as a proof, if further proof be wanted, of the all but universal recognition by those most interested and best able to judge, both of the imminent peril which threatened the entire Island, and of the necessity and justice of the steps taken to avert it.

E. EYRE.

Flamstead, April 6, 1866.

Enclosure No. 2.

Enclosure No. 2 in GOVERNOR EYRE'S DESPATCH, dated Jamaica, April 6, 1866, to the Right Hon. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

SIR, Wallingsford, Lilliput, P.O., March 8, 1866.

I AM sorry that I was prevented from answering your letter sooner, as I was detained in town till Monday to give evidence before the Commissioners, and consequently only received it yesterday.

On the whole, the principal circumstances alluded to seem to have been correctly reported to you, they were these:—On Sunday, the 4th of last month, I received a despatch during service, enclosing the notification from Sir Henry Storks (about reports and threatening language), with a request that I would communicate it to the people. I accordingly read it after the Nicene Creed; at the conclusion I heard some grumbling, and after the people left the church there was a great deal of loud talking and quarrelling, the greater part asserting that the notification came from your Excellency and not from Sir Henry, and that its purport was to ask pardon of the people, as the Queen was on their side. This was at Keyntham.

On Ash Wednesday, instead of delivering a sermon I addressed the people in the simplest way, my chief object being to remove the ridiculous notions they had adopted. In this it seems I was unsuccessful, as there was so much disturbance in the churchyard afterwards that I was on the point of turning them out of the enclosure, and some came to me afterwards and complained that the same things were said, and that the people declared, moreover, that "parson was humbugging them" (I quote their words), while one openly declared they did not believe me or the notification.

As it is also an indication of the same kind of feeling, I think I should mention that owing to my detention in town my churches were shut up, and that on my return I find the people had taken up the idea, and were rejoicing in it, that I had been sent to prison by Governor Storks, and should not return.

Of course, I need scarcely add that this communication is entirely at your Excellency's service, and can be substantiated if required. The only reason I can assign for my unpopularity (considering the short time I have been here, and my uniform endeavour to carry out all that my predecessor was doing), is the manner in which, by example and word, I have endeavoured to combat the unsettled and rebellious feeling exhibited.

With the hope that the latter, that can scarcely now be called smouldering, may not break out into something more serious, as before, ere its true significance is discovered,

I remain, &c.

To his Excellency Edward Eyre, Governor of Jamaica.

(Signed) E. BASSETT KEY.

True copy.
ROBT. W. H. HUNT,
Col. and Ins. of Vols.

NOTIFICATION. JAMAICA.

IT having come to the knowledge of the Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief that threatening language is made use of in many parts of the country, tending to create alarm for personal safety and for the security of property; and it being also well known that certain reports are current, tending to mislead the labouring classes, and to create irritation and bad feeling amongst Her Majesty's subjects, his Excellency strongly reprobates the use of such threatening language, and the circulation of such reports.

His Excellency's duty is to uphold and maintain the law, and to protect all Her Majesty's subjects in the pursuit of their lawful calling, and his Excellency declares that all the powers placed in his hands by Her Majesty will be freely used for these purposes.

The Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief therefore invites all persons to assist his Excellency in allaying the irritation and bad feeling which exist, and in maintaining the law and public security.

By his Excellency's command,

EDWARD JORDON, Gov. Sec.

SIR, Kingston, P. O., March 7, 1866.

I HAVE great pleasure in replying to your Excellency's letter, which, although dated 2nd March, I did not receive until the 7th. Since the arrival of the Royal Commissioners, and especially since the publication of English anti-slavery and radical opinions in the "Morning Journal," I have noticed a great change in the bearing and sentiments of the peasantry. These radical and *ex parte* views have been represented to the people as the convictions of Her Majesty the Queen, Her Majesty's Government, and the people of England. It is, therefore, now their settled belief that the blacks of this country have been oppressed; that the conduct of the Rebels, if not justifiable, is at least to be winked at. It is also their opinion that the measures of your Excellency in regard to the suppression of the rebellion are unjustifiable, and consequently deserving of punishment. I have very frequently been asked by the negroes if it was not true that all the authorities were to be hanged either on the parade or in Morant Bay. In these wicked and absurd ideas they have been confirmed by the institution of the Royal Commission, and it is now my belief that no power on earth, no, not the power of England, and no expression of human wisdom on the part of the Royal Commissioners, will ever be able to eradicate from the minds of the negroes the conviction that they are an oppressed people, and that they will be supported in England in any attempt to resist the constituted authority of this Island.

The *politician* may see the dawning of a brighter day in the good hope which the Island now possesses of a new constitution. The *merchant* and the *planter* may cling to the hope of a return of confidence and capital under the more direct protection of Her most Gracious Majesty, but to the *minister* of the Gospel no hope now remains but in the Almighty power of God, who alone can bring good out of evil. The outbreak at Morant Bay was a blow to the Christian minister, beneath which he wept, but the fanatical excitement and the acts consequent thereon in England have left him without a tear, grief-stricken, and under the abiding impression that the moral wreck to which Jamaica has now been reduced can never be mended in his days, if indeed, in generations to come.

In reply to the latter part of your Excellency's letter, I beg to state that it has always been my custom during a ministry of six years to inculcate strongly, that principles of undeviating loyalty are absolutely necessary to the completion of the Christian character. In pursuance of this custom, which is based directly upon the Word of God, "put them in mind that they be subject to the higher powers," I have ever since the outbreak kept my people informed as to the *true* state of current events; but about a month ago, in an address in which I especially endeavoured to disabuse the minds of the people of the lies in circulation about your Excellency and the military authorities, I made use of the following words, "As Christians and lovers of peace and righteousness we shall all be glad to see the presence "of our lives, our homes, and religion reinstated as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen." A man immediately arose and interrupted me, as far as I can remember, in the following words, "No, "don't tell me that; Governor Eyre never Governor here again, he kill too many black people." Other words were spoken which I did not catch; a slight commotion ensued, but order was speedily restored. I did not think seriously of the disturbance at the time, as I knew that the disturber was a half-witted man. I therefore forgave him. But Mr. Skyers who was present, reported the matter to the custos, and has since received orders to prosecute the man for "brawling in church." I am not sorry, as I have since discovered that the man was thanked for what he did by a portion of the congregation.

This circumstance would have depressed me exceedingly, but that I am aware that the majority of the congregation are loyal and approve your Excellency's acts. I do not feel disheartened about my own congregation in particular, *as I do about the Island generally.*

It may be as well for me to mention that neither before or since the outbreak have I been subjected to one impudent word or even look. I have not, therefore, been driven into the above conclusions from personal feeling, but rather from my knowledge of the character of the negro.

In the earnest hope that all things may in the good providence of God work out your Excellency's temporal and spiritual welfare.

I am, &c.

To his Excellency Governor Eyre. (Signed) D. P. PANTON.

True copy.

ROBT. W. H. HUNT,
Col. and Ins. of Vols.

JAMAICA.

REFERENCE to DOCUMENTS showing the STATE of the COUNTRY between the 13th November and 23rd November 1865.

1865. Nov. 16	St. Elizabeth -	H. Laurence, J.P. - -	Reports secret meetings and seizure of a large number of spears or lances near Round Hill, also a quantity of stones, a loaded gun, and a paper signed "Bogle," stating war is to begin at Lucea on 7th August, and buckras and brown men to be killed, also their animals and beasts.
„ 16	St. Elizabeth -	T. Wheatle, Inspector of Police.	Reports seizure of above 100 pikes of hard wood, eight and nine feet long, near Round Hill.
„ 17	St. Thomas-in-the-East.	Dr. E. Major - - -	Reports great excitement at Bath, that a large number of the "Devils" are congregating at Torrington for the purpose of coming down to Bath; that there are only a few maroons available, and many of them sick; asks what is to be done. States we are all much alarmed.
„ 21	St. Ann's -	Honble. A. Kerr, Puisne Judge.	Reports that he is informed that in no part of Jamaica is disaffection more prevalent than in St. Ann's.
„ 21	General - -	Col. Whitfield, commanding Western Districts.	Reports, that after visiting all the detachments in his districts, and seen enough of the people to give an opinion, that he believes a seditious and disloyal spirit pervades the entire Island, and that in all probability the negroes would rise were it not for the presence of the military. Thinks that a considerable amount of intercommunication has been and still is taking place between the disaffected of the different parishes. Observes men of sullen and dissatisfied looks riding about the country in all directions. One half of the negroes look contented and happy, the remainder as if they would take much pleasure in cutting one's throat. Is of opinion that not a single man can be withdrawn from any of the detachments of Port Maria, Brown's Town, Montego Bay, Lucea, or Savanna-la-Mar, but they should be increased.
„ 22	General - -	House of Assembly -	Sends a message to me urging that I would be pleased to take the necessary steps for landing and distributing, throughout this Island, the officers and soldiers of Her Majesty's 17th regiment, now on board Her Majesty's ship "Aboukir," in such districts as I might think advisable. This message was received some time after the troops from Barbadoes and Nassau had been distributed, and when there was also a very considerable naval force on the station.
„ 23	St. James' - St. Elizabeth - Westmoreland - Hanover - - Trelawney -	J. Salmon, Custos of St. Elizabeth, President of Privy Council, and President of Legislative Council. B. Vickers, Custos of Westmoreland and Member of Legislative Council. G. M. Lawson, Acting Custos of St. James and Member of Legislative Council. J. S. Williams, Member of Assembly for Westmoreland. C. M. Morales, Member of Assembly for Vere. H. Groves, Member of Assembly for St. James'.	

Reference to Documents showing the State of the Country between the 13th November and 23rd November 1865—*continued.*

		Raines W. Smith, Member of Assembly for St. Elizabeth. W. Coke, Member of Assembly for St. Elizabeth. W. Bourke, Member of Assembly for St. James'. S. Barrett, Member of Assembly for Trelawney.	Call attention to the unprotected state of the county of Cornwall. State they cannot believe that the small number of the military force now stationed in the towns is in any degree adequate either to prevent or to repress outbreaks in the interior of the parishes of the county. Urgently request that measures may be adopted for the better protection of the interior of the county, the more so as the holidays are approaching.

To the EDITOR of the "TIMES."

SIR,—As Governer Eyre has given his opinion in his despatch published in your columns to-day that the outbreak in Jamaica "is in a great degree due to Dr. Underhill's letter," you will in all fairness give a similar publicity to one or two facts that the Governor has omitted to state.

On the 5th of January last, not in my official capacity as secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, but as a private person interested in Jamaica, I addressed a letter to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell on the condition of the Island. On the 27th of January Mr. Cardwell expressed his thanks for this communication, and stated that he had forwarded it to the Governor of Jamaica, with instructions to report upon its contents.

My letter was published by Governor Eyre in the "Island Gazette." At the same time the Governor issued a circular to the custodes, judges, magistrates, the Bishop of Kingston, and to the clergy and ministers of all denominations, requesting them to furnish him with the materials for a reply to the despatch of the Colonial Secretary. The speeches and resolutions of public meetings, and the violent articles of the colonial press which followed, arose from the course taken by Governor Eyre. He it was who "propagated" in Jamaica "those untruthful statements and inuendoes," which he says my letter contains, but which on a suitable occasion I am prepared to justify. He it was who gave them the publicity they acquired. My letter was not addressed to the people of Jamaica, but to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and for its publication and the effects consequent upon it I must disclaim the responsibility which Governor Eyre wishes to fasten upon me. The responsibility is his, not mine.

Herewith I beg to send you a copy of the letter in question. It first appeared in this country in the pages of the "Anti-Slavery Reporter" of July last, by which it was copied from a Jamaica newspaper.

I beg to subscribe myself your obedient servant,

Hampstead, Nov. 20. EDWARD B. UNDERHILL.

CIRCULAR.

REVEREND SIR, Governor Secretary's Office, March 13, 1865.

I AM directed by the Governor to transmit to you a copy of a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, together with a copy of a communication enclosed in it from the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, on the present condition of Jamaica, and the distress prevalent amongst its coloured populaton.

2. His Excellency will be obliged by your favouring him, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, with your opinion as to how far the remarks contained in Dr. Underhill's letter are applicable to the labouring classes of the districts in which the ministers of your denomination labour; and he would be glad to learn from you whether the ordinary rate of wages for a day's work has varied much in those districts, during the last few years (stating what the daily pay is now); whether the prices of ground provisions have risen greatly within the same period, or are unusually high now; if work is less easily obtained, or less renumerated than in former years; and whether the peasantry generally are less well off, or less decently clad now, than heretofore.

3. The Governor would be glad to learn also your views as to the causes of any distress which may exist; or of the great increase of the crime of larceny, together with any other observations which the subjects touched upon in Dr. Underhill's letter may suggest, or your own local experience enable you to offer.

4. I am to add, that his Excellency will be much obliged by your furnishing your reply at as early a date as you conveniently can, and in duplicate, as one copy has to be transmitted to the Secretary of State.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HUGH W. AUSTIN, Government Secretary.

To the Editor of the "Colonial Standard."

Sir.—Referring to the Hon. Mr. Cardwell's despatch to Governor Eyre on the subject of the publication of Dr. Underhill's letter addressed to him, and the remarks thereon by the editor of the "County Union," charging his Excellency with the responsibility of its publication, I beg to say that the circulation of that letter amongst the "discontented people" of Jamaica did not arise out of Gov. Eyre's circular to the custodes and other officials of this Island—but through the cupidity and mischievous proclivities of a Baptist missionary in this town, I mean the Rev J. E. Henderson, who keeping in view the propensity of him and his brethren of fleecing poor Quashie on every pretence, had it printed and sold to the people at three halfpence a copy! By this means and THIS ALONE it became extensively circulated amongst peasantry of this and the adjoining parishes, and produced the mischievous effect of making them believe that they laboured under grievances of which they were previously in blissful ignorance.

This FACT you can publish to the world on the authority of my name, I enclose you my card and will meantime adopt the "nom de plume" of Yours, &c.

Veritas.

Montego Bay, March 20, 1866.

Dear Sir, Montego Bay, July 4, 1865.

You will perceive by the "Union" of this date why I was unable to reply to your favour by last post. I cannot attempt to purchase, though the temptation is great. My means will not allow me. And, too, I have a lot of type, as I expect, already *en route* to my office. As to a paper instructing the labouring classes, it has long ere this occupied my thoughts. But as a *paying* operation I doubt its possibility. It could only be accomplished through funds raised specially to protect against loss, and further the political object in view. Unfortunately the people, the masses of this Colony, neither are a reading population, nor a political one, and 'twould be long ere they could be taught to understand how much they require, and how much they would gain by such instruction as a paper dedicated to their interests would inevitably bring about. I could undertake it on the plan of Cobbett's "Register," a great paper in its day.

What is to be done at the coming session? Will you be the Lord George Gordon to lead the people to the door of the Parliament to seek their rights? But with the coincidence of name, would you not dread a concurrent issue of events?

Could you spare me a keg of ink, and about three dozen lengths of rule?

Yours faithfully,

G. W. Gordon, Esq. Sidney Levien.

Special Commission in Kingston, February 1.

Misdemeanors { No. 3. Regina *v.* Thos. Harry.—Prisoner pleads not guilty, and trial postponed.
No. 4. Regina *v.* Thos. Huett Crole.—Prisoner pleads not guilty, and trial postponed.

Friday, February 2, 10 a.m.

Regina *v.* Harry—continued.

After some discussion the Court decide that the first seven jurors who answer to their names must sit without objection on either side being allowed, except for good cause.

Williams opens for the Crown.

George Foucher sworn.—Was recently connected with "Guardian" newspaper. On 3rd May last attended public meeting in this court-house. Harry, the defendant, was present inside the bar. I was sitting at table, several sitting round it. The number of people present increased till 200 to 250 were present, the labouring people of this town; very few of higher class. George W. Gordon in chair. Wm. Kelly Smith, Secretary. Harry addressed the meeting. He is a master shoemaker in Water and Temple Lane, employs many people. As nearly as possible he said——. I took notes in my pocket book. This is the book. The notes were taken at the time. Harry had a resolution, and spoke as follows:—"The negro was nobody, and oppressed on all sides by the white man. He was trampled "under foot, and no notice whatever taken of him. He was oppressed by the Government of the "Island, and the laws were made solely to keep down the black man. Quashie was not the man to "submit to such things. They were large tax-payers, and no encouragement was given to them or "their children by the Government, all that would be made of them was tradesmen, although "uneducated Quashie would make them bow before him, for this was his country, and they would "have it. The Government gave them no education for their children. The merchants gave them "no employment in their stores, nor did the Government give them anything to do either in the post "office or the customs. It was time for them to seek for their rights and privileges, and not submit to "such things. Only white and coloured young men got employment in these stores and from the "Government. The negro was entirely overlooked. There was not a black man in the Assembly." I wrote out my notes and gave them to Government in October. Made them at the time in May. The speech was frequently cheered by the people.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—The meeting was called by the mayor. I left the meeting, and know of no committee being appointed. Harry spoke, and had a resolution. Don't remember which. Palmer was the first speaker. I took down speeches, not resolutions. Heard the resolution read. Remember speeches, because I took down principal parts of them. Expected they would be published next morning. I can positively swear to the words used by Mr. Harry. These are the exact words. Can't give speech from beginning to end. Witness repeats the words. "The negro oppressed on every side, "and trampled under foot by the Government; but Quashie was not the man to submit to such things. "This is his country, and he will have it. Quashie was oppressed on all sides, and oppressed by the "laws, and it was no use to educate their children, for nothing more was made of them than tradesmen;

" but, although Quashie was uneducated, he would not submit to these things, but he would make " them bow before him. There was no black men in the Assembly. Look in the Assembly, who make " laws to oppress the black man. Look in the merchants' stores, there were no black men employed " by them. Only white and coloured young men were employed. The Government gave them no " employment in the customs or post office, although they paid a large amount of taxes. It was no " use to educate their sons. Government had made no provision for the education of their children." To the best of my belief these were the words used. He used those very words in his speech. The rest of the speech was, " The House of Assembly had made the laws very oppressive to tradesmen " particularly. Black men were principally tradesmen, could not be anything else, being a despised " race. How can poor tradesmen get on, how can they support their families, and educate their " children? A heavy duty was laid on raw materials, on leather, while ready-made shoes and clothing " of all description were allowed to come in to the detriment of the poor tradesmen at a nominal duty. " This was oppressive to the poor tradesman, and who are the tradesmen, but the negroes, poor beasts " of burthen. Nothing good is ever to come to poor Quashie." He said something about poor needle-women having no work, no allusion to their colour. Shirts brought in to injure them. I can't say if majority of needlewomen are black; firmly believe Harry uttered those words, he might have said more. He did not use these words to my recollection, *i.e.*, " If something is not done to save the rising generation " from idleness, we must expect that in a few years our penitentiary will be full, and the moral condition " of the Island blemished. It is necessary, therefore, that trade should be protected for the good of all " classes who prefer that branch of business for their daily calling." He said, if duty taken off raw and put on manufactured goods, it would be for the good of all classes. I am not a regular reporter, not a recognized one. Have repeatedly taken down speeches. Took down Dr. Bowerbank's, Lyons, and Ford's speeches at Central school. Have attended a Lincoln meeting at Oughton's chapel, took no notes whatever. Gave report from recollection next day to Beckwith, which was published. Beckwith wrote it down. Attended this court for the first two days for " Guardian." Furnished that report to " Guardian." Had very few notes. Made my notes in May. Made copy of them in October. Have not seen the notes in Harry's case since. Had nothing but pocket-book to make notes in. Had a communication with the Governor before, not since I gave the statement. Never applied for money. Had no communication with custos. Never applied to him for assistance, as I was getting up evidence for the Crown. The meeting was called to consider Dr. Underhill's letter, an Underhill meeting. Witness points out the spots where Palmer and Harry stood. I remember the speeches of several parties, Goldson, Palmer, Crole, Sam. Clarke, Harry, O'Brien. I was able in October to put down words each man used. The burthen of the whole was the oppression of the negro. Vaz objected to their departure from the resolutions. There were eight of the upper classes, Beckwith, Hepburn, Gordon, Batty, Foucher, Murray, and Campbell. The two last did not remain long. Nairne, the inspector, for a time. Two policemen were in the room. Harry employs boys. Know Harry's wife, a brown person, distinguishable from a white, very respectable. I am troubled with epileptic fits.

Re-examined.—Not usual to take down written resolutions. I was not a retained reporter; went to report for the " Sentinel," recently set up. Took notes of the substance of each man's speech. The speeches were fresh in my memory when I copied out notes. I speak to-day from original notes, and what I wrote out, and therefore am able to speak to substance. No reward offered for evidence to convict people, or for information. No reward offered me. Threats have been. Harry's speech was not published, nor the other. (Court adjourned half an hour.)

Robert Samuel Every Hepburn sworn.—Was present at the meeting in May at this court-house for a short time. Saw G. W. Gordon in the chair, Wm. Roach, Saml. Clarke, Harry, Crole. The court-house to the rails was full. The majority of the people were labouring working people. Some excitement arose when I came in, from my refusing to take off my hat. A show of putting me out. I came in at conclusion of Palmer's speech, remained till close of Crole's speech. I took off my hat, and then left. No remarkable excitement at the time of my leaving. Heard Crole's not Harry's speech.

Fitz-Herbert Batty sworn.—Was reporter for " Colonial Standard," specially for meeting in early part of May, was present, the regular reporter absent. Foucher was there taking notes. I was called away, and left Foucher there. A crowd of persons was there; as meeting progressed, numbers increased. The majority illiterate persons and day labourers. The burthen of the meeting was oppression of the blacks, and complexional distinction by the whites and coloured people. Many of the speakers wandered from text of resolutions. Excitement began from a disturbance, and then from language used. Harry was present as one of the speakers. Excitement not wholly from what Hepburn did; enthusiasm produced by what fell from speakers. My notes were destroyed; were not published. The resolutions were.

Cross-examined.—Have seen much enthusiasm at other meetings. Harry spoke quietly, but one remark he made was the difficulty made about his insurance money, because he was black. He spoke about 12½ per cent. duties, and immorality in streets.

Henry Garland Murray sworn.—Sometimes editor, sometimes reporter. Was connected with " Guardian " in May last. Attended Underhill meeting. Saw Harry there. He stood where Attorney-General now does. When I came in Harry was addressing meeting. Recollect the substance of his speech. When I came in he was descanting on a fiscal question, the duty on raw material. This is my signature. The document was read to me. Harry said in substance, raw material brought in at higher rate than manufactured goods, distress in consequence, and prostitution.

Cross-examined.—Don't remember words.

Case for Crown closed.

Phillipps opens; objects that there is no evidence to support case.

The Court considers he must go on. He calls—

John Miles O'Bryan sworn.—Was present at meeting on 3rd May. Moved one of the resolutions. Saw Harry there. Heard him address meeting. Heard what he said. Said nothing of the negro being oppressed by the whites, to my remembrance, nothing of his being trampled under foot, or oppressed by Government of Island, or laws made solely to keep down black man. Quashie not man to submit, if words had been used, think they would have been uppermost in my memory. Did not

JAMAICA.

hear about being large taxpayers, and children not educated by Government. His speech generally about duty laid on imported goods and ready-made articles, the duty on them the same as raw material, so no competition. If reversed, more work would be given to tradesmen, and negro women would find employment. Streets filled with vagabond boys who should have been attached to some trade. Never *heard* the words, "Quashie, though uneducated, would make them bow before him." The meeting was held about wants of people. Copy resolutions sent to the Governor, and memorial to the Queen.

Cross-exd. by Attorney-General.—Heard no direct allusion to black and white people. There might have been. Harry's resolution referred to imported articles.

Henry Augustus Hare sworn.—A journeyman tailor at Scott's. Was present at May meeting, not at commencement. Heard Harry speak; but don't recollect all his words. Don't recollect "*Negro* "*oppressed, &c., &c.,*" "*trampled under foot, &c.,*" "*oppressed by Government,*" "*laws to keep down black* "*man,*" "Quashie not *man to submit, &c.,* would make them bow before him." I took no notes. "*This* "*is Quashie's country, he will have it yet?*" Don't recollect. Such language would have displeased me. I remember Harry speak chiefly on trade, shoemakers, needlewomen, &c. Cause of dull trade, so many ready-made articles in market. At times he would keep eight journeymen, obliged to discharge some of them. Could not take apprentices, in time to come the boys would be in penitentiary.

Cross-exd. by Attorney-General.—Am no politician. A man's a man for me. Heard no allusion to black, white, or brown. Sixteen hands were in Scott's employ at time of meeting. Heard nothing of black men in customs or post office. Scott's people paid by the job.

James H. Hamilton sworn.—Was present at meeting, did not speak. Heard Harry speak. (*Phillipps repeats same words.*) Did not hear them. I would have heard and remembered them. I took no notes. Can't recollect all he said. He spoke of trade. Ready-made articles prevented his taking boys. Was there the whole time Harry was speaking. He spoke of needlewomen. When the meeting separated three cheers given for the Queen. Don't recollect seeing inspector of police during Harry's speech. I think Goldson spoke just before Harry. I was there when Harry began. Heard no allusion to colour. Know Vaz. Did not see him. Saw O'Bryan and Hare there, and Mr. Foucher. I took no notes. I am a saddler.

Alexander McFarlane sworn.—Am surveyor to board of firewardens. Have property in the country. Was present at May meeting. Did not speak, only a spectator. Saw Harry there. Heard portion of his speech, the commencement. He read resolution. Spoke of distress of trade. *Resolution read.* He showed formerly females could find employment by making shirts. Now ready-made article almost as cheap as raw material. He referred to his own line, trade so bad, little encouragement for apprentices. (*Same words read to him.*) Did not hear them. Must have heard, if used when I was present. No allusion to colour when I was there. Such strong points I would not forget. Would not have approved of such words.

Cross-exd. by Williams.—I was outside further bar. Nothing about colour from Harry. Harry spoke low. I have a recollection of what Harry said. Have had no conversation with Harry.

Augustus Lake sworn.—Have been a reporter for six years. Know Foucher. He is not a competent reporter, in my opinion. Was at May meeting. Can't say if when Harry was speaking.

Edward Duhaney sworn.—I read a resolution at meeting (his examination to same effect as others). Attorney-General tests his memory.

John Aguilar sworn.—I spoke at meeting. Heard Harry's speech. It was just to his resolution. The burthen of his speech was (the words repeated to him). He did not use them. Whoever says so is false. I should have left meeting if such words had been used. He was very calm in speaking.

Cross-exd.—I am a sexton. No allusion to white population by Harry. I think there was by some one. Can't say by whom. I seconded fourth resolution.

John Sharpe sworn.—Have been connected with printing establishments for 14 years. Am now officer of penitentiary. I attended a public meeting in May. Harry was there, standing just here. Can't remember all he said. Spoke of importation of sewing machinery and injury to females; then of import duties. Did not hear anything to cause violence. It is impossible, without notes, for a man to recollect, after nine months. The words might have been said and I not recollect.

Alexander Nairn sworn.—Inspector of police. I came in occasionally to the meeting. Was inspector of police. Saw Harry there. Did not hear his speech. The meeting was so disorderly, I thought it necessary to keep watch. Heard Harry speak of clothing. He was excited, as political meetings are. Hepburn had caused a disturbance. It was a noisy meeting.

Morris Stern sworn.—A medical man. Have attended persons with epileptic fits, a common disease in this country. Repeated fits would affect the intellect. It would depend on the frequency, the strength, and the interval of the attacks. Epilepsy not always connected with the brain.

Cross-exd.—Know Foucher.

Three witnesses for defence called on subpœna and don't appear. Phillipps addresses jury. Attorney-General replies. I sum up. Jury retire for 20 minutes, and at 8.50 deliver verdict—Guilty, but recommended to mercy, as he was excited by previous speakers.

A true copy from my notes,

JASPER F. CARGILL, J.

Saturday, February 3rd, 10 a.m.

No. 4. REGINA *v.* THOS. HUETT CROLE.

Williams opens.

George Foucher sworn.—Was connected with the "Sentinel" in May last. I then attended a public meeting in this court-house as reporter. George W. Gordon in chair. Wm. Kelly Smith, secretary. Crole was there, Harry, Goldson, O'Brian. Number present, 200 to 250, which increased. The labouring people of city. Few of upper class. Mr. Crole is an intimate friend of mine. He acts as a minister at what is called Mr. Gordon's chapel. Heard the speeches, and that made by Crole. Took notes at the trial. They are still in existence and in same condition as then. Was called upon by

Government in October, while speech fresh in my memory. I made extended notes in October or November. I gave the extended notes to Mr. Kemble. As far as I can recollect Crole moved the second or third resolution. One of the first speakers. He addressed the meeting: "I feel much "pleasure in having a resolution. There is no doubt whatever that the negro is oppressed on all sides "and trampled down. The taxes were a burthen, and who had to pay it but Quashie. He is nothing "else but a beast of burthen. The newspapers say that the Governor's morality proclamation is "a farce. The Bible says we are not to obey an immoral Government; therefore we should not "obey the Government of this country, for it is immoral, and no one should compel you to do so." He repeated, "you should not submit to an immoral Government; but render to Cæsar the things which "are Cæsar's. We should obey God rather than man. It is true the white man oppresses the negro. "He kicks him; and, if the negro were fat enough, the white man would eat him." (Laughter and cheers.) "Never mind, the time will come, and must come, when, as Christians and British sub-"jects, you will have your rights." He said the Government was composed of immoral men. There was some excitement, greater than usual. The speeches were not published. The resolutions were.

Cross-ed. by Crole.—I am a Christian. Believe in Bible. Don't believe in a Hell. I believe in a merciful God. I believe in punishment after this life for the wicked. I have known you for many years as a Wesleyan teacher. You were then an excellent man; a worthy, good man. Can't say how long before meeting you lived in Kingston. (Traverser repeats resolution.) You moved that first resolution. You brought forward some scriptural allusions: the hand of God being visible in history of individuals. You were speaking 25 or 30 minutes. You may have said more. The extended notes were made next day. The "Sentinel" would not publish them. I did not add anything to them. (Traverser questions as to the words used.) Am sure you used them. You did not speak to the resolution. As to "Bible, &c.," witness adheres to words about morality proclamation; as to "kicking and "eating," witness repeats words. Those were the very words you used. You referred to no book. As to "time must come," repeats words.

Henry J. Kemble sworn.—Act for Crown in these proceedings, in consequence of Aikman's illness, who is solicitor to the Crown. Foucher made reference to Crole's speech. Foucher wrote out statement in October or rather later. This is it. Know Charles Lachlan Campbell. Showed it to him at my office. I identify this paper (marked).

Charles Lachlan Campbell sworn.—Am connected with "Morning Journal." Went to office of H. Kemble during martial law. Received a message. Was alarmed, but went immediately. Recollect a speech being read to me as Mr. Crole's speech at May meeting by Mr. Kemble. This is the same. There were certain words so impressed on my mind that I said they were substantially correct. I was present at May meeting. Heard part of Crole's speech. Left while he was speaking. I was disappointed at the turn the meeting had taken. The question of the poverty of the people was disputed, and I thought the meeting would contain intelligent black people, from whom I could get best information. There was some disorder, the speeches were irrelevant, and sentiments were expressed I did not approve. I made remarks on Crole's speech, and a demonstration was made against me, so I determined to go away. Crole said the constituted authorities were declared to be bad people, and no one was bound to obey them. I made this affidavit. I did not publish any of those speeches. He made reference to negro being fat. This seemed a joke. The other language was serious. The opinion I expressed then I repeat now.

Cross-ed. by Crole.—Heard part of your speech. You made reference to newspapers. Some of your words were so remarkable they are not effaced from my memory. I met Mr. Beckwith in Mr. Kemble's office. Mr. Beckwith read a memorandum to me. I don't think I said it contained a true statement of what Crole said. In the memorandum the words about the constituted authorities appeared. I don't know your intention, but your language was calculated to excite.

Re-examined.—Crole spoke frequently about black people and poor people as if the same. I was there before he began. There was some confusion. I did not hear the end of his speech.

FitzHerbert Batty sworn.—Reporter for "Colonial Standard" at May meeting. Foucher was taking notes, and I made some, but, being called away, I destroyed them. Foucher remained. I heard several speeches. Foucher remained. I heard several speeches, Crole's, the whole of it. Have an imperfect recollection. As far as I can recollect Foucher's evidence is correct in the main. Crole's resolution, as to "Hand of God," &c. He then proceeded to descant on acts of Government. He said he had read in newspapers the Government was corrupt, the Executive Committee corrupt—"corruption "at head of Government—corruption all over. The Bible told us (A) to obey constituted authorities; "but if it be true the head of this Government be corrupt, they were not bound to obey such an "authority. The authorities of the country had never attempted to dispute the assertions of news-"papers." The remarks struck me as being highly impolitic. The report of Foucher seems to me to convey the idea of the speech. The burthen of the speech was the oppression of the blacks by the white and coloured, and Crole's remarks had that tendency. I can't give the speech in continuity. The speeches were not published. There was much excitement; but not from Crole's speech. My memory being refreshed, recollect about "fatness of black man."

Cross-ed.—Was at meeting before Gordon was called to chair. Your speech began with reference to resolution. You were dressed as a clergyman. Your speech was politico-parsonic. You said politics were sharp-edged tools. First appearance, had doubts whether morally or politically he should obey their command to fast. Repeats words above, *vide* (A).

Robert J. E. Hepburn sworn.—Was present for a short time at May meeting, just when Palmer concluded his speech. Heard a portion of Crole's speech, the beginning. His speech related to a resolution about fasting and humiliation. I think he said something about being no politician. He read resolution. Said he was bound to object to it, because he denied there was any constituted authority in Jamaica. The Government was immoral and corrupt, and a Christian man was not bound to obey an immoral Government contrary to word of God. I think he quoted some passages of Scripture in support of what seemed to me a new and extraordinary doctrine. Heard remark about eating: white man would eat black, if fat enough. The main burthen of the speech was complexional distinction, setting out in general terms that the black man was oppressed by other classes.

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Cross-ed.—Have some knowledge of the Bible. Have met with no passages in Bible I so understand, as enjoining disobedience to an immoral Government. Can't refer at this moment to any passage. Don't recollect terms about morality proclamation.

Case for Crown closed.

FOR DEFENCE.

Arthur Beckwith sworn. Was present at the meeting. Saw you take part in it, and move resolution. (Resolution read.) You objected to terms of resolution, because, you said, it should be left to a man's own conscience when he should pray or fast. You then spoke about authorities mentioned in resolution in these words, to the best of my recollection: the newspapers say the Government is wrong, the legislature is wrong, and the magistrates are wrong; so that it would seem that there is not any constituted authority we are bound to obey. You then went on to state that although you objected to civil powers interfering with a man's religious views, all good Christians were bound to obey the powers that be, although there might be some things in the law they did not agree to. You said something about having read in an old book some absurd quotation about eating black man or highlander if he were fat enough. Your remarks generally humorous. I should not have inferred you meant to disaffect the people. Have known you long. Always loyal in your expressions. Have always entertained feelings of respect and friendship for you.

Cross-ed.—I took no notes. I don't think Crole has been yet a twelvemonth in this city. On last occasion I believe he had been preaching at the Tabernacle.

Re-examined.—Foucher was employed by me as reporter. I should not like his reports to go into a paper without revision.

To question by Williams.—I have been connected two years with a newspaper in Jamaica. All my life with newspapers in England.

Rev. Samuel Oughton sworn.—My knowledge of Foucher as a reporter is slight. Some time last year a meeting was held in my church, for the purpose of preparing address of condolence to American Government on assassination of Lincoln. Foucher there as reporter; also Lake. Next day received application requesting me to correct the speech I delivered on that occasion. Foucher's notes were sent to me; also Lake's. It was impossible to make out from Foucher's notes what I did say. Could not do so, though I delivered the speech. I referred to my daughter-in-law, and with her assistance made out my speech. Lake's notes were better.

Cross-ed.—Foucher came to me before the meeting. I appropriated a seat for the reporters. Don't know whether the handwriting was Foucher's. The reporters say I am a difficult speaker to follow.

Beckwith recalled.—Have no notes of the meeting but Foucher's. I did not hear Oughton's speech.

Defence closed.

IN REBUTTU.

Foucher recalled.—I took no notes of the Lincoln meeting. Was not employed till the Monday following.

Crole addresses the jury.

Williams replies. Sum up. Jury retire for half an hour.

Verdict, Guilty.

Recommended to mercy, on account of his own sufferings, and that his intention was not evil.

JASPER F. CARGILL, J.

IN THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

The Queen *v.* Sidney Levien.

CORAM:

Myself, Cargill, Lyons } *Commissioners.*

For seditious libels published in the "County Union" newspaper on 17th October 1865 and 12th May 1865.

(Cargill J. here left the Court, and his place was taken by Cothurst, Commissioner.)

Williams opened.

Henry John Kemble.—I am solicitor in this prosecution, I hold a paper in my hand. I received it from John Jonas Hart; it is a newspaper. I received it in Kingston; Hart is a merchant there. I received it about a fortnight ago. I think on 16th January 1866.

John Jonas Hart.—I'm a merchant of Kingston. I gave this paper to Mr. Henry Kemble. I received it from Mr. Lewis Cunha, he is secretary of commercial rooms in Kingston; I received it from him about 24 hours after it came by post; I read it in Kingston. The commercial rooms support the local papers. I can't say if it takes the "County Union."

Lewis Cunha.—I'm manager of the commercial rooms in Kingston. We take several papers, the Kingston and some of the north side papers; we don't subscribe to the north side papers, but some are lent to the exchange by gentlemen in Kingston. I know Mr. Simon Soutar of the firm of Jamieson and Soutar in this town, he used to lend us papers, among them the "County Union." I gave this paper (the one identified) to Mr. John Jonas Hart at the exchange at Kingston, about *a* week, about *the* week after the paper was published. I received the paper from Simon Soutar at his counting-house adjoining the exchange. I read it. I read an article in it headed "Our fatal infliction."

Cross-ed. by Phillipps.—I know it is the paper, because I put my name on it. I put my initials to it about a fortnight after I received it; after I had given it to Mr. Hart, before I lent it to him it was at the commercial rooms, one or two gentlemen read it. Mr. Soutar gave it to me himself.

Re-examined by Mr. Williams.—It had the address "Messrs. Jamison & Co., Kingston," on it before I gave it to Mr. Hart. It is the same paper.

Simon Soutar.—I'm a member of Jamison & Co. of this town, my place of business is in Kingston. We have subscribed to the "County Union" newspaper since April 1864. We have paid for our subscription to Mr. Sidney Levien of Montego Bay, the defendant; in subscribing to the paper, I have always dealt with him. We still get the paper from the same person. I received this paper (the one identified), through the ordinary course of post in Kingston, from the Kingston post office. I received it on the 18th October last year, Wednesday's post. Mr. Cunha took it from me out of the office. We hand them over to him every post day. I see the name of "Jamison & Co., Kingston," on it. I received it marked in that way. I know Levien's handwriting. I've been in correspondence with him; this is in his handwriting (marked for identification letter dated 13 October 1865.)

[*Phillipps* objected. I held that the words in it "I am the editor of the 'County Union'" might be given in evidence; so much of it put in accordingly.]

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—I told Levien to stop advertizing, because he had broken his contract; he wanted to charge more than he had actually agreed on, but we had no dispute. I don't remember asking him not to send the paper in future. The newspaper was handed to me by my clerk, he always takes it out of the post office.

Examined by me.—I read the article in it, "Our fatal infliction," in Kingston.

[Article tendered in evidence. *Phillipps* objected. Levien not connected with the sending of the paper to Soutar. *Attorney General*, contra. *Court* ruled the article was admissible. *Read.*]

Stephen Cooke.—I'm clerk of peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I've also been resident at Morant Bay for the last 16 years. I was there on the 11th October, several lives were lost on that day, the day of the outbreak. Baron Ketelhodt is dead, he was I believe killed that day, also Mr. Herschell a clergyman is dead, my father the rector was there. There was a lock-up at Morant Bay. Morant Bay is in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Henry J. Kemble recalled.—I received a box with papers from Henry J. Bicknell, the police magistrate, it contained many papers, among others newspapers, a large bundle of "County Union" newspapers. It was on some day subsequent to the 14 November, but in November to the best of my recollection. I gave directions to Charles Barquie a clerk in my office, he acted on them. I took from him a large bundle of the "County Unions" I had seen in the box, and I read them over, arranged them, and marked them, they were numbered from 1 to 86, and embraced a period from I think, from the 1st or 3rd of January to 31st October 1865. This is one of them dated 12th May 1865, (No. 37, printed number of the paper) (marked for identification); this is another, 27th October 1865, No. 85. I got these papers in Kingston (marked for identity.)

H. I. Bicknell.—I'm police magistrate of Kingston, I remember delivering several parcels of letters to Mr. Kemble last year, also a large box, it contained newspapers, a great many of the "County Union" among others. I delivered them the same week that martial law ceased. I brought them with me from Morant Bay, I received them there was from Edward Nelson. I know Lieut. Adcock, he was there at the same time, he was acting as aidedecamp to Brigadier General Nelson, he accompanied me down in the gunboat, and I brought the papers with me; he must have seen the box on the deck; he knew that I had it. I've seen the box at Mr. Kemble's office. There was a smaller box contained particular correspondence in MSS.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—In the large box were also letters and a mass of papers.

Charles Barquie.—I'm a clerk of Mr. H. J. Kemble. I was so in November last. I received some directions from him respecting some newspapers in a large box, in the box was a bag or sack, this bag; the box was marked, the bag was marked; in the bag were the "County Unions" and other newspapers, the "Watchman." By Mr. Kemble's directions I arranged the "County Unions" according to their dates and numbers for the year 1865. I then gave them to Mr. Kemble, a black man brought the box and Bicknell came and saw the box; I opened it.

H. I. Kemble recalled.—These are the papers so arranged by my clerk, including the paper of 17 October, (another copy beside that Mr. Soutar got); also a paper of 12 May, and one of 27 October.

Herbert B. Adcock.—I'm a lieutenant in the 6th regiment. I was acting as aidedecamp to General Nelson at Morant Bay in October and November last. I received papers from John Charles McGlashan, two packages, one a basket containing papers, copies of the "County Union," the other contained letters and various letters, and was a brown paper parcel. I opened the basket, looked at the papers, and put them in that bag; my writing is on it "Bruce and Levien, newspapers;" the basket was closed with a string, I believe. There was a large box in the room. I believe the bag was put in it, but I don't know it of my own knowledge, they were delivered to Mr. Bicknell. I came down with him in the gunboat. I examined and read some of the papers; the ones I read were I think of the years 1864 and 1865.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—No other papers but "County Unions" were put in the bag to my knowledge, none of Dr. Bruce's papers were put in. I saw a private letter from Bruce to Levien, which was alluded to in article of 13 October by Levien, which made me mark the bag "Bruce and Levien." I'm sure there were no other papers in it but "County Unions."

By Attorney General.—There were two copies of the 13th October not delivered, but there were 17 or 18 copies of that date.

John C. McGlashan.—I was at Morant Bay last year; I saw Lieut. Adcock in November. I delivered him two parcels to the best of my recollection, one of them contained I believe files of the "County Union" newspaper. I don't know what the other contained. I received them from Walter Langton Stewart. I delivered all I received. I came down to Morant Bay from Spanish Town; they never left my possession during that time.

Walter L. Stewart.—I delivered the parcels to John C. McGlashan in November 1865; only on one occasion, one, of the "County Unions." Three last years tied up in one, 1863–4 and part of 65. I brought them from Montego Bay, they were under my charge, and I delivered them up when I came to Spanish Town; I first delivered them to Lieut. Phillipps of the Volunteers; then I got them back and gave them to McGlashan; to the best of my knowledge they were the same when I delivered

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them to McGlashan. I seized the papers at Montego Bay, at Levien's residence. He was not in the room; in his counting-house, I believe, adjoining his dwelling-house. I took Mr. Levien himself on the same premises, though not the same place. It was only on one occasion I seized these papers.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—I took the papers to Dr. Bowerbank, they were not out of my sight one minute while I was there.

Alexander A. Nelson, by A.G.—I'm a lieut.-colonel in the army, I held the rank of brigadier-general during the insurrection. Lieut. Adcock pointed out to me a basket containing newspapers, and another parcel containing letters; this was either at the end of October or the beginning of November. The newspapers I simply looked at and kept them by my side. I eventually directed my aidedecamp to put them and hand them to Mr. Bicknell. The newspapers consisted I believe entirely of the "County Union," this is the bag, there is not a doubt of it. I believe I handed every newspaper to Lieut. Adcock.

Mr. Soutar recalled.—I've been receiving the "County Union" regularly since April 1864, we still receive them. I was subpœnaed to produce those I did receive, but I had destroyed them or passed them away to the Commercial Exchange. I was not asked to look for any particular paper, the only one I can speak to is that of the 17th October I gave to Mr. Cunha; this paper is one of the issue of the "County Union." I remember this article (reading it to himself), I remember reading it in Kingston, I don't remember having received it, I suppose I received it in the ordinary course. I don't know in what paper I read it, but we were subscribing at the time, and I suppose it was in the "County Union." I read it in Kingston.

Mr. Cunha recalled.—I was asked to look over the file for "County Unions," and could only find one, *i.e.* that of the 17th October.

Isaac Lawton.—I once edited the "Tribune" in Kingston, I relinquished control of it on 31st March last; the newspapers always exchange files. I exchanged files always with the "County Union." I have not searched. Mr. Beckwith succeeded me.

Arthur Beckwith.—I succeeded Mr. Lawton in the "Tribune" in April last. I managed it in May, and exchanged file with "County Union;" on some few (two) occasions I failed to receive the usual files. I don't remember the month. I always read the papers (looking at a "County Union"), I think I remember this article; in the ordinary course I would have received this number. I have no copy of the files, we cut them up, we don't usually file them.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—I can't undertake to swear I received a copy of this newspaper. I can't swear from what paper I read it; the Kingston papers copy articles; I think the probability is I read it in the "County Union."

Re-examined by A.G.—Do you believe you read it in the "County Union" or in another paper? (Question objected to by *Mr. Phillipps.*) (Allowed.) I believe I read it in the "County Union."

George Henderson.—I'm proprietor of a newspaper, it is generally the practice of the press to exchange newspapers, my paper is the "Guardian." I make exchanges with the "County Union." I did so in 1865, I was requested to search for "County Unions" of last year. I did not find the "County Union" of 12th May, in the ordinary course it may have gone out of the office; we do not habitually file the "County Union;" from personal oral communication with Levien I believe he is the editor of the "County Union." I did read this article (of 12th May 1865) in the "County Union" in Kingston, shortly after the date of the paper.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—The proprietor of a paper does not know every copy that goes out of his office; the editor may be sick, there may be a manager of the issue, the manager receives editorials; the proprietor is responsible; I believe I read the article in the "County Union." My habit is to read every one of the files that come to me, and I know from the sentiments there that I read it. I read it in the "County Union." Occasionally articles are copied into the Kingston papers according to feeling and judgment.

Re-examined by A.G.—Sometimes there is a second edition of a paper in Kingston, without its being stated to be a second edition; all the papers come from the same framework.

By Phillipps.—I would not swear I ever read this (looking at a paper handed to him).

George Levy.—I was proprietor of "Colonial Standard" last year; it is usual to make exchanges with the country papers; we exchanged with the "County Union;" I made the exchanges with Mr. Sidney Levien. We did not file the papers, we used to cut them up; we don't keep them; we have not got the "County Union" of the 12th May last, I have been applied to for the file of 1865, we have not got them. I remember this article (looking at paper of 12th May), I read it in my office in Kingston in the "County Union," which I had received in exchange. I read it the day after publication.

Cross-exd. by Phillipps.—It is not our practice to insert leading articles from the north side papers. I exchange with other papers besides the "County Union." I never had correspondence with Levien. We merely effected exchanges with the office.

Re-examined by A.G.—I've had no personal conversation with Levien by which I knew him to be the editor of the "County Union."

Charles L. Campbell.—I'm connected with the "Morning Journal" newspaper, was since 1865; it is a custom to exchange papers. The "Morning Journal" and "County Union" did so, and do so still, I believe. We don't file the papers we receive; I can't produce any of the "County Unions" for 1865. I got a subpœna to produce them; they are not there; the office of the "Morning Journal" is in Kingston; we have always received the "County Union" in exchange.

Michael de Cordova.—I'm connected with the "Gleaner," it is the custom to exchange newspapers with other papers. I exchanged with the "County Union" in 1865. I addressed my papers to the "County Union," and received papers in return. I know Mr. Levien, I have had a conversation with Mr. Levien in reference to the size and composition of the paper to be used in the "County Union;" he purchased paper from me for that purpose. I debited Mr. Levien. I do not file the papers received in exchange. I have not any of the "County Union" for 1865. I was desired to produce all I had. The newspapers published in Kingston are the "Colonial Standard," "Guardian," "Morning Journal," and "Gleaner." The "Sentinel" and "Watchman" do not exist. The "Tribune" does not exist.

Paper of 12th May 1865 tendered in evidence.

Phillipps objected.—Never published in Kingston or county of Surry; not sent by defendant into Surry.

Attorney General contra.—Question for discretion of Court, Have ordinary means been taken to procure primary evidence? tendered as secondary evidence.

Phillipps replied.—[I admitted the article in the paper of 12th May 1865, taken from Montego Bay, as secondary evidence.]

Mr. Phillipps to Jury.

Mr. Attorney General replied.

Verdict—Guilty on the 1*st Count*, with recommendation to mercy on account of article in another part of the paper recommending suppression of the outbreak.

Next day.—The Court sentenced defendant to County Gaol of Surry for 12 calendar months.

SITTINGS under the SECOND SPECIAL COMMISSION in KINGSTON.

COURT of SPECIAL COMMISSION, KINGSTON.

Monday, February 19, 1866.

REGINA *v.* EDWIN PALMER.

UTTERING SEDITIOUS LANGUAGE.

After some technical objections had been raised and disposed of, Mr. Williams, on the part of the Crown (with the Attorney-General), opened the case, and called—

George Fouche.—I was reporter for the "Sentinel" newspaper in May last year, and on the 3rd of that month I attended a public meeting held in this room (*i.e.*, the court-house). From 200 to 250 persons were present, chiefly of the lower class; there were comparatively few of the upper class.

Palmer was one of the speakers; the others were Crowe, Goldson, Saml. Clarke, Harry, and O'Brien. G. W. Gordon was in the chair, and Wm. Kelly Smith acted as secretary.

Palmer moved the first resolution. I was close to him, just below *there* (and he pointed to the spot), and heard the whole of his speech. I took rough notes in a book which I afterwards gave to Mr. H. J. Kemble. Next day I wrote out a statement from those notes and gave Mr. Kemble that, as well as the book.

Palmer said, The people were wretchedly poor and miserable, oppressed by the authorities with a heavy burthen of taxation. Everything of the negro was taxed heavily; he named corn meal, osnaburgh, herrings, and several other things chiefly used by the negroes; whilst the luxuries of the wealthy were almost untaxed. He said that the negro gets no return for all that; that the public offices were filled only by white and coloured men; but the negro was entirely neglected and passed over. They would not submit to such a state of things. That he (Palmer) had had an opportunity of seeing that when the poor negro worked for the planter, he robbed him of his wages. That he (Palmer), as a minister of the Gospel, travelled among the negroes, and knew that well. That they were trampled under foot by those in authority. It was time for them to arise and seek for their rights and privileges. That as for the Flogging Bill that had passed the House of Assembly, it was a mark of slavery introduced into the land, and only intended for the purpose of keeping down the poor negro. That it was intended for him, whilst the white and coloured man would escape it. He said, It is time for us to arise and throw off the yoke that has been laid upon our necks—which this oppressive Government has laid upon us. No encouragement is given to our young men by the merchants of Kingston. Walk about Harbour-street, and you won't see a black man in a store or a counting-house. Only white and coloured young men are employed. The Government gives us no encouragement; they give no black men employment in the customs or post office.

He said, They had no patronage, but the time would come when they would show these great men what they could do in seeking their rights and liberties.

His speech had a great effect upon his audience, and he was very vehement.

Cross-examined by Mr. P.—Defendant spoke from 20 to 25 minutes. I did not take his speech down word for word. My notes were the substance of the speech. It was not published in the newspapers. None of the speeches were.

I gave my notes to Mr. K., the end of October or beginning of November. Have refreshed my memory since by looking at the statement I gave H. K., but not from the book; have not seen *that* except in court since October.

The inspector of police was in and out of the court-house during the meeting, and a policeman was at the door.

Palmer spoke very fast; he was excited, and struck the rail before him several times. I felt offended at the expressions he used, and considered them unbecoming in a minister of the Gospel. The meeting was "the Underhill meeting," to take into consideration the poverty of the country.

Chas. Lachlan Campbell.—I attended the meeting 3rd May for the "Morning Journal" newspaper. Palmer was speaking when I went in. I took no notes. The general tenor of his speech was the oppression of the black population. Mr. H. K. read a paper to me in October or November, and mentioned several expressions which I recollected had been used. Substantially it was a fair report.

Palmer appeared to me excited in his manner, and was cheered by the audience in the same way as when what is said is approved of.

Cross-examined.—Had heard defendant speak before. He was so excited on both occasions that I advised never again to speak at public meetings. At one time the meeting was disorderly, otherwise not more "uproarious" than such meetings usually are.

Fitzherbert Batty.—I was "overseer" of the "Standard" newspaper in May last year, and was sent to attend the meeting on the 3rd as reporter. Heard defendant speak. Fouche was there taking notes. I was surprised considerably at the tenor of Palmer's speech, and one part struck me: "There was no

JAMAICA. " prospect for the black man in this country, he was to earn nothing better than 9*d.* a day ; " " that he " was contemned, however respectable, and held in abasement." There was more slavery in K. (he said) than existed in the United States.

Palmer was the first speaker, and, I think, gave a tone to the meeting. He spoke against the Government as oppressing the black people.

He was vehement, and, I think, meant all he said. The meeting consisted chiefly of the illiterate class. Palmer was about the most respectable and best educated man there. I was shown a paper by H. K. I read it, and, as far as it went, I consider it a correct report.

Cross-examined.—The reports of other speeches were shown to me. They were those of illiterate people, and wandered from the resolutions.

My notes were destroyed; if otherwise, I should not give them as verbatim reports.

Re-examined.—By my employer's orders my notes were suppressed. I therefore destroyed them.

Henry J. Kemble.—The paper which Batty and Campbell referred to I either read to or showed it to them, and it was from that the words set out in the indictment are taken.

Mr. Philipps, for defendant, then contended that the evidence did not support the charge.

1. The words as laid in the indictment are not proved.
2. Defendant spoke as he felt, and therefore malice negatived and he cited a note in Regina *v.* Vincent, 9 C. & P. 93.

DEFENCE.

Edwd. Jordon.—I am mayor of Kingston. Was applied to by requisition to hold a public meeting in April or May last. A number of names were attached to it. I signed the paper fixing the time, and then handed it back. I was invited to attend, but declined, not being well, and the hour being late.

Have known Palmer several years. His character has always been unblemished, and he has not mixed himself up with political parties.

Cross-examined by A. G.—A public meeting is not the place for collecting statistics. Only heard Palmer speak once, and that was in his own chapel.

Dr. Fiddes.—Have known Palmer 10 or 12 years. Have always found him a quiet and orderly man. He has, I think, avoided politics.

Rev. Benj. Millard.—Am Baptist minister at St. Ann's Bay, and am secretary of Jamaica Baptist Union.

I received a letter from Governor Eyre on the subject of Dr. Underhill's letter (*witness read it*).

Defendant is connected with our society, and is in good standing.

Jas. H. Hamilton.—Saddler in K., of Established Church. I was at the meeting and seconded P.'s resolution. Don't remember all that Palmer said, but he said Quashie would work if he were paid; that God made all men; and he said, We love our Queen. He did not talk about using force, nor anything that I heard about the Governor or Government. It is so long ago that I forget what he said; but he said God is opening up the path to better days, but nothing about taxes or colour, nor about the Flogging Bill.

Nothing could excite *me* against the authorities, and nothing that was said by Palmer was likely to have that effect. I should note down a man who tried.

A committee was appointed to wait upon the Governor, and I have heard nothing about it since.

Cross-examined by Williams.—Nothing was said about fish, &c.

Christopher Pryke.—Am a tailor in K., and member of Church of England. Was not at the meeting the whole time. Heard P. speak. He said nothing against the Government or the white people—nothing to disturb the peace or stir up the black people against the white.

Nairne was there. Did not call defendant to order. He said, They say Quashie is lazy; but he is not lazy; if they pay him he will work.

Alex. McFarlane.—I was present at the meeting. I am surveyor to the Board of Firewardens. Did not hear Palmer speak. It was an orderly meeting whilst I was there, and no interruptions whatever.

I met Fouche several times after the St. Thomas-in-the-East outbreak. I have seen him taking notes at our Firewarden meetings, and he sometimes applied to me for information as to documents.

Arthur Beckwith.—Am a minister of the denomination termed "Christians;" not a member of any Baptist society. Was editor of the "Tribune" newspaper. Know Fouche. I remember the meeting held at Oughton's chapel, and he was in my employ at that time. He came into my employ 22nd May, and remained till 5th August.

Oughton's meeting was 1st June. Fouche attended it at my direction. I should not like to publish a report of his without first revising it. He was in the habit of leaving out words, such as "not," &c.

H. Thos. Dorman.—Was present at the Underhill meeting. Came in just as Palmer commenced to speak. Nothing was said showing ill-will against anyone. He said Quashie must educate his children, then they will be able to seek their rights in a legitimate way. There was no feeling exhibited in the room but once, when a person came in who would not take off his hat.

Those present were mostly tradesmen; several could read and write. No excitement. Saw none—heard of none.

Nairne, the inspector of police, was present.

Cross-examined.—Defendant spoke in his usual manner, if anything, quieter than usual. Heard him speak at Oughton's and Gardener's.

Re-examined.—The *Resolutions* were published in the journals.

Richard Brown.—Saw Palmer at the meeting and heard him speak. He said nothing against the Government nor against the white or coloured people. Nothing to make me discontented with

my lot in life. Nor does he preach anything of the sort. He said Quashie was not lazy, he would work if he was paid.

Wm. L. O'Brien.—Heard P. speak at the meeting. He said that I understood as likely to set class against class. Nothing against the white or coloured people. He said that every one ought to speak out his woes, as there were people in England leading the way. What they suffered was from people in the Island; it was without reference to class or colour.

John B. Armstrong.—Am a member of P.'s congregation. Heard the whole of defendant's speech. Nothing was said to make me discontented with any white or coloured people. He said the whites were the friends of the black people. That the people should speak whilst their friends in England were looking after them. The bulk of the people at the meeting were mechanics. It was the first political meeting P. had been at.

I was a volunteer. P. asked me to join them.

Rev. Saml. Oughton.—Am a Baptist minister. Have known Palmer 12 years. Character has been unimpeachable all that time. Never knew him to interfere in politics till I heard of this charge. I did not know he was at the meeting in May.

He is of a very quiet peaceable disposition. He is a rapid speaker, and impossible for a reporter to take down what he says. He is animated, and with a good deal of gesture. Have often heard him express his indebtedness to the white people for what he is.

Wm. Griffith.—Never heard anything against defendant since I have known him, nor against his loyalty.

Resolution that defendant moved was then tendered, received, and read.

Mr. Philipps addressed the jury.

Mr. Heslop, Attorney-General, replied.

Verdict—Guilty.

Next morning Mr. Philipps moved in arrest of judgment on four several grounds, *pro forma.*

TUESDAY, February 20, 1866.

REGINA *v.* EML. JOS. GOLDSON.

USING SEDITIOUS LANGUAGE.

The Attorney-General and Mr. Williams for the prosecution.

The prisoner was undefended.

Thos. Jas. Johnson.—Serjeant of the K. police. Defendant was once head serjeant in the force in this town. It was at that time about 68 strong, and Mr. Leake was once our inspector. Defendant was discharged from the force. I joined it after Goldson did, that is, in May 1852.

Alberja was once superintendent of the G. Penitentiary. He has left the Colony.

John Jonas Hart.—Am a J. P. for Kingston, and presided upon a charge against a man named Myrie. He was prosecuted by Mr. Branday, and the charge was one of assault upon Mr. B.'s wife. Mr. Joseph Stines and Mr. Brice were the magistrates who sat with me. Evidence was gone into on both sides, and a conviction followed.

Cross-examined by Defendant.—It was my week of service, the assault tried was that on Branday himself. Our sentence was unanimous. 90 days in the G. P. The offence was becoming frequent. Towards myself Goldson's conduct was respectful, and in the force it was good.

George Fouche.—Was connected with the "Sentinel" newspaper on the 3rd May, and I attended on that day at a public meeting held in this room (*i.e.* the court-house). A number of persons were round the table, Gordon, Roach, Harry, Crole, Batty, Beckwith, Goldson, &c. Kelly Smith was secretary.

Defendant addressed the meeting, and at that time from 200 to 250 persons were present, principally labouring people.

Goldson said:—The negro was oppressed and trampled under foot on every side by a wicked Government. But we will not submit to such a state of things; the time is come for us to stand up in a body and seek for our rights and privileges as British subjects. This state of things cannot continue long. Look into the House of Assembly, there is not a single black man there, nor in the post office, nor in the customs, nor in the merchants' stores in this city. But let me tell these men the time is not far distant when they will repent it and rue the day. This is the black man's country, not the white man's, and we will have it. Nothing is ever made of the poor negro but a poor policeman. The highest he can rise to is a serjeant. See what the cripple old Governor has done (defendant held up a newspaper), he has granted Mr. Leake, who is a great drunkard, 200*l.* But it won't be a grant, it will be continued from year to year. But what have they given me? I, who have faithfully served the country for many years—nothing.

And do you know why? It is on account of *this* (and he pointed to his naked arm). You know I am a nigger and Mr. L. is a white man, and that is the reason he has a grant and I have nothing.

I was a serjeant of police, and was turned out of my office by the custos Bowerbank for nothing. We are doomed to suffer, to be trodden under foot on all sides, though the black people form the greatest part of the population, and pay the most of the taxes.

The House of Assembly make one law for the white man and one for the black man. I'll show it to you. You pay 7*s.* 6*d.* for your mule and ass to carry your provisions to market. The planters pay 3*d.* for their breeding stock.

But we can't suffer these oppressions; they are too heavy for us. The time is come for us to rise in a body and seek our rights as British subjects.

Never mind; it is time to throw off this oppressive yoke which the Government have laid on our backs. The time is come when we shall revenge ourselves.

A Flogging Bill has passed the Assembly, but they will never be able to carry it into law. It was only intended for the negro, not for the white or coloured man. But *this* negro (putting his hand on

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his breast) never will be flogged. I would rather die, and spill every drop of my blood first. Watch the state of affairs, and see how things are conducted. See how the negro is oppressed.

If a negro takes a few joints of cane, the planter magistrate will have him flogged.

Not long ago a black man named Myrie assaulted Mr. Branday, a white man. The case was tried at the petty court, and five magistrates sat. Mr. Bicknell was absent, but he should have been there, for he receives four or five hundred a year. Mr. Hart sat as a judge, and Myrie was sent to the Penitentiary—not fined—merely for assaulting a white man. If Myrie had been a white or coloured man, he would have been fined, and not sent to the Penitentiary. What does Hart know about the law? If it had been one of the Jew or mulatto boys that H. employs, he would have fined, not confined him; but Myrie was a poor negro.

Not long ago Alberga, a white man, committed a robbery, and nothing was done to him; but if it were poor me, the "*Pen.*" would pick me up (he meant the "*Penitentiary*"). Let me warn the Government how they make me a convict; they would repent it, for I am not the man to submit to such a thing.

Defendant was cheered very much as to Myrie's matter, and also when he said, Time for us to show a different state of things.

He made some allusions to Mr. Brice, and as to his ignorance. Mr. B. was one of the justices.

I took notes and transcribed them that night for Mr. Johnson, of the "Sentinel." They were suppressed, and no notes of the speeches were published in any of the papers.

I afterwards gave my book to Mr. H. Kemble, in October, and, either in October or November, at Mr. Kemble's request, I made a transcript of the notes.

The defendant was cheered repeatedly.

Cross-examined.—Am a native of Westmoreland, and came to K. in October 1847. I afterwards left, and returned again in 1861. I followed several occupations, and subsequently became a reporter. I went with Goldson in the "Cordelia" to Morant Bay, and was a witness there.

Goldson struck me once, and we had a quarrel, but we made friends. Know two persons named Pratt and Miller. Did not offer to bet five shillings to one in Miller or Pratt's presence, on the 23rd January, in Water Lane, that I would convict Goldson and send him to the Penitentiary.

Did *not* say in March's presence, at the corner of Port Royal and Church Streets, that defendant would not escape me. Nor in Dixon's presence, on the 26th January, that defendant ought to be hanged. Milholland has called me to ask how the case was progressing at the time.

Defendant was in custody when I furnished my notes to H. Kemble. He did make a statement at the meeting about the tax on stock.

Fitzherbert Batty.—Was connected with the "Standard" newspaper. On the 3rd May I was sent to attend the meeting by Mr. Geo. Levy. I saw Fouche there. He took notes, and so did I. They were on slips of demy paper. I destroyed them, as the report was suppressed.

Heard Goldson speak; and there were upwards of 200 persons present, chiefly illiterate persons in humble life.

Was applied to by the Government for my notes. H. Kemble afterwards read me a statement purporting to be a report; substantially it was correct; the leading points sworn to by Fouche are correct.

Defendant spoke with considerable excitement, and it was sufficient to excite the temper of the persons present. The purport was the oppression of the black population by the white and coloured people. The resolution Goldson proposed was upon the administration of justice; and he instanced Myrie's case. He said, on ordinary occasions it was difficult to get a quorum of justices, but on that occasion no less than five sat. He said Myrie was confined instead of being fined. That Mr. Bicknell would only have fined him. The reason defendant gave was, that Branday was white and Myrie a black man. Also that Alberga was a coloured man, and nothing was said about his going from Jamaica.

So also he spoke of Mr. Leake, the inspector of police. He alluded to the grant to him, and said that he (Goldson), as serjeant of police, got nothing, whilst Leake, who was a drunkard, had a grant which would be given yearly.

Cross-examined.—I have known Goldson for ten years; he was a very good and effective officer, and was a good detective.

(It was then admitted on the part of the prosecution that up to a certain time Goldson's behaviour was correct.)

He told me he considered those concerned in the outbreak at Morant Bay ought to be severely punished.

The excitement at the meeting was in consequence of a person named Hepburn coming into the room with his hat on, and refusing to remove it. Goldson was not speaking at that time.

Hy. J. Kemble.—I received a statement from Fouche, and the indictment is framed upon it. I know of no reward being offered for evidence.

Cross-examined.—The statement was given to me early in November, and I think defendant was then at Morant Bay.

Alexander Nairne.—Am inspector of police. Goldson was once a serjeant in the force under Mr. Leake and Mr. Stewart. He was dismissed, after an investigation, by order of the Government. In August or September last year Goldson came to me at, I think, my office (a letter was shown to witness); he came about some appointment. He said he wished that of "detective officer" for Kingston. He said he should be a very useful officer, and would stand by the Government. That he was without occupation and was starving. He said he thought the Governor ought to appoint him, Kelly Smith, and Roach to some situation.

Said that he was a man of influence among the people; that if he got an appointment, and Kelly Smith another, and Roach the grant which the Assembly had given him, the Governor would strengthen his arm by doing so. That he should be a staunch adherent of Government; otherwise, having nothing to do, he would go from parish to parish and tell the people the taxes were lavishly spent.

If I fail, he said, in procuring an appointment, I will get Kelly Smith to introduce me to General Lamotte and go to Hayti. And he said if he did not get on there he would return to Jamaica.

Letter, 29th Sept.—I advised the appointment, though aware at the time *why* Goldson had been dismissed.

Heard Goldson speak.

Cross-examined.—I proposed to Goldson to return to the force. He had employment at the time at the market. He gave me useful information whenever I applied to him. I think the conversation was a month before I wrote the letter of 29th, but am not certain.

Have known defendant for 20 years. Whilst he was in the police force I considered him a zealous and efficient officer, and he assisted me afterwards whenever disturbances took place at the Sollas M.

His conduct since has been orderly.

Defendant called no witnesses,

But himself addressed the jury.

He urged that if the language he had used had been seditious, Mr. Nairne was present and would have checked it.

Mr. Williams replied.

Verdict, Guilty.

And defendant was sentenced at the same time.

Imprisonment, 20 days in the common gaol.

SPECIAL COMMISSION COURT, KINGSTON.

Thursday, 22nd February 1866.

REGINA *v.* WM. KELLY SMITH, JAS. FRAS. ROACH, EML. JOS. GOLDSON, ISAAC MOSES VAZ, THOMAS HARRY, EDWIN PALMER, DR. R. GEO. BRUCE, ALEXR. PHILIPS, SIDNEY LEVIEN, JOHN HECETT CROLE.

CONSPIRACY.

The indictment contained ten counts. All charged a combination to excite to discontent and sedition amongst the black population against the Government, to induce the belief that the Government was oppressive, and to excite one class of the population against another.

Some of the counts alleged a combination simply amongst the defendants themselves, others a combination jointly with G. W. Gordon, and others a combination jointly with Gordon, Lawrence, and McLaren.

The Attorney-General and Mr. Williams for the prosecution. Mr. Horne Payne defended Roach, Goldson, Vaz, and Harry. Mr. Philipps appeared for Palmer, Dr. Bruce, and Philips.

Levien, Crole, and Kelly Smith were undefended.

Levien applied to postpone the trial on the ground that he had not his witnesses in attendance to answer the charge against him.

The court denied the application, as Mr. Levien had had abundant time to prepare his defence.

After a challenge to the array and some pleas in abatement, tendered and received *pro formâ*, and *pro formâ* overruled,

The case was opened by Mr. Williams.

2 Russ. 697.

Henry J. Kemble.—Am solicitor for this prosecution. Early in November last I received a box containing some letters. 17th May 1865.

One dated 23rd June was from Levien to Gordon.
„ 4th July, Levien to Gordon.
„ 23rd June, Levien to Bruce, addressed My dear.
„ 11th Sept., Levien to Bruce.
„ 19th Sept. 1863, Gordon to Levien.

In the same box I found some MSS. resolutions and some letters.

5th June 1865. Vaz to Bruce.
6th Sept. 1865. Lancet Hall to G. Callaghan, purports to be a copy.
12th Sept., Gordon to Bruce.
13th Oct., Levien to Executive Committee.
17th „ Veronian to Editor of "Tribune," in envelope, a signature, B. Watson Dacres.
Sunday morning. Bruce to Alexr. Philips.
Part of a letter without date or address, R. G. B.
Three letters in an envelope, with an endorsement by Col. Nelson. 25th August 1865. Signed by Bruce, without address.
15th Sept., Bruce to Gordon. 29th Sept., Bruce to Gordon.
13th Oct., Alexr. Philips to Bruce.
Also two lists of volunteers enlisted and to be enlisted.

The resolutions are 13, and paper signed A. Phillips, first name of a committee.

Previously to this I had received a larger box containing some papers and "County Union" and "Watchman" newspapers belonging to A. Phillips and to Levien.

The "County Union" newspapers were arranged by my clerk, and I marked them consecutively 1 to 86.

There was a crocus bag in the large box. This (bag produced) is it; the newspapers were in it.

Both boxes were given to me by Henry John Bicknell, and both were fastened.

I also received this, parcel produced, addressed to G. W. Gordon. It contains the resolutions passed at a public meeting in St. Thomas-in-the-East, held 12th August 1865. "Levien, printer, Montego "Bay."

I think this parcel was in the large box. I received this paper from Mr. Bicknell also. I think after the boxes were sent to me.

(A list of names.)

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Encl. in No. 56.

Philipps examined.—The papers here, the letters, are a selection from the contents of the small box; all manuscript.

The larger box had the newspapers and other printed papers in it. The papers I produce from it are of my selection. At first Defendant Philips was summoned as a crown witness and he applied for his papers.

I think that the boxes were nailed, at all events not open. I broke open the small one myself.

Mr. KEMBLE was re-called.

I received these papers, papers then shown to witness, from Mr. Wm. R. Myers. Amongst them is this MS. letter from Kelly Smith to Dr. Underhill, dated 23rd May 1865; and one from Dr. Underhill to him, dated 12th July 1865, John St., Bedford Row, London.

Also some resolutions signed by G. W. Gordon, as chairman of the Underhill meeting (Kingston), 3rd May 1865.

I know G. W. Gordon's writing and this is it. The Executive Committee sent some papers for my inspection. The whole were Gordon's, and were in a very large box. One was an agreement between him and Vaz, dated 14th April 1862.

Also received some papers of Roach's from Mr. Nairne. Among them a letter from Gordon to Roach, 28th April 1865, it is in Gordon's hand. Also one from Roach to Gordon, 6th June 1865, with an endorsement on it by Gordon.

I also received from Mr. Nairne some papers which he had taken from Crole. Amongst them a letter from Gordon to Crole, 19th March 1865. Another from same to same, 13th April 1865.

This letter from Kelly Smith to Mr. Hosack I think came from Mr. Myers, clerk of the Executive Committee, it is dated 4th October 1865.

I produce this letter in G. W. Gordon's handwriting. Dr. Bowerbank had it, and it came to me subsequently. It is a requisition after a public meeting in St. Thomas-in-the-East. It is "headed," "State of the Island," and it closes with the words, "*do your duty on the 29th July.*"

By Mr. Payne examined.—Can't say who brought the large box, but Mr. Bicknell told me he had sent it.

The papers from Mr. Nairne were handed to me by himself.

By Mr. Levien examined.—I have more of your letters than those produced.

Henry John Bicknell.—I myself delivered the two boxes to H. J. K., and had examined the papers in them or most of them previously. I had brought both the boxes from Morant Bay, and had received them from Brigadier-General Nelson or Capt. Adcock, his aide-de-camp; had taken some of the papers with me to Morant Bay; can't identify them, but what I took I brought back with me along with the others.

Those were given to me by General Nelson. I think I received the papers I took to Morant Bay from Mr. Myers. They were in a bag, and this letter came with it addressed to me.

The day Gordon was arrested I seized some of his papers at his office. I put them into a box after reading some. The box was a packing case, and I saw it nailed up and placed under the charge of Lieut. Brand.

The box was addressed to the Governor. This was a day or two after the arrest. I went myself to Morant Bay, 2nd November. Whilst there I received a great many papers, principally letters.

Among them these:—

1. Levien to "My dear Friend" (Bruce). 17th May 1865.
2. Same to Gordon. 23rd June 1865.
3. Same to same. 4th July 1865.
4. Same to "My dear Friend" (Bruce). 17th August 1865, midnight.
5. Same to "My dearest Friend" (Bruce). 11th Sept. 1865.
6. A complaint from Mr. Levien against Counaldi. 13th October 1865. Addressed to the Executive Committee.
7. Gordon to Levien. 19th Sept. 1863.
8 and 9. Newspapers.
10. Vaz to Bruce. 5th June 1865.
11. Anonymous to Mr. Callaghan, addressed from Lancet Hall. 6th Sept. 1865.
12. Gordon to Bruce. 2nd or 12th Sept. 1865, marked copy.
13. Phillips to same. 13th Oct. 1865.
14. Veronian to Editor of "Tribune." 17th Oct. 1865.
15. Bruce to —— Sunday morning.
16. A portion of an undated letter. An envelope with General Nelson's signature on it, containing three letters.
17. Bruce to ——, private and confidential. 26th August 1865.
18. Same to Gordon. 15th Sept. 1865.
19. Same to same. 29th Sept. 1865.

But I cannot say whether these were among the papers I seized at Gordon's office.

Philipps examined.—I put the letters into the box myself which was brought from Morant Bay. Those I considered of the less importance were put into the larger box, and that was dragged from the wharf in K. The small box I carried myself to the Peace Office.

The papers were under Mr. Day's charge before they went to Morant Bay.

Levien examined.—Can't say how General Nelson got No. 6.

Kelly Smith examined.—Don't recollect who brought the papers from Myers.

Henry Adcock.—Was General Nelson's aide-de-camp at Morant Bay. A bag was shown to witness. I wrote these words upon it, and put the newspapers (County Unions) into it; nothing else. Some were for 1864, some for 1865. I gave the bag to Bicknell, and I think he put it into a large box. McGlashan a basket of papers, and some others in a brown paper parcel. All were MSS. Those in he brown paper parcel were examined at Morant Bay by General Nelson and Mr. Bicknell.

Witness identified No. 5, the resolutions No. 22, and Nos. 20 and 21. They are a list of names. Can speak confidently as to the envelope with Nos. 17, 18, and 19, but not as to its contents.

Philipps examined.—The newspapers were at my quarters on the floor for about 24 hours before I put them back into the bag. My quarters were a room in an empty house.

Payne examined.—Can't swear to No. 22 nor to No. 20.

Levien examined.—No watch was set over the newspapers. Others might have been added.

Re-examined.—It was during martial law I received the papers, and there was a sentry posted at the door of the house.

Colonel Nelson.—Was local Brigadier-General.

I received No. 1 from the Governor. Can't say I got No. 2, but I received it at Morant Bay. Read No. 3 at Morant Bay. Recollect particularly the reference to Lord Geo. Gordon. Received No. 4 from the Governor. Received No. 5 amongst other papers. No. 6 was transmitted to me by the Governor's order. I don't know anything of No. 7. No. 10 I received from the Governor. So I did No. 11, No. 12, and No. 13. Can't say where No. 14 came from, but I saw it at Morant Bay. I received No. 15 from the Governor. Saw No. 16 at Morant Bay; can't say where it came from. Nos. 17, 18, 19, I made a memorandum on this envelope, and I took its three enclosures from a bag, with a brass plate engraved with name, G. W. Gordon, on it. No. 21 was sent to me by the Governor, but I can't say if No. 20 was. Can't say where No. 22 came from, but I marked it at Morant Bay.

A box came from the gunboat filled with papers; received several. One chiefly with Gordon's papers in it. McGlashan brought some paper, which I received from Lieut. Adcock. Had numbers of "County Unions," but no time to read them. All the papers sent by the Governor I put into my despatch box and delivered them to Bicknell. The others were put aside, but eventually were given to him too.

Philipps examined.—The whole of the papers from the Governor came in one envelope. The letter alluding to Lord Geo. Gordon came with the batch of papers. They were given to my aide-de-camp.

HERVEY ADCOCK re-called.

Letter from Myers to Bicknell shown to witness. Mr. Bicknell handed this to me; identified a parcel shown to witness as seen by him at Morant Bay. I received papers relating to G. W. Gordon, Bruce, Levien, and Phillips from Bicknell and Mr. Glashan, and through Col. Nelson from Governor Eyre.

No. 9, a "County Union," shown to witness of 17th October 1865, this was one I received.

Philipps examined.—Every paper which came to Morant Bay, I believe, passed through my hands; but it might have been otherwise.

Payne examined.—Can't swear to the particular paper.

Brigadier-General NELSON re-called.

I received no papers connected with Gordon, Bruce, Levien, or Phillips except through my aide-de-camp.

His Excellency Edward John Eyre.—No. 1 was brought to me by Dr. Hamilton, and I enclosed it in an envelope to General Nelson. I remember seeing No. 2, but can't say to whom I gave it, or from whom I received it. I think I saw it for the first time on board the "Wolverine." Received No. 4 from Dr. Hamilton and I enclosed it as No. 1. I recollect No. 5 particularly, it came from Dr. Hamilton, and I transmitted it to General Nelson in the envelope with others. No. 6 also came from Dr. Hamilton, and I gave it to Myers. Don't know from whom No. 7 came nor to whom I gave it, but I have seen it. I received No. 10 from Dr. Hamilton and forwarded it to General Nelson. So I did No. 11, No. 12, and No. 13. I remember nothing about No. 14. No. 15 came from Dr. Hamilton and I forwarded it to General Nelson. Remember nothing about No. 16. I recollect seeing Nos. 17, 18, and 19, but I don't know where they came from or to whom given.

I received No. 20 and No. 21 from Dr. Hamilton. I am not sure I sent them to General Nelson. Some of the names are ticked off in one. I recollect that perfectly. I think I transmitted them to General Nelson. I know nothing of No. 22. Paper shown to witness (initialed B, C), can't say from whom it came or to whom I gave it; but I think it was forwarded to me by Mr. Bicknell or by Mr. Kemble.

Philipps examined.—I think all the papers were sent to General Nelson under one cover.

Dr. Hamilton, Member of Executive Committee.—I received No. 1 from Mr. Sinclair, who had taken it from Dr. Bruce. I know nothing of No. 2 nor of No. 3. I received No. 4 from Sinclair, so I did No. 5. Recollect No. 6; but can't say if it came from Sinclair. I know nothing of No. 7. No. 10 I received from Sinclair, so I did No. 11 and 12. Know nothing of No. 13. I have seen No. 14, but know nothing further about it. Know nothing of No. 15. I have seen No. 16, but know nothing else about it. Have seen Nos. 17, 18, and 19, but did not receive them from Sinclair. No. 20 was taken from Phillips, delivered to me as being so. No. 21, I think, I got from Sinclair, and it was among Dr. Bruce's papers. I know nothing of No. 22.

A basket was shown to witness, he said this was delivered to me; it was tied up and sealed when I got it.

Sinclair handed me this bag also. All the papers I have identified were taken from the basket or the bag. Both were brought to me on the 26th October; it was before they were sent to Morant Bay.

Philipps examined.—The papers said to have been taken from Phillips were in a different package.

Payne examined.—I found No. 20 among Phillips' papers.

Kelly Smith examined. I did authorize Mr. Myers to hand over Smith's letter to H. J. Kemble,

JAMAICA. I don't know how the letters came to the Executive Committee at their place of meeting in Kingston; but I found them there.

Re-examined.—There is no document marked 21.

Wm. R. Myers, Secretary to the Executive Committee.—I forwarded No. 6 by the Governor's order to Brigadier-General Nelson. I sent other papers, some printed and some written, to General Nelson by Bicknell, besides No. 6. I sent him some also by the post.

The printed papers were either newspapers or printed resolutions. This (the brown paper parcel) was one of the parcels; and there was also a parcel of newspapers. They (*i.e.* the newspapers) were given to me either by the Governor or the Executive Committee, with directions to send them on. The others were sent to the Executive Committee's Office in Kingston.

Philipps examined.—The papers (newspapers) are the same, though I can't say whether they be the whole of them. They may not be the whole.

Kelly Smith examined.—I received some papers from Mr. Nairne of Kelly Smith's, and by direction of the Executive Committee I gave them to H. J. Kemble.

Adjourned.

Friday, 23rd February 1866.

Augustus C. Sinclair, Lieut. of Volunteers.—22nd November I was ordered on secret service, and I left Spa. Town in the evening of that day with Mr. Harvey and 21 volunteers. Henriques acted as quartermaster-serjeant.

Next day, the 23rd, we went to Dr. Bruce's, in Vere, and seized some papers there. Harvey and Henriques went with me. I put part of the papers into this bag; the others into this towel. They were taken to Amity Hall. They were quite secure there, but not sealed up. All, whether in the bag or not, were properly secured. I delivered over the whole next morning in the same condition. I marked the basket 24 B. and the bag 23 B.

On the 24th I went to Haye's Savanna, and there arrested Phillips and seized his papers. I took those to Amity Hall in two towels, and afterwards put one of them into the basket. The other I emptied into the basket (*i.e.*, loose); it was marked P. 24–10–1865.

I afterwards handed these over to Dr. Hamilton.

Philipps examined.—Took Bruce into custody the night of 23rd. He was put into a gig, was handcuffed, and had a rope put round his body.

The papers spoken of were not under my own charge whilst I went to arrest Phillips.

Bruce's papers were put into the bag, and Phillips' into the basket. The papers were taken from the Alley to Old Harbour Market, and both prisoners went in the cart with them. The whole were under a guard at Old Harbour Market. The prisoners were kept confined in the court-house.

Re-examined.—The papers were in the same state when handed over to Dr. Hamilton that they were when I sealed them up, and so they were when they left Amity Hall.

Thomas Harvey.—I accompanied Sinclair, and went with him to Dr. Bruce's, and there I myself seized some of his papers. This bag was there, and I went with it to Amity Hall. Saw it again next morning, the day after it was put into a cart, and I did not see it any more till its arrival in Spanish Town. I think it was then in the same state.

Went also to Phillips', and there we seized some papers, which were tied up in towels and taken to Amity Hall. Phillips' papers were then put into a basket, which was covered over with osnaburgh and sealed. The bag Sinclair sealed. He used a ring for the impression. At Phillips' house I saw a small mahogany box, which I took out into the yard and examined.

In it I found two lists of names; one of volunteers *to be raised.* The lists are Nos. 20 and 21. This (a smaller paper) is of persons *enlisted* as volunteers. I read some papers next day at Amity Hall which had come from Dr. Bruce's. Read the resolutions at the Vere meeting there also. The paper had come from Phillips, No. 22.

Philipps examined.—Part of Bruce's papers were put into the bag at the time; the rest next day at Amity Hall.

Emanuel E. Henriques.—Was Quartermaster of Volunteers, and accompanied Sinclair. Harvey was second in command. We forced the door at Bruce's, searched, and seized what papers we could find. The search was by myself and another serjeant; the rest of the force was round the house.

Some of the papers we found were printed; they were the "Watchman" and the "County Union." Some of the papers were put into this carpet bag; the rest into a towel like this. I gave the bag to Sullivan; the towel to a policeman.

I remained in company with them till we reached the Alley. There the prisoners were left, and then I went to Amity Hall. The papers remained with those who had them.

The papers were at Amity Hall when I got there, and I am certain the bag and towel were in the the same state as when I saw them last before.

Did not lose sight of the papers more than 20 minutes.

I put these marks on (the bag and basket) at Sinclair's request.

Philipps examined.—We left a good many of the newspapers behind. The carpet bag and basket were kept in the same room with the volunteers. A guard was over them so far as I know; there ought to have been.

Did not lose sight of the papers from Amity Hall to Old Harbour Market, nor from Old Harbour Market, but I was not with them whilst at Old Harbour.

John M'Glashan.—Am Lieut. of Volunteers. I took two packages of papers to Morant Bay, and there delivered them to Capt. Adcock. The parcels were closed up; some, I think, were printed papers. Both packages were delivered to me by Mr. Wm. L. Stewart, and I handed over the whole to Capt. Adcock.

Philipps examined.—One of the parcels was a basket; it was sealed, but the paper parcel was only tied up.

Kelly Smith examined.—Left Kingston in the night of 3rd November, and arrived at Morant Bay between three and four next morning.

Charles Bacquie, H. J. Kemble's clerk.—I searched a large box at our office by Mr. K.'s orders, and found some loose papers in it, and some in the bag. The bag was tied up and marked as it is now. It is at our office now. Mr. Bicknell said he had sent it.

I assorted and counted out the newspapers in the bag. Were all "County Unions," beginning in January and ending in November. I handed over the papers to Mr. K., and they are in this (the brown paper) parcel.

John M'Kecknie, Master of a droghar, the "Experience," belonging to Roger Goffe.—She was chartered in September from Kingston to Montego Bay. A parcel was given to me at Levien's printing office by Watkin, and this is it, as far as I can tell from the mark. I was to bring it up for G. W. Gordon, and I landed the parcel at M'Cormack's wharf till the freight should be paid. I told Gordon of it. The parcel was not taken from the wharf nor the freight paid.

Examined.—Knew nothing of the contents, but I saw the parcel afterwards at Mr. Kemble's office.

Peter Watson.—I was employed at the "County Union" office by Sidney Levien last October. He is the editor of the paper. I had been in his employment then about eight or ten months. The address on this parcel is my writing. It was put up at the office during my absence, and I directed it in part and sent it away. I believe the rest of the address is Levien's. I gave the parcel to M'Kecknie. Know of no other Sidney Levien than the editor of the "County Union."

I wrote the word "*Experience*" on the parcel. The words "freight payable at Kingston" to my belief is Levien's writing.

Examined.—On an emergency I act as a compositor.

Mr. L. Stewart.—Last November I handed over some written and printed papers to John M'Glashan, which were seized at Levien's office at Montego Bay.

The papers were in parcels, two parcels, and some in a champagne basket. Altogether near three years' "County Union" newspapers, 1863, 1864, and 1865. The written papers were miscellaneous letters and other writings.

I made the seizure myself. I took every care of the papers, and they were in my custody the whole time. I handed them over to Philipps in the same state I received them.

Levien examined.—Cannot point out any of the newspapers or letters in particular.

Re-examined.—I was not authorized to read private letters, and therefore I did not.

I only saw one letter, and that was to Dr. Bruce. I put *that* into a parcel with the others.

Questioned by Court for *Kelly Smith.*—I saw you on board the "Aboukir," but not in irons. I was six hours on board.

Arnold Malabre.—I think I received this parcel by "Experience," marked "526 copies," freight 1*s.* from M'Cormack's wharf. Can't say what was inside it. I delivered the parcel unopened to Mr. Drummond, and it was taken to the Clerk of the Peace's office. The parcel was addressed to G. W. Gordon. Can't state the precise day I delivered up the parcel, but it was after the outbreak, and I think after Gordon's arrest.

J. M. Macneil.—Am C. P. of Kingston. I got a parcel at Malabre's store, and *this* (parcel produced) is it. It was during the outbreak. I took the parcel to the post office, and then sent it with a letter to the custos, with directions to deliver them into his own hands.

Payne examined.—To the best of my knowledge and belief this is the same parcel.

Simon Sontar, in partnership with Jamieson.—We have subscribed to the "County Union" since April 1864. We pay the subscription to Levien, and always did. Have corresponded with him, and believe these Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 to be his writing.

Am acquainted with Dr. Bruce's handwriting. I have corresponded with him, and believe this letter, No. 15, to be his, but can't speak to the envelope; so is No. 16.

I corresponded with G. W. Gordon. Knew his hand, and believe these No. 7 and No. 12 to be his.

We receive the "County Union" every post day. This is one, 17th October 1865; it came to us through the post office.

Philipps examined.—I put a mark on the paper; was asked to do so. It had been out of my hands before I put the mark. My clerk delivered me the paper.

Levien examined.—The paper was out of my possession for a week at the Commercial Rooms. The address on it is the same.

Re-examined.—We do not receive duplicate copies, and the address was on the paper when it went to the Commercial Rooms.

Thomas P. Williams.—I live in Vere, and know Dr. Bruce and Phillips. They both live in Vere too. Know Bruce's handwriting; both these No. 15 *and the envelope* are his, so are No. 16, No. 17, No. 18, and No. 19.

These are Phillips' writing, No. 13, No. 20, No. 21, and No. 22. Have corresponded with Phillips, and have seen him write.

Alexander Nairne.—Am Inspector of Police for Kingston, made a seizure in October of some of Goldson's and Kelly Smith's papers, and I gave them to Mr. Myers at Date Tree Hall, where the Executive Committee held their meetings.

Goldson's papers were tied up in this handkerchief;—*Smith's* put into the basket.

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I searched Palmer's house, but found nothing. At Crole's I found two letters.

This is one; A. 19th March 1865. Can't speak to the handwriting.

This is the other; B, 13th April 1865. Don't know the writing.

Examined.—It is only from the contents I am able to speak to the letters. Searched Harry's house; found nothing suspicious there. Searched Roach's house; found nothing.

Re-examined.—I found this at Sinclair's house (it was withdrawn).

Adolphus P. Dunker.—Was once Mr. Lawson's runner, and was sent to Cherry Garden, G. W. Gordon's place. I was left in charge there under a writ. I found this paper there in the counting house. It is a list of names, *H.* One of the signatures to it is *J. McLaren.*

George Fouche.—Know Kelly Smith's writing, and have corresponded with him. These papers (reporters' slips) are his writing. Knew G. W. Gordon's writing, and have corresponded with him, and have seen him write. This is his, *Notes of Grievances*, 28 *April* 1865, *C*; So is this, *Resolutions* 3rd May, 1865, *D.* Kelly Smith brought some resolutions of that date to the "Sentinel" newspaper office and are published there. This is a copy of that paper *F.* Those that appear in it are the same resolutions of the same date.

Isaac Moses Vaz is the publisher of the "Watchman" newspaper, 14th *April* 1862, *I.* This is Kelly Smith's writing, Letter to *Dr. Underhill*, 23*rd May* 1865, *E.* So is this, K. Smith to Mr. Hosack, October 4th, 1865.

Kelly Smith examined.—I have seen you write repeatedly.

Hon. Wm. Hosack.—I received your letter from Kelly Smith on the 5th October (dated day before), *O.*

Kelly Smith examined.—You stopped me in the street a day or two before I received the letter, and asked me to recommend you for a public appointment, as you were starving.

I told you you had better put what you had to say in writing, and that if respectfully written I would show it to the Governor.

Rev. M. Philipps.—Acquainted with Dr. Underhill's writing. A paper was shown to witness, and he said to the best of my belief this is his. 12th *July* 1865. *G.* (Answer to K. Smith.)

John Sharp.—I was connected with the "Watchman" newspaper, from 1862 to August 1865, and was employed by Vaz. This paper is his writing *No.* 10, so is this, *I.* Vaz used to receive money on account of the paper; he used to ask anybody to make out the accounts, but *he* sent them out. This paper was brought to me by G. W. Gordon as a compositor after Johnson had given up the "Sentinel," and I was asked to compose it. *I put it into type and it was printed J.*

Papers shown to witness. I have no doubt these papers came from the "Sentinel" office.

Paper of *May* 8, 1865, addressed in Vaz's writing to			Clarke and David.
,,	July 31, 1865	,, ,,	H. G. Bruce.
,,	August 28, 1865	,, ,,	G. W. Gordon.
,,	September 14, 1865, can't speak to writing,		R. G. Bruce.
,,	October 5, 1865, address in Vaz's writing,		Dr. R. Bruce.

I believe two lines on this letter (shown to witness) to be in G. W. Gordon's writing, *K.*

Philipps examined.—There might be reprints of "Watchman" anywhere in the world.

Kelly Smith examined.—Fouche was employed at 5*s.* a week to write anything for the paper.

Re-examined.—I never heard of the reprint of a Jamaica newspaper.

Thos. Moody.—Was a printer in "Watchman" office; went there in July last year. This is Gordon's handwriting. Sharpe set up the type and I struck off 100 copies; was done by Gordon's directions, *J.*

Examined.—I printed off the copy at the "Sentinel" office.

Albert Da Costa.—Was once G. W. Gordon's clerk. Knew Lawrence, who was overseer of the Rhine estate. This letter is his writing, *K.*

Wm. Cathcart Gabay.—I knew E. K. Bailey, the whole of this is in his writing, *L*; the date is 17th October 1865. He lives in Morant Bay.

Examined.—Have not seen any of his writing since the fall of 1864. The name of McLaren in the list is his writing.

Gordon D. Ramsay.—I was in St. Thomas-in-the-East in October last, and picked up this (*L*) in Stony Gut. It was in a small basket about 14 yards from Paul Bogle's house. Island Castle is a chapel, and Bogle's house is beyond the chapel coming from Morant Bay.

Philipps examined.—It was not found in any house.

Gordon Ramsay recalled.—I found this, *M*, in Paul Bogle's cupboard.

Payne examined.—The house was pointed out as his. Don't know it of my own knowledge.

Levien examined.—All the present defendants were my prisoners in Morant Bay.

Kelly Smith examined.—Your behaviour at Morant Bay was very good indeed.

Fouche recalled.—*M* shewn to witness. This (the pencil writing) to the best of my belief in G. W. Gordon's writing.

Hon. Edwd. Jordon.—Am Governor's Secretary. This paper came to me in that character, *N.* It is No. 2,391 in my office. I received this letter 11th October, and sent it to the Governor directly. I answered it next day in accordance with the Governor's Minute, addressing the answer to the persons whose names appear in it. The letter went by post.

Examined.—As Mayor of Kingston I received a requisition for a public meeting on the 3rd May. I called a meeting in the usual manner. I was asked to take the chair at it; did not agree to do so, because I was not well and the hour fixed was rather late, otherwise I should have been there.

Roach was the person who asked me, and the excuse was made to him. I said I would attend if I possibly could be there.

It arose I believe out of the Underhill letter, and it was to take those topics into consideration; that was stated in the advertisement. I considered it a very proper object for a public meeting.

Palmer has borne an irreproachable character, every one has spoken of him in the highest terms. *Roach's* character has also been unblemished. I have known him 15 years, and he is about the last man I should have suspected of seditious agitation.

Goldson was an excellent officer.

John Thomas, Orderly at King's House.—In October last a letter was brought by a man named Francis Gordon. I took the letter to Mr. Gordon at the Secretary's office. It was 11th October.

Francis Gordon.—I carried the letter to the King's House in Spanish Town, 11th October. It came from Stoney Gut. A man named Onslow gave it to me there and also accompanied me. It was only a few days before the rebellion. I left Spanish Town on Wednesday and heard of the row on Thursday evening.

Wm. Onslow.—I gave Gordon the letter and accompanied him to Spanish Town. I received the letter from Paul Bogle at Stoney Gut, where he lives.

Heslop A.G., then tendered in evidence the following letters and documents as per number and letter.

No. 1. *Read.* } Objected to by Mr. P. as
„ 2. *Read.* } not proving any concert.
„ 3. *Read.*
„ 4. *Read.*
„ 5. *Read.*
„ 6. *Read.*
„ 10. *Read.*
„ 12. *Read.*
No. 13. *Read.*
„ 16. *Read.*
„ 17. *Read.*
„ 18. *Read.*
„ 19. *Read.*
„ 20. } *Lists read.*
„ 21. }
„ 22. *Resolutions.*

A. Letter, Gordon to Crole, 19th March 1865, *read.*
B. Same to same, 13th April 1865, *read.*
C. Same to Roach, withdrawn.
D. Resolutions of 3rd May, 1865, *read.*
E. Letter, Kelly Smith to Dr. Underhill, 23rd May 1865, *read.*
Answer to it appended.
F. Published resolutions.
G. Dr. Underhill's answer, *read.*
H. Rejected by the Court.
I. Withdrawn.
J. Placard required for meeting, 14th August, *read.*
K. Letter by Lawrence, 8th August, *read.*
L. Letter of Bailey's, *read.*
M. Pencil pt. in Gordon's writing, *read.*
N. Bogle's letter addressed to the Governor, *read.*
O. Letter of Kelly Smith to Mr. Hosack, 11th October, *read.*

The Attorney-General then tendered in evidence certain "County Union" newspapers, to which reference was made in a letter from Levien to Bruce, and a paper found in Levien's possession, 12th September 1865.

The Court considered the evidence not receivable, and it was rejected.

Geo. Fouche.—Was connected with the press last May, and I attended the meeting of the 3rd at the Court-house. G. W. Gordon was in the chair, and Wm. Kelly Smith acted as secretary. Goldson, Harry, Roach, Palmer, and Crole were there. Vaz not there.

All except Roach and Smith spoke whilst I remained.

Palmer first; he spoke of the oppression of the negro race by the white and coloured people; said the planters employed and did not pay them. Said the Government was oppressive, and the taxes on their food very heavy; he said the flogging bill was passed for punishing the negro alone. The others spoke in the same manner. Goldson spoke about Myrie's case, and Crole of the oppression of the black people; he said they were trampled under foot, made beasts of burden; that the Governor's proclamation was a farce, and that the Government was immoral; that if the negro was fat enough the white man would eat him; he said the Government gave the people no education, that Jamaica was Quashie's country, and he would have it.

Heslop, A.G., then consented to a verdict of acquittal as to *Goldson*, *Crole*, *Harry*, *Palmer*, *Roach*, and *Vaz*.

The jury thereupon, by the direction of the Court, returned a verdict of Not Guilty against those defendants.

The Attorney-General then called—

Wm. Robinson Peart.—I live in Vere. A public meeting was held at the Alley in that parish on the 4th September. It was opposite a shop belonging to Mr. Wilkins. G. W. Gordon presided, and Dr. Bruce introduced him. He said G. had come to Vere to hear the people's grievances, and advise them. He said, I hope you will speak your minds fearlessly. I hope there are no cowards here. You will

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be allowed to say whatever you think proper. Mr. G. is a friend of the people, and you know what I am. Am not aware of other meetings in other parishes.

Examined.—I took notes in my pocket book. I was book-keeper at the bay at the time.

Re-examined.—Phillips was present, but I did not hear him.

Wm. D. Moore.—I live in Vere, and was a schoolmaster there. I called the meeting held at the Alley on the 4th September last. *Dr. Bruce* and *Mr. Phillips* were there, and Gordon. It was just concluding when I got there. He said what was published as the Queen's advice was not so; Phillips and Dr. B. must have heard him; or granting it was the Queen's advice, it only applied to the people of St. Ann.

He wanted, he said, to make a collection for the Anti-Slavery Society, but the people were too poor.

He called for three cheers for the Doctor.

Don't think the people were much excited. They did not appear to attend much to what was going on. The audience were the black population.

Three planters came there, and a voice cried out *Here are buckras coming.*

Adjourned.

Saturday, 24th February.

The defendants called no witnesses. Mr. Philipps contended there was no evidence against any of them of conspiracy to do anything.

The Court refused to stop the case, considering there was evidence, however slight, to go to the jury.

Wm. Kelly Smith then addressed the jury.

Levien followed at considerable length.

And then Mr. Philipps addressed the jury for Dr. Bruce and Phillips.

The Attorney-General replied.

Verdict, Not guilty for all the Defendants.

At the Special Commission.

The Queen *v.* Alexander Taylor.

February 26, 1866.

Before—

Myself,
Lyons,
Barclay, } *Commissioners.*

For the Murder of John Walton.

The Court adjourned to enable the prisoner to obtain (if possible) the assistance of counsel. The prisoner had pleaded not guilty.

Tuesday, February 27, 1866.

Before—

Myself,
Lyons,
Barclay, } *Commissioners.*

Mr. Hendrick, who had yesterday proceeded to Spanish Town for the purpose of procuring counsel in defence, stated that he had been unsuccessful. The case was then proceeded with.

Mr. Williams opened the case.

John Spence.—I'm a labourer. I lived in St. Thomas-in-the-East, at a place called Barrack. In October last I was in Mr. McPherson's employment; he was coroner. I remember the day of the outbreak in Morant Bay. About three weeks before, I saw the prisoner with others at a meeting-house at Church Corner; it was McLean's meeting-house; it is not so far as from here to the railway from the Morant court-house. I saw a number of people there, also prisoner, and one James McLaren, and Moses Bogle. I stood outside the meeting-house. When prisoner came out of the meeting he said they wanted back lands, and they were going to kill buckra; and, if I was working with Mr. McPherson, if ever he stopped my money. I told him yes, that he stopped my money when I did not do my work. McLaren was swearing the people at the meeting, and I saw him swear prisoner. McLaren told them they were to tell neither father or mother. I was at Morant Bay the night of the outbreak. Mrs. McPherson sent me to look for Mr. McPherson on the 11th October. I went to the bay at the Parade. The court-house had been already burnt down. The light of the court-house made the whole place light, but it was night. I saw John Taylor sitting down in the fort yard with a cutlass. Prisoner was not near him; but I saw him in the same fort yard at the back of the court-house with a torch in his hand. I left him, and by the time I got to the bridge going Kingston way, prisoner and his brother overtook me. He showed me a penknife. He said he had got a penknife from Mr. Walton and a watch chain, and if he had been a little smarter he had got the

watch too, but the rest of the Rebels came down and took it away from him. I knew Mr. Walton; he is dead. He was a magistrate. I, and prisoner, and his brother (John Taylor), and Francis Scott, went to the cottage. John Taylor is in the prison now, in the gaol.

Examined by Prisoner.—I don't know of any other Alexander Taylor than you that has been hanged already. You were not at your yard that night. I did not come and call you. I did not say Mrs. McPherson had sent me to find Mr. McPherson, and asked you to take a walk with me. I did not cut a bamboo and give to you. You did show me a watch chain and penknife; it was white-handled, and had four blades.

By me.—I'm quite sure prisoner is the man. I've known him a long time. I've never had any quarrel with him.

By Prisoner.—I don't know what sort of watch chain it was, or how long it was. I did not handle it. Francis Scott handled it. I only know it had four blades from what Scott said. I saw you with a torch. I saw no other person there. John Taylor pointed you out. There were other people in the Parade, but none where you were.

Francis Scott.—I know Morant Bay. I remember the day of the trouble. I know John Spence. I know prisoner. I saw him the night the trouble took place, in the Fort yard near the court-house. He had a light, a bamboo light in his hand. Mrs. McPherson sent me with John Spence to look for Mr. McPherson, the Mr. McPherson that is dead. We found the prisoner at the Fort yard. Only I and Spence went. I left the Fort yard and went round to the street, I and Spence, and prisoner went with us; he went back with us. He took a penknife and a watch chain out of his pocket and showed them to me. He said he had got them out of Mr. Walton's pocket. I knew Mr. Walton. He was a white gentleman. His face was red. Prisoner said if he was a little smarter he would have got the watch too. I'm sure prisoner is the man, I've known him long. I saw the knife, it had four blades and it was white. I handled it.

Examined by Prisoner.—I don't know of any Alexander Taylor besides you, hanged. The chain was white; it was silver. It was night, dark. I saw you going past the cottage towards Morant Bay in the morning. You would have to pass the cottage to go to Morant Bay, and I found you there at night. When you passed you had a shirt on. I never knew you work at the bay. I don't know which part you were waiting. I saw you go straight down the road. I saw lots of people pass also, but I did not know them. When you showed me the chain and knife, John Spence was there. Other people were there, but far off.

By me.—I've had no quarrel with prisoner. I'm sure the prisoner was the person who had the chain and knife. I've known him a long time.

John Brands.—I remember the day after the outbreak at Morant Bay. I know prisoner. I saw him the day after passing the "cottage" where I live, Mr. McPherson's place. I saw him between 6 and 7 in the morning; he was coming from the Bay going towards the road going up the valley. I heard him say the only thing he got from buckra was the penknife and watch chain from Mr. Walton. I know when the "Wolverine" came in, it was the same day. I saw prisoner a Thursday. She had not actually come in at that time, but she did the same day. I'm sure it was prisoner.

Examined by Prisoner.—You are the only Alexander Taylor that I know of. You were not much farther from me than you are now when I heard you. You were in the road.

John Dubuisson.—Last October I lived at Morant Bay. I'm a tinsmith. I saw people coming into the town on the 11th (Wednesday) of October. I followed them on the main road to the station. I saw them enter the station, and from there to the Parade. After they commenced fighting I made my way to the wharf by the seaside. I went by the wharf road, you can get to the court-house that way. I saw Mr. Walton, John Walton; he was a Justice of the Peace; he was a white man, an Irishman. I saw also Mr. Bowen. There were more than three or four persons round Mr. Walton. It was between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Bowen was on the wharf, and Walton was trying to get to the wharf, and the people penned him up. I know prisoner well enough; he was among the people. The people had nothing but sticks in their hands; most of them had sticks. Prisoner assisted others in licking Mr. Walton with a stick. They were all licking together. Prisoner had a stick. Then Walton fell down on the ground near the wharf, about ten yards from the shed. Then the people left him and went away. He drew himself up on his back, and got under the shed. He could not walk. About ten minutes after the people came back, and prisoner among them, and the people called out "Let's see if that fellow Walton's dead." He was not dead; and they shoved a stick down his throat. Prisoner was then standing up. Then Walton died immediately. Then the prisoner and a boy called Wright (who has been executed) had a contention for the watch and chain, they were gold. Prisoner took the chain and knife, and the other boy the watch. They plundered him directly after he died. I was about 40 yards off, just at the landing of the wharf. I could see all that was done. Mr. Bowen got on board the "Eleanor." I'm sure it was prisoner. Bowen could not, I think, have seen this. He had got away before. Mr. Walton could not get away from the shed. I saw his body there next morning at the same place, under the shed, only his shoes and hat gone.

Examined by Prisoner.—I saw lots of people there. Many were executed during martial law. You were not apprehended until after martial law. I was sent for three times before the court. I did not know you were in prison until I was sent for and saw you among other prisoners at the court at Gough's house. A policeman came for me. I challenged you there. Drysdale asked me to identify prisoners, but you were not among them. I've known you for ten years. Ewart, Becknell, and Lindo were at Gough's house when I identified you. My place of business is in a different part of the town from the gaol, and I don't have occasion to pass the gaol. I don't think I saw John Spence for a couple weeks after the disturbance.

Examined by a Juror.—I can't say who it was who shoved the stick down Walton's throat. I saw it done, but can't say who did it; they did so while lying on his back; there were men and women. Prisoner was in the crowd, and before it separated prisoner took the chain and knife, and another boy the watch.

Edward Wm. Major.—I'm a medical man practising in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was in the court-

JAMAICA. house on 11th October. I knew Mr. John Walton, a magistrate, a resident of the parish, an Irishman, a proprietor. I saw him alive at the Building Committee which took place before the Vestry met at the court-house in Morant Bay. He wore a watch that day, it was gold; but I am not positive whether the chain was gold or silver. I saw his body next morning. I'm positive it was his body, about half-past 6, at the wharf shed, close to the beach; the same wharf shed mentioned by the last witness. He had then no watch chain or watch, no hat or shoes; his coat and trousers were torn very much. The body was reclining against a quantity of lumber, face upwards, legs stretched on the ground, head partially backwards. I only noticed the head and face. They were very much bruised, and several wounds were on the head and face. I did not examine them minutely, but I should imagine he had received a very severe beating. There were contused wounds and incised wounds, such as a stick with sharp edges, or a cutlass would produce. The external wounds that I saw were sufficient to cause death. The mouth was wide open, also the eyes. I did not observe any particular bruise about the mouth. I did not examine the throat. There was nothing particular in the eyes. Suffocation would produce more distention of the eyes than I saw; but in a person almost dead there would not be the same amount of protusion. All this was in Morant Bay in St. Thomas-in-the-East, in the county of Surrey.

Case closed.

Prisoner called—

Edward Gordon.—I was at the cottage by land when John Spence came to call you. This was on the 11th October about 8 o'clock at night. I was lying down with fever and did not see Spence. I only know he came from what you told me. I heard his voice calling "Alick! Alick!" I'm sure you were then there.

Examined by Attorney-General.—John Spence gave evidence against me before Mr. Becknell and Mr. Ewart at Morant Bay.

Guilty.

Sentence of Death passed.

The above notes are a true copy of those in my note-book taken at the trial.

EDWARD KEMBLE, J.

Wednesday, February 28, 1866.

BEFORE THE SAME COMMISSION.

The Queen *v.* Robert Nicholas.

For the murder of AUGUSTUS HIRE.

Mr. Williams opened the case to the jury.

Alfred Southly Crowdy.—I knew the late Mr. Augustus Hire. He resided at Amity Hall in St. Thomas-in-the-East in the Plaintain Garden district in the county of Surrey. He was a magistrate of that parish. He was the attorney of Amity Hall. He had a son named Henry Hire. He is alive, and somewhere on the north side. I know Mr. Creighton; he is not now in the Island. I know Mr. Jackson, the stipendiary magistrate. All these gentlemen were at Amity Hall on the 12th October, and I was there. I was ill. There was a nurse in attendance on me; one Margaret Hamilton. I know the works, by the road they are about half-a-mile from the house. I heard cries coming up from that way. There are steps outside opening into a passage that runs right through the house. The doors of the first two rooms, on the right and left as you enter, open upon the passage. On the right hand is the sitting-room or drawing-room. There is another room beyond that, also on the right, which is a bedroom. There is a door between the sitting-room and the bedroom. It was in this room, in the first instance, I was sick in bed. There was a closed door, with a medicine-chest against it in this room, which would open into the passage. The passage after passing through the body of the house terminates in the dining-room. On the left-hand side of the passage there are two bedrooms, one immediately as you enter. At the back of that there is another room. The first room was Mr. Creighton's that evening. I was brought out afterwards from the bedroom on the right, to the first room you enter on the left, Mr. Creighton's room. About ten minutes before the rush into the house I had seen Mr. Augustus Hire alive. I spoke to him. I heard cries from below the house, by the works; loud cries as from a body of people. I heard them smash both doors, a general smash. I heard them say "Surround the house." I was in bed then. They entered the house. I heard Mr. Jackson address them. He told them who he was. I came out of the room, because the curtains were on fire. The people burst open the door that was closed up and upset the medicine-chest, only about half-a-dozen came into the room. Perhaps ten people came in and out. I was taken into the first bedroom on the left, Creighton's room. They were there altogether from three-quarters of an hour to an hour. I saw them pulling sheets from off the beds on the ground and filling them with things from the house,—clothes. Afterwards there were no sheets left on the beds. I heard no cries as of a person suffering. After they left a woman, Emma Mead (since dead) went to look, and Augustus Hire was found. I saw him when he was brought into the room on the left where I was. This was after all the people had left, but the same night. I can't positively swear, but to the best of my belief, I saw prisoner there. If I saw him it was in the left room, the same room that Margaret Hamilton was in with me. She was with me in both rooms. Hire was hardly sensible when he was brought in. Emma Mead brought him in, assisted by a boy. I don't know his name. Hire's head was very much cut, and he had lost two of his fingers; one entirely gone, the other hanging by a tendon. I saw several wounds on his head, incised wounds. I did not notice contused wounds. There was one deep wound on the top of the head to the bone. I could put my finger in it. In my opinion that wound

alone would be sufficient to cause death. I'm a medical man. I'm a surgeon. Hire is dead. He died about 5 the following morning, Friday. He was sensible part of the time. He was on the verge of death. While he was sensible I had no hopes of him. I think he was aware of the danger he was in. He made no statement to me. When I had seen him, ten minutes before the people came, he was in his usual health. I observed next morning that everything was completely smashed in the place, except the bedsteads. The floor was covered with blood in the room on the left; and blood in the passage, by the steps. Mr. Hire was a white man. All the people I saw had either sticks or cutlasses. A cutlass would have inflicted such a wound as that I have described as being on Mr. Hire's head.

Examined by *Prisoner.*—I did not notice you in particular more than the others, whether you had a cutlass or a stick. I did not see you strike Mr. Hire. I never saw you before that day that I know of. I say to the best of my belief I saw you in the room.

Examined by *me.*—Though I was ill I could see perfectly what was going on, and had my senses about me. I was suffering from fever.

Margaret Hamilton.—I was at Golden Grove in October last. I went to Amity Hall. I was there on the Thursday and Thursday night. I was attending Dr. Crowdy. Towards evening I heard cries, about 10 o'clock at night. The cries were from the works. I afterwards saw the prisoner. I saw him in the room on the left hand. I was there along with Dr. Crowdy. Lots of people came up from the works, and prisoner among them. There was a sound as if they were smashing at the works, and they were calling "Colour for colour!" Before they came into the house they said "Surround the "house!" As they said this Mr. Jackson gave his voice. He said, "My people do you know who is "here? Your Queen's magistrate is here!" Then they said, "To-night we acknowledge no Queen's "magistrate, nor no Queen, for the custos is died, and there is no law!" They came into the passage. They first went into a bedroom on the right hand, where Dr. Crowdy was in, first. I believe it was Mr. Hire's own bedroom. They broke down the boarding of the room. They did not break the door, and come in. They smashed the medicine-chest and the boarding behind it. They said then, "There is lots here." Then they set the bed on fire. Then I and Dr. Crowdy came out, and went into the left-hand room, opposite the sitting-room. Then people came in there, and then I saw the prisoner with the others. They came quite in. Dr. Crowdy was lying on the bed. Mr. Jackson was on the same bed. He had been well beaten then. A great number came in and went close to the bed. I was sitting on the bed. While prisoner was in the room all had sticks and cutlasses. He was standing by the bed. They made lots of noise. They said "Here are some more, "it is better to kill them or they will be evidence against us." Afterwards they left the room. I saw them take sheets off the bed. A stout man said "Don't you know the Bible says, 'Blessed are "'the peace-makers'?" Then they said "Peace be with the bed," and they went away. They tied the sheets into a large bundle with the pillows. The sheets had been taken before Dr. Crowdy and Mr. Jackson had been put on the bed. When the sheets were taken off they were put on the floor, and the things put in them. When they went on the stairs they gave three cheers, "Hip! hip! "Sebastopol is taken!" Mr. Hire was not in the room with Jackson and Crowdy. I had seen him alive before, that day. Before all this occurred he had no bruise on his head. After the people went we went to look for Mr. Hire. He was found in the entrance of the front door, near the steps. He was lying down. I and Emma Mead went to look for him, and found him. Emma Mead is dead. He was flat on his back. He was not sensible then. He was lifted up by Emma Mead and a servant of Mr. Hire; I believe his name is Mitchell. He was taken by them to Dr. Crowdy's room, the left-hand room. Where he was found was as far from the door of the left-hand bedroom as from me to that railing. Dr. Crowdy saw him. He (Hire) had a chop on the top of his head, and one at the back of his neck. Two fingers were chopped, and he had a chop on his shin. He died towards morning. The steps and passage were all in blood. I saw blood in the place where he was found lying. I was with him when he died. I don't know if the prisoner belongs to Amity Hall. I never saw him before. I saw prisoner at the court-house at Morant Bay on Friday last with others, some 13 or 14 people. I had no difficulty in identifying him. I went away on Friday morning, leaving Hire's body in the house. The people did not return while I was there.

Examined by *Prisoner.*—I had never seen you before. I saw you in the left-hand room. You were near, and I looked at your face full. Perhaps if I saw some of the others I should know them too. I can't really say I noticed you with a stick or a cutlass, but you all had. I did not see you make any murder with Mr. Hire. You were alongside the bed. I take my solemn oath it was you.

Examined by *me.*—He was dressed as he is now. Same sort of clothes. I never saw him again until I saw him at the court-house.

Examined by *Prisoner.*—I was so frightened that I did not know if you had blood on your clothes or not.

By a Juror.—There was a candle in the room; some of the people had candles. I even asked one of the people for two candles when they were going away. They had set fire to the bed in the first room. Dr. Crowdy only had a float burning. The people must have come with candles. The store of Amity Hall was broken open; but I can't say if there were any candles in the store.

By the Court, at the request of Mr. Williams. James Harrison lives at Hordly estate.

Thomas Forbes.—I live at Golden Grove estate. I have known prisoner for some nine years. In October last he was working at Golden Grove. I saw him on the 13th October, a Friday. I was standing at Mr. Kirkland's store at Golden Grove, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. I, one, was standing there at present. He was coming over the bridge from the direction of Amity Hall to Mr. Kirkland's store. He came up close to me in the pass; he had a bundle, a large bundle, tied on his back. I called him because I knew him, and I saw him in a state of blood; the blood was on the front of his shirt, and on his pantaloons. He had on an osnaburgh shirt, and trousers like what he has got on now. I said, "Where "are you from?" He said, "Coming away from Amity Hall." I said, "How you manage to get "yourself cut?" He says to me, "No, I have not received any cut." I said, "How you come with "so much blood upon you, for it means bad." He said to me, "We have killed that fellow." As he

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said this James Marshall came up and stood right betwixt us. Then I said, "What fellow it is?" He said, "That fellow Hire." I said, "You kill him for true?" He said, "Yes." Then Marshall said, "What you say, you kill him for true?" and prisoner said "Yes" repeatedly. Marshall said, "Dead, dead?" Prisoner said, "Yes." Marshall said, Don't you speak to that man, he is a murderer; if any one see you speaking with him they will say you are a murderer too; go away. Then prisoner turned round and asked Marshall, "What do you say? If you repeat that word again I will know what to do with you." At this time prisoner had a broken piece of cutlass in his hand. The bundle was a white sheet. I don't know what was inside. It was a linen sheet. I only observed the two ends in front of him, round his neck. I did not look at it behind. After what I related we all separated.

Examined by *Prisoner*.—I met you between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. The reason I did not inform against you was, I never saw you again until I saw you again last Friday at the Morant Bay court-house. I never sent to see where you were. I never saw or heard anything of you, and, as things were going, I thought you were dead. You lived at Arcadia at one time, and at one time at Philipsfield, before martial law. I did not know where you were living after I saw you.

By me.—I was head man at Philipsfield while prisoner was a labourer. I never had any quarrel with him beyond saying Do your work; this was four or five years ago. I've never had any quarrel with prisoner, and have no ill-will against him. God forbid! He has worked on various properties since. He principally pulled cocoanuts. After seeing him at Kirkland's I did not see him again until I saw him at Morant Bay court-house. I don't know where he was in the meantime.

James Marshall.—I'm a tailor. In October I lived at Golden Grove, in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I know prisoner; I saw him on Friday, the 13th October; he had on an osnaburgh shirt and pantaloons, a shirt just like that he has on. I saw him right in front of Kirkland's store; my tailor's shop is just opposite. I stood in my tailor's shop and saw prisoner was in conversation with Thomas Forbes (the last witness), in front of Kirkland's door. His shirt was in blood, and his pantaloons. I went to see what it meant. As I waited I heard him say to Forbes, "We do away with that fellow last night." Forbes asked him, what fellow? He said, "Mr. Hire." I asked him, You kill him dead? he said yes. I said, "Stone dead?" He said, "Yes, stone dead; this is all his blood here now." He had a bundle over his shoulder, but I don't know what was in it; it was tied. It was a white cloth; I believe it was a sheet. I did not see prisoner coming along. I first saw him when he was talking to Forbes. I told Forbes, in prisoner's presence, You see the man is in blood; you have no right to be in conversation with him; if any of the authorities come up and see you in conversation with him, they will take you in custody along with him. Then Forbes went away, and I went into the shop. I did not take him into custody then; at that time no troops had arrived at Golden Grove. During martial law, when the troops came, I was looking for him, but could not see him. I afterwards was subpœnaed, on the 14th February, to go down to Morant Bay. On my journey, as I got to Philipsfield, I saw him. I asked him, "Are you alive?" He said Yes. I asked him how he managed to be alive when all innocent men dead. I asked where he was all the while. He said in the woods, and never came out until martial law was over; and since he had never come as far as Golden Grove. I told him he was a smart fellow, and I left him. I went as far as from here to Pinnock and Baily's store, and then I turned back. He was on the right-hand side of the road, and when he saw me coming he went over to the left side. Charles Robinson, a lad, was with me, and heard all this. He is alive at Golden Grove. He was with me. Charles Robinson said something to me, and I went after the prisoner. As he went to the left side, the prisoner took up his cutlass. I came up to him and said I wanted him to go up to Arcadia with me as he had been living there. I had no cutlass, nor had Robinson. Prisoner said he did not want to go. I said, You must. He got vexed, and as he moved I got behind and held his two arms from behind. Then I directed Robinson to seize the cutlass. Robinson tried for a quarter of an hour to get away the cutlass and could not do it. I managed to throw the prisoner on the ground, and a little boy was passing by with a whip, I took the whip from the boy and tied the prisoner. It was a long whip they drive cattle with. I carried him myself to the station.

Examined by *Prisoner*.—I've known you as a constant labourer on Golden Grove, working on the estate, and selling cocoa-nut oil. Nobody else was present but me and Forbes. We did not apprehend you, because there was not a soul dare face you at that time. By you I mean the Rebels then. This was on Friday. I did not see you the Saturday; I was looking for you, but could not see you. Mr. Cook did not subpœna Robinson to come to town. I was looking for you through martial law. I told all the constables about. I gave your description to Charles Robinson, to Douse, and to Francis Bennett. I told them to take you in charge if they saw you and I would give evidence against you. They never went so far as Philipsfield.

Jeannette Bryan.—I once lived at Golden Grove. I remember seeing prisoner on a Friday, the same week of the row at Morant Bay. I met the prisoner at Mr. Kirkland's about 8 in the morning. I saw him with a bundle in the road. He came from Amity Hall way. I met him, and I asked him, Where are you from now? I saw the bundle on his back, and that his shirt was with blood. He said from Dunkinfield to Amity Hall. He said he came from Amity Hall, and they had killed Mr. Hire. The bundle was about that (showing with her hands). The outside of the bundle was daubed with blood. The bundle was a sheet, white linen.

By me.—I was coming from market, and going to Kirkland's shop. We spoke close to the piazza of the shop. I did not see Forbes and Marshall there at all. It was 8 in the morning when I saw prisoner there. I saw prisoner the whole day after that walking about Golden Grove streets of the market. When I saw him after I did not see him have the bundle. I saw him next about 1 o'clock, he had no bundle then. Also in the evening, when he had no bundle.

Examined by *Prisoner*.—No one else was present when we spoke. I have not given any evidence before to-day. I live at Almon town. Plenty of people saw you at Golden Grove. I saw you three times, only in the day. I did not inform against you when the soldiers came, because I did not know which side you lived.

Mary Peters.—I lived at Golden Grove. I lived there in October last. I've seen prisoner at Golden Grove. I saw him on a Friday, the Friday after the row at Morant Bay. I saw him at Golden Grove walking all about, with a bundle on his back, it was a sheet tied up. I'm sure it was a sheet. He had blood on his shirt and trousers. I did not speak to him. The soldiers came Saturday morning, and I never saw him again until I see him now.

Robert Evan Jones.—I'm one of the boatswains of the District prison at Morant bay. The prisoner was confined there as a prisoner. He was committed, I think, on the 16th February, this year. I had some communication with him whilst he was in custody with reference to this charge, for which he is now being tried. I did not hold out any promise to him, if he would tell me anything. I held out no inducement of no kind for him to tell me anything. I did not hold out any threat to him, or promise to do anything for him. What he told me he told voluntarily of his own free will. I did not tell him it would be better for him to tell me anything. I said to him, on the 17th, You were one of the fellows who went up to Mr. Hire's house? He said, "Massa witness said it was "Mr. Hire's blood daub me, but it is not Mr. Hire's blood daub me. I did chop Mr. Hire. But "the blood that daub me, it is Mr. Jackson's blood. Mr. Jackson was chopped by some of my own "people, and after chopped, he bawl that he is Mr. Jackson, the magistrate of the parish, and I said "Let us lift Mr. Jackson, and put him on the bed, for he is a very good man, and I and three other "men lifted Mr. Jackson off the floor, and put him on one of Mr. Hire's bed, and while lifting Mr. "Jackson his head was bleeding, and rest on my stomach, and stain all my shirt, and it's his blood "show the mark on my shirt." Then I said It is a pity you went there at all. He said "All the "estates people went Golden Grove, Holland, and Amity Hall, and I went with them." That was all that passed.

Examined by *Prisoner.*—You did not say you knew anything about Mr. Hire. I told Thompson, the boatswain of the prison, this the same evening. No one else was present when we spoke.

Case closed.

The prisoner called no witnesses, but addressed the jury.

Verdict, Guilty.

Sentence of Death passed.

The above notes are a true copy of those in my note book taken at the trial.

EDWARD KEMBLE, J.

IN THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

Monday, March 5, 1866.

Before:—

Myself (Kemble, J.)
Lyons,
Barclay,
} *Commissioners.*

The Queen *v.* Bogle, Henry Theophilus, and others for Felonious Riot.

Mr. Williams opened the case.

Edmund Jordon.—I'm Governor's secretary. I was so under Governor Eyre. This letter was brought to the office of the Governor's secretary, and delivered to me by a clerk in the office; after reading it, I sent it to Governor Eyre. I think on the 11th of October last. I received it after 12 o'clock on the 11th. I did not see the bearer. I got it back from Governor Eyre, with a minute, the same day, and sent the answer by post the next day according to the minute,—the first post. [Letter marked for identity.]

Jonathan Thomas.—I'm an orderly at Queen's House. I was stationed in Spanish Town in October last. I was there on Thursday, the 11th October. It was a Wednesday. I saw some one at King's House. He gave me a letter, and I gave it to Mr. Jordon. That is the man (Francis Gordon). It is the only letter I received from him that day.

Francis Gordon.—I took a letter to Spanish Town to the Governor's house on Wednesday, the 11th October. I went to Stony Gut on Tuesday, 10th. Paul Bogle gave it to Onslow, and Onslow asked me to walk with him. I saw plenty of people at Stony Gut. People were there blowing shells in Bogle's yard. I don't know what for. I saw Fuller, a policeman, there, and also other policemen, some of them were sitting down in Bogle's house. They were free, had nothing upon them, no guard on them. I saw no handcuffs. Foster, the constable, was in the house, and Fuller. I live at Stanton. I did not see William Grant there, or William McGregor there. I went there, because I heard shells, and thought it was fire-burn, about 11 o'clock in the day. I went with Onslow to Spanish Town with the letter, and I gave it to a soldier. I did not see James McLaren. I saw Moses Bogle at Stony Gut that day. I did not see Paul Bogle hand the letter to Onslow. I know Church Corner. I've seen McLaren, and Paul and Moses Bogle, and Henry Bogle there. I knew Henry Theophilus Bogle and Thomas Graham, also Alexander Murray at Church Corner, also William McGregor, and Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon. I saw none of them at Stony Gut. I gave evidence before the magistrates at Morant Bay. Mr. Lindo and Cooke heard me give my evidence. I never said the people had handcuffed the policemen. I never saw any handcuffs at all. Stanton is about a mile from Stony Gut.

William Onslow.—I remember the day of the trouble, the 11th October. The day before I went to Stony Gut. I heard the shells. I and Gordon went. I saw lots of people and policemen, the two Fullers. They were in Paul Bogle's house. There was a chapel there. I saw handcuffs on William Fuller's hands, and on another policeman inside the house. Francis Gordon was in the mill house. There were not so many people there as there are present now. I saw Paul and Moses Bogle. I did

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not see James Dacres. Paul Bogle gave me a letter to take to Spanish Town to the Governor. I and Gordon took it, and when I got to Spanish Town, I got fever, and I gave the letter to Gordon, and he delivered it. I was not at Morant Bay at all on the 11th. I know William Grant. Bogle gave me 4*s.* 6*d.* to take the letter. He gave me the letter openly before all the people. I thought the shells were for fire burn, but there was no fire. I left with the letter after 2 in the afternoon, and we went over by the 9 o'clock train. The handcuffs were iron ones.

William Fuller.—I was a policeman on the 16th October last in St. Thomas-in-the-East. I and five policemen went to Stony Gut, Robert McKay, William Lake, Andrew Miles, George Fuller Osborn, and Charles Jacob, also two rural constables. We went to execute a warrant against Paul Bogle, and others, that is, Lewis Miller, Wm. Grant, Henry Theophilus Bogle, James Ewhegan. We went to Stony Gut, Paul Bogle's yard, and saw him. I read my warrant. William Grant was there then, William Ford came up afterwards. In Grant's presence McKay read the warrant, and Paul Bogle refused to go. Then Osborn clapped him on the shoulder, and said he was his prisoner. William Grant called out with a loud voice, "Turn out men." The 300 men turned out of the cane fields, and from Bogle's chapel. We tried to make our escape, and William Ford caught me at the back of my neck, and about 20 of them were about me, beating me with sticks, and carried me into Bogle's house. There they put a handcuff on me, our own handcuffs. Then Bogle presented a Bible to me to kiss, and take an oath. I heard threats of the people, their coming down next day to the Bay. William Grant had a double-barrelled gun, and gave the word of command. They were marching up and down. The people called him Captain Grant. William Ford was there until I came away. I know William Onslow, he was there. When he saw me there, I had on handcuffs. I was a prisoner from 7 in the morning until 4 in the evening. I saw him get a letter from Bogle. I did not know where he was going with it. I saw Francis Gordon. When he saw me, I had handcuffs on.

Examined by *Henry Theophilus Bogle.*—I saw you and William Bogle in the house drinking gunpowder in a glass of rum. I saw you personally. I did not mention this when examined before Mr. Bicknell, because it had slipped my memory.

Examined by *William Ford.*—You caught me by the back of the neck, saying "Are you come up to take your black color, eh?" While you held me a man held a cutlass over my head. Robert Pinnock said, "If you kill Fuller to day you will have to kill me and Fuller to day." I was calling out, "Save my life."

Examined by *William Grant.*—You had on a jacket like what you have on now. I don't know what pants you had on. You were the only man in Bogle's yard with Bogle.

[The Crown then tendered the letter sent to and received by Mr. Gordon, *Admitted*, dated October 10, 1865, addressed by Governor Eyre, signed by some 20 people and among others by one William Grant.]

James Foster.—I was a rural constable on October 10 last. I went to Stony Gut that day with policemen. I went to Paul Bogle's house. The warrant was read. Paul Bogle said he would not go, and called out, "Men turn out," then the shells blew and the drums rolled, and men turned out from both sides of the cane piece, and from the chapel, about 300 men with cutlasses and sticks. I saw Theophilus Bogle then, also Ennis Napier, Benjamin Bingling. I heard Captain Grant's name called. This was when I was a prisoner, my hands tied in Paul Bogle's house. I was offered a drink of gunpowder rum. I refused it. I was sworn to an oath to join them. I saw drilling going on. I know Colonel Bowe and Captain Dacres. I saw Theophilus Bogle with a double-barrelled gun in his hand (that's him). He said he had a great mind to put it into me. I was to kiss the Bible to join them. Colonel Bowe took out one gang to drill, and Captain Dacres took out another gang. I was kept prisoner the whole of the day. They would not let me go until I had kissed the book. They said if I did not, they would take my head off. Fuller got away the same time, all four of us by taking the oath. I was at Morant Bay on the morning of the 11th. When I heard the mob coming I ran away. I did not understand the oath, but I took it, I saw seven people take the oath before me. I was to join them (Bogles party) against the white people. My handcuffs and staff were taken from me.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—I don't know where you got the gun from; it had on both caps, This gun was taken from you by your uncle. I was taken into a little shed in Bogle's house. I only went to Morant on the 14th.

Examined by *Benjamin Bingley.*—I saw you at Stony Gut a part of the day.

By a Juror.—I was loosed when I took the oath.

Alexander Bothwell.—I was a constable on the 10th October last. I live at Spring Garden, near Stoney Gut. I know old Bailey's meeting house at Spring Garden. I was there. I was asked to take an oath. I went with the police to Stony Gut in October last, the 10th, five policemen and two rural constables. Policeman McKay read the warrant to Paul Bogle; he said he would not go. I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle there, Sampson Champney, William Grant, Joshua Gordon, William Ford, Peter O'Hagan, and Robert Pinnock and Sarah Johnson. I did not see Bingley there on the 11th. I saw, when Fuller said to Bogle, "You are my prisoner," then Bogle called out for men, and a number of men ran out of the corn pieces and chapel with sticks, cutlasses, and lances; the lances were made of old iron sharpened and put at the end of long sticks. They made Fuller a prisoner, and then Moses Bogle made me a prisoner; he handed me over to another man, and some women prevailed on him to let me go, and I got away. The cane field was Paul Bogle's. The people came immediately. They had been hiding in the fields. I saw Sarah Johnson standing up at the front of my gate at Spring Garden. I heard her say that every mulatto was to be killed as well as the white men. This was next day on the 11th, at 12 o'clock, at about 2½ miles from the bay. On the 10th, at Stony Gut, I saw William Grant drilling people. I heard him tell the people to go into the fort, that is, into Bogle's Chapel. The people obeyed him. He was called Capt. Grant. I heard of a Capt. Brien and Capt Cameron, and Paul Bogle as Captain-General. I don't know what Moses was called.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—I saw you in your uncle's yard with a stick in your hand, but no gun.

Examined by *Sampson Champney.*—I know you. I saw you making a flourish with a stick. I saw you in the party with William Grant.

Examined by *Sarah Johnson.*—I saw you on Tuesday at Stony Gut, and at Spring Garden on Wednesday.

Examined by *Joshua Gordon.*—You reside at Church Corner, two miles from Stoney Gut. You were there on Tuesday. You had a stick about 7 or 8 in the morning. You had a cutlass and a stick. I know James Reid.

George Fuller Osborne.—I was a policeman, and went to Stony Gut on 10th October. I saw Theophilus Bogle there and William Grant; they were playing drums and marching from the chapel to Paul Bogle's house. There were 400 or 500 men. Paul Bogle and Bowie principally gave orders. The people had cutlasses, sticks, and bayonets fixed on sticks. I was taken in custody. I was in custody from the morning to 3 or 4 in the evening. They compelled us to swear, and then we were let go, and got to Morant Bay that evening. I reported this to the custos. The previous Saturday, Mr. John Walton, who is dead now, sat as a magistrate at Morant Bay court-house, in St. Thomas-in-the-East. On Monday, the 11th, I was at Morant Bay, at the police station; it fronts the main street; opposite to it is a chemist's shop, Dr. Everard's; going farther on towards Stanton is Alvarenga's shop, near the mound of earth where the people are buried, near a cotton tree. Between the hours of 3 and 4 on Wednesday, the 11th, I was at the police station. I heard a crowd coming from Stanton way; as they were coming in they would leave the main road by the Rector's. I heard drumming; the noise came from the direction of Stony Gut. They entered Morant Bay from Alvarenga's side into the police station. They had cutlasses and sticks. I saw one man had a gun. They were playing drums. They had a flag—a red flag. I only remember seeing William Grant among the people. When they came to the police station they took all the guns and pistols off the rack, and bayonets, and commenced to smash down the station with stones and sticks. I ran away. I ran up to Mr. Stephen Cooke's yard. There is a view of the bay from there. From there I saw the volunteers at the court-house. I heard firing and a great noise of shouting. Then I saw the crowd leave the station and go on to the court-house. That was before I heard the firing. I saw the school-house. It is on the left of the court-house if you stand on the steps with your back to the court-house. There is an open market place in front. After I heard firing I saw about five men putting long sticks with fire on them into the school-room; it took fire and caught the court-house, and they were burnt down, also the fort house, nearer the sea. There were not less than 400 or 500 people in the crowd, both men and women. It was about an hour and a half after I saw the crowd come to the market place before I saw the school-house set on fire. By Alverenga's there is a wharf road which branches off to the back of the court-house, between the court-house and the sea, and goes on to a bridge, and so to the Kingston road. There are branch roads which lead up to the court-house from the wharf road. There is a road leading to the old church. It is called the Browsgut Bridge; it may take you to the Valley and Stony Gut. Two bodies of men could meet at the court-house coming from Stony Gut by different ways.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—I don't remember seeing you with a gun at Stony Gut. You looked very much excited. I did not see you lick any one.

By *me.*—They did not handcuff me when I told them I was a maroon, but they compelled me to take an oath.

Edward House.—I'm deputy collector of petty debts. I live on Friendship. I went to Stony Gut the 11th October, between 12 and 1, to serve a summons on prisoner William Ford at Stony Gut. I was stopped at Spring Garden, near Stony Gut, by some 400 men with cutlasses, sticks, two guns, and lances. It was the maroons had guns. They said, You don't come to serve summons, but to take our secret to the white people, as you are on their side. I was taken to Capt. P. Bogle, in Spring Garden Road. In this crowd I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle, Sarah Johnson, Henry Mitchell, William Ford, Ennis Napier. I heard the name of Capt. Grant called out, but I did not see the man. The crowd was coming towards Morant Bay. They said I must go along with them to the bay. They were marching like soldiers, four deep. They said, "You come to take our secret, as the policemen did "yesterday." Bogle said, "I am going to the bay to deliver myself up, as they sent for me yesterday." I said, "What, in this manner, with guns, sticks, and cutlasses? Take my advice, don't go at all." Theophilus Bogle was present and heard this conversation between me and Paul Bogle. Paul Bogle said, "We must march," and then we took Stanton Road. Bogle ordered the people to go that way. They marched the same, four abreast. There was a drum, but it was not playing. When we got to the line of Spring Garden, about eight chains from the old works, a man came up and reported that the volunteers were coming. Then Paul Bogle ordered all the men to turn back and hide themselves in canes and thickets. They did so. I went to Paul Bogle's house at Stony Gut, and asked him to show me William Ford, in order to serve him. He called him and I served him. Afterwards Bogle said they must go to the bay. I said, "Rather than go in this way, write." Bogle said, "I've written "to the Governor already." Then the people came out quickly. They took me along, and at Spring Garden they divided into two bodies, one went Church Corner way, and the other by the Stanton Road. I went with them the Church Corner way to Brownsgut Bridge. I met Ennis Napier at Cottage Pen, a mile from the bay, on the 11th; he said, "I was waiting here for you in the bay, but as I've met "you here I must turn back with you," and he did so. At Brownsgut Bridge the road branches, one goes to the wharf road, the other through the town. At the Bridge we heard reports of guns at the bay. The party ran towards the bay, and I went to Dahomey Pen. Each party had sticks and cutlasses. I never went into the town until martial law was over.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—I believe William Bogle is dead. You were with the rest of the men coming to the bay. I can't say if you got there. You went with the other party, with Paul Bogle. I went with Moses Bogle. I was not asked to point you out to Mr. Bicknell, I was only asked to point out two persons, and did so.

Examined by *Henry Mitchell.*—I saw you in the crowd.

Examined by *Ennis Napier.*—I met you between 3 and 4 o'clock before McPherson's gate on the 11th. I think you and Barclay were together near Barclay's gate. You did not go back to Morant. You had nothing in your hand. You were with Moses Bogle's party.

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Examined by *William Ford.*—I only saw you in Paul Bogle's house. I am not sure you were in the crowd coming down towards Morant Bay. I don't know where you live.

Examined by *Williams.*—Passing Church Corner you come to the district prison, and McLarens meeting house.

William Alvarenga.—I'm a druggist at Morant Bay. I live on the north side of the main road, on the same side as the police station. I was at the vestry on the 11th October. I left a little before 3. I had occasion to go to my place. Five minutes after I was coming back, and saw a crowd of 300 people, men and women, coming from Stanton way. I stepped back into my shop. As they came opposite they stopped ; all were armed with cutlasses, sticks, bayonets on long sticks, and about six guns. Those in front kneeled down and took some of the dirt and swore that that day they would kill every white and mulatto man in the Bay, and when they had finished they would go to the estates. They looked round at me and said, "We will come back for you." Then I got more frightened than before. They moved on to the station; about 100 of them went in and took out the guns there, and commenced pelting the station with stones. I only saw one policeman at the station, and he jumped through the window—a short man. They went on to the road turning to the court-house. Then I heard the pelting of stones. About five minutes after I heard guns firing. Then I saw Robert Hugh Grey, a vestryman, all in blood.

James Beard.—I live at Morant Bay. I was policeman on October 11th at the station there. I was on duty at the district prison, the western side of Morant Bay between 3 and 4 I saw a number of people coming from the Valley District pass and the prison, going towards Morant Bay, all armed with sticks and cutlasess. I saw Alexander Murray with them. He had a stick in his hand, nothing else. They went on to Morant Bay, the Wharf road way, the lower road, it would lead to the court-house. I saw Alexander Murray again next day, I was standing at my residence ; he was passing looking behind him going quite fast towards the Valley district. I was in the bushes on the night of the 11th ; next day I found the prisoners in the gaol were let out.

Examined by *Alexander Murray.*—I knew you before. I've several times seen you in the Bay before. You were with a lot of rioters. I knew you personally, we were no friends; we've had no quarrel; we are not familiar, you live in the Valley district. I'm quite sure I saw you that day. My residence is 300 or 400 yards from the court-house. I generally go to Mr. Parnther's, and hear him preach.

Stephen Cooke.—I'm clerk of peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I remember Saturday, 7th October. John Walton, J.P., presided, and Francis Bowen. There was a disturbance in the court-house. I saw Paul Bogle on the steps. There were the usual number of persons in court during the case, which was one of assault. There was a disturbance in the court, and the magistrates had them brought up. The defendant in the case was Alexander White; that is the boy (pointing to one of the prisoners). The case was not appealed from. The person who made the noise ran out, the policemen went after him, and then he was rescued by the mob. In consequence of this a warrant was issued against 28 persons, and was sent to be executed at Stony Gut. The warrant was destroyed in the fire. Moses and Paul Bogle's names were in the warrant, and others. On the 11th there was a vestry, Custos Ketelholdt was present, Mr. Georges, Mr. Walton, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Warrington, my father, the rector of the parish, and Mr. Herschell, a clergyman, were there, my brother Mr. Alexander Barnes Cooke a magistrate was there, Mr. Robert Hugh Grey a vestryman, Mr. Alvarenga. I knew Captain Hitchins, he was there with the volunteers, at a subsequent part of the day. The volunteers had been sent for by the custos in consequence of information he received from the police who went to Stoney Gut the day before. Just at the close of the vestry the custos requested me to go down stairs. I heard the beating of drums and the blowing of a horn, between ½ past 3 and 4. I called Captain Hitchins' attention to it. He ordered the volunteers to fall in and load. The vestry room is up stairs, brick steps on each side leading up to a landing place, there is a hollow between the steps there and in front of it the volunteers were. From the landing place you look out on the Parade, a square. I saw a crowd, they came from the police station side to the front of the court-house; another gang came from the east side and met the first gang as it came into the Parade, they appeared to be acting in unison. They must have divided off somewhere near Mr. Alvarenga's ; they were armed with guns, fixed bayonets, sticks with spikes on the top, and cutlasses. I'm almost certain they were police guns; the old kind of gun and bayonets, not volunteer guns, those are sword-bayonets. I should say the two gangs when they met up consisted of 600 or 700; they came steadily along, marching up to the volunteers—they seemed determined—there were no cries at first. When they got about 30 or 40 yards from the volunteers, the latter backed in between the steps against the wall, where they could go no farther; the mob threw a volley of stones at the volunteers, and at the gentlemen on the top of the steps. The custos was on the steps, and had commenced reading the Riot Act before the stones were thrown; they were thrown after he began to read it, and before he concluded it. Not a shot had been fired from the volunteers before stones were fired. The mob began. There was a volley of stones, they could not be got on the Parade, the mob must have brought them with them. A great number of women were in the mob, they were not farther than from here to the dock from the custos when they threw the stones, and still nearer to the volunteers. The custos could not proceed with the reading of the Riot Act because the stones were thrown, and then the volunteers fired. Some of the volunteers were struck before they fired. After the volley the mob rushed on the volunteers; they had no time to re-load. Several shots were fired by the Rebels at the court-house, and several stones, so that the gentlemen there had to rush in and shut the doors. The proclamation out of the Riot Act was commenced, the form mentioned in this Act, 21 Viet., c. 11. s. 2; before the custos read the Riot Act he entreated the people in a loud voice not to come on, but to keep back, and not to use violence : he told them to keep quiet, not to commit a breach of the peace; he told them if they had any grievance he would hear them ; they took no notice, but advanced on the volunteers. The only person I recognized was Moses Bogle. When the people were first entering the square, the custos sent Mr. Intosh to tell the people to go back, and I saw him go and hold up his hands to prevent their coming. Mr. Intosh is hung. Baron Maximilian Augustus, Baron Von Ketelhodt, was a J.P. and custos. When I recognized Moses Bogle it was before they came into the square. The attack did not take place until the two gangs joined. Every man in the mob

must have seen the Custos when addressing them, and when reading the Riot Act he was at the top of the steps leaning over the rails. It must have been near 4 o'clock when he attempted to read the Riot Act; about 5 o'clock the mob separated for a few minutes and returned, that is they went from the front to the back of the court-house; as a body they remained together. They had not dispersed from the parade until 8 o'clock. I heard cries of people up to 9 o'clock; cries of a mob. I believe that persons exceeding 12, very much exceeding 12, remained for an hour after the reading of the Act. A handkerchief was held for peace, out of a window, but the people said they wanted "war." The Custos then offered to deliver himself up if they would spare the rest; they said no, they wanted him and every other white and mulatto man. While I lay concealed, I heard the mob say they killed the Baron Walton, Alexander Cooke, Mr. Herschell, and Alberga the inspector. I was concealed under Dr. Gerrard's dispensary. I heard the order given to kill Price. I heard him cry for mercy. I heard him then beaten as they took him down the street. The mob had sent for a Captain Grant before this; they sent a boy with a torch for him; it was after some person came that the mob murdered Price. The shop-keepers, I believe, lost a great deal of property.

Adjourned.

Tuesday, 6th March 1866.

Before the same Court.

Francis Bowen.—I'm a magistrate of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and I was such on 11th October last. I attended a vestry at the court-house on that day; whilst at the vestry-board between half-past three and four o'clock, we heard some one say the niggers are coming; we ran from the vestry table and went out, and saw a mob of people with bayonets fixed on muskets, cutlasses, and sticks, some in front dancing to the music—a fife and drum; they turned off the main street by Kirklands down into the parade, at right angles. This was the first intimation of a mob that day. It was not market day. They kept on approaching the court-house. The Baron and all of us were on the step, and the clerk of the peace, he was there as churchwarden. The volunteers were in the school-room when the people were coming; they were called out as the people came into the square. The volunteers drew themselves up in front of the steps. As the crowd advanced the Baron called to them, with a paper in his hand, saying, "What do you want? Don't approach." I heard the book or paper was the Riot Act. I and Mr. Georges had called upon him to read the Riot Act, as the people were bent on mischief. He hesitated for some time, beckoning to the people to keep back; they would not, and the volunteers retired, then Hitchins asked leave to fire, and not let the people come too near; there were about 20 odd volunteers. The crowd were I dare say 500. The volunteers retired a step or two, then the Baron began reading the Riot Act. The Baron was in front of the rail, high up; all the mob could see him; we were behind him; when he began to read a shower of stones came. The Baron was hit, so was I; we had to run inside the court-house to save our lives. The stones were large. This was between 3 and 4 in the afternoon. The volunteers did not fire until the stones had been flung; several of them were struck by the stones before they fired. The Custos gave the word to fire; they did, and then had to take to their heels; they were in double rank, but they all fired together. I ran into one of the back rooms of the court-house and jumped through a window. I threw myself in a gully towards the wharf. I got to the wharf and got on board the "Eleanor." I got on board between half-past 4 and 5. I saw them murdering Walton on the beach; this was after I got on board, I could see. This was while the court-house was burning, and I think about a little after 5 o'clock; I could also hear the row. I saw about eight men about Walton. There must have been about 50 people struggling about. They hailed me, "You Bowen, son of a b——h, come ashore and we'll "take your head." This was about half-past 5 or 6 o'clock, after Walton's death. I was greatly alarmed, and many others. I heard the noise and disturbance all night in Morant Bay. I could not recognize a soul. I was not sufficiently in self-possession.

Examined by *Benjamin Bingling.*—I think I saw you on the road near Serge Island, about seven miles from Morant Bay, about 9 in the morning of the 11th.

John Stokers Gerrard.—I'm a practitioner in medicine. I attended the vestry at the court-house at Morant Bay, on the 11th October; I went to give in my returns. There was a disturbance; it commenced between 3 and 4 in the afternoon. I heard Mr. Bowen's evidence about the reading of the Riot Act; the evidence is quite correct. The volunteers did retreat back towards the court-house. I was at first upstairs. After the volunteers retired I remained until the roof of the court-house fell in from fire; it was on fire before we left; we left it between 5 and 6. The same mob were in different directions about the court-house, all about the parade and cross streets, every now and then firing into the court-house with guns and stones. After we got into the back part of the court-house I don't think any missiles took effect. Shot and pebbles came into the court-house and large stones; all the windows were smashed; when the roof fell in I jumped through the window into Price's house. I then saw Lieut. Hall, of the volunteers; he was shot through the throat. Many volunteers were wounded in the court-house, Hitchins and others; we (Dr. Major and I) dressed their wounds there. The Baron had a shot in his leg, also Georges and McPherson were wounded at Price's house; Alberga's child was shot there too. There was a blaze around, then Price's house caught fire. The row continued all this time. I am decidedly of opinion that it was the same crowd, joined by others, as the crowd increased. I got at the back of the fort wall into a privy; that must have been about 7 in the evening. I remained there an hour and a half, and heard people being murdered, as each one tried to escape. I heard women call out to inform the men. I heard them say they had killed Georges (that was not true) and the Baron, and I heard Herschell crying for mercy; he was killed. I heard people calling me by name, and saying if I turned out they would save me; then McPherson and some volunteers came into the privy. I saw the blaze of the fire through the window of it. I recognized Daniel Stewart while I was in the privy and afterwards; he jumped to the window; he had a musket over his shoulder; I only saw him one second, but I knew him well; I have no doubt. I called to him, "I'm the doctor." He did not hear me; he could see us through the window, and he

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stepped out and said, "There's a lot of buckras in here, shoot them!" I was present when they were killing Hitchins. The mob broke into the privy; I saw Rebels covered with blood; they had volunteer rifles; I knew the white slings. The first person I saw was William Donaldson; he took charge of me, and through him I escaped. I then saw Captain Hitchins kneeling on the ground covered with blood, his clothes half off him, nothing in his hands, a man behind him chopping him with a macheat; the man left him and came to us. Then Hitchins recognized me and put up his arms; then the man despatched him, and I passed on. Donaldson took me towards the kitchen of Price's house; there was a tall man, a sentry, there; he stopped me, took off my hat, and said if I had not been a doctor he would have chopped me like the others. I afterwards saw him in the district prison; I don't know if he has been executed. Then Daniel Stewart came again and recognized me; he said, "Doctor, where is your hat, sir?" I told him, and he took it away from the sentry and put it on my head. He said you must give me all the money you have for saving your life; he was helping himself out of my pocket, and I gave him the balance. I never saw him again until I saw him in the Parade, when there were people to be flogged. When Daniel Stewart rifled my pockets he still had the musket; it was half an hour after I first saw him at the privy. In the square I was challenged by another sentry; they were then burning the fences and hedges to get at those hiding there. As Donaldson took me home I saw bands of people coming from the Valley road into the bay. This was about 9 o'clock; they had sticks, and were marching four abreast.

Examined by *Daniel Stewart.*—During the day I did not see you, I only saw you at night; you had a gun over your shoulder. I've done you no harm, and I don't know anyone that has.

Cecilia Gordon.—I lived at Morant Bay on 11th October last, on the road on the east end of the town. That day, about half-past 3 in the afternoon, I heard fife and drum and horn blowing coming down very strange from Stanton Road, from the interior. I came out in front of my shop door. I saw a number of persons coming down Stanton Road; when they came to the cotton tree they stopped and made a large circle. There were first about 300, and when they beat the drum more people came; they divided themselves. I went back to my yard; then I heard a noise, and I came out again; then I saw the people had divided; some were running into the bay, and others were still drumming at the cotton tree; some went by the main street, and plenty by the Wharf Road. You can get to the court house by the Wharf Road. While I was in the yard I heard guns firing in the parade. I came out; the first person I saw was one Elizabeth Fin. I saw none of these prisoners. Then I saw people running from the parade down the main street; this was about 4, and after the firing. Then I saw some of the prisoners there running; I saw John Gough, Nathaniel Richards, William Grant. The rest that I could identify are hanged. Nathaniel Richards had a police gun with fixed bayonet, and a cutlass and a stick; William Grant had a sword to his side drawing on the ground, and a handkerchief round his waist and a cutlass in it; the sword was in a steel sheath. I saw John Gough stooping to the ground and sharpening a cutlass, and as he did so he said, "This day Parson Herschell shall be "a dead man," twice. Duncan Stewart (now hung) was with them. Then I heard a noise, and heard a great number of women coming up from the Wharf Road. Sarah Johnson and Caroline Grant were among them; they all bawled out together, "You see what you tell us when in the mountains what "you go do at the bay, and when you come to the bay you leave it to the women to do; go back "to the parade and see what the volunteers are doing to them." Then Duncan Stewart said, "Share the gang," that is, divide them, and it was shared; and he said, "Half take the main road "and half the Wharf Road, and when you go to the Wharf Road stop it, and don't allow a man to "pass, and to do the same at the main street." Then William Grant (called Capt. Grant) said to Stewart, "shall I go with them?" And Sarah Johnson said, "I wonder if the gang is strong enough." William Grant did go; he went by the Wharf Road; no captain went with those by the main road. Stewart remained. Robert Grant was dancing before the mob and blowing a horn when they came up at first to the cotton tree. I saw Alexander Murray next day; he was with Sarah Johnson and two strange men, the two men were in blood, and one had a volunteer sword in his hand. One of the men asked if Duncan McPherson was not dead. I said he was not. Then he said, in Alexander Murray's presence, if I catch him I will take out his last breath with this sword; this was at about half past 6 next morning. The row on the 11th went on from 3 or 4 o'clock all night. The people never returned my way until late in the night. I did not see Grant return with his division. I did not go to bed at all.

Examined by *John Gough.*—I saw you with a cutlass. You were not a yard from me; that day you were not at sea, you were on land. Parson Herschell was from Bath.

Examined by *Alexander Murray.*—I saw you on the Thursday after the rebellion. You did me no harm. I met you in the public road. I did not know the two men at all.

Examined by *Robert Pinnock.*—I saw you going to the Bay, not in the crowd; it had got to the Bay before you passed.

Examined by *Caroline Grant.*—I saw you come and call the men to do their business at the Bay, that all the work was left to the women. I saw you; I've known you 20 years.

Examined by *Sarah Johnson.*—I saw you. You came from the Wharf Road, with a long stick. You called the men to go and destroy the gentlemen.

Examined by *William Grant.*—I saw you with a stick or cutlass and a sword; the people called you Capt. Grant.

By a juror.—I never had any quarrel with Caroline Grant or any of the others.

Examined by *Nathaniel Richards.*—I saw you first go into Mr. Robinson's yard, with a cutlass. This was before the court-house was on fire. I saw James Davis come and call you and whisper to you. You went to kill Mr. Cooke's boy; you said so. You asked for him, as he had carried gunpowder for the volunteers. After I was in Cooke's yard I heard a row in my yard, and I found a person looking for Cooke's boy. I did not see you during martial law. I was not at Morant Bay martial law. I was at McPherson's pen.

Ursula Fitzgerald.—I'm daughter of last witness. I lived with her on the 11th October last at the same house. I saw an unusual number of people come into the town between 3 and 4 o'clock;

among them I saw Sarah Johnson, when they came in, also John Gough and Robert Grant. Twice as many more as in this court-house. They had all sorts of weapons, cutlasses, sticks, bills upon sticks 3 yards long; plenty of them had these. I did not see any guns at that time. They assembled at our gate, at a large cotton tree. They went on to the station. I think they went in two bodies. Duncan Stewart was the leader. He was hung. I saw a party go down the main street to the Police Station. Then I heard a noise of stones firing, then afterwards I heard the firing of guns; then afterwards, when the volunteers fired, the people ran back to the cotton tree. That was about 4 in the afternoon. Then I saw Robert Grant and John Gough. John Gough was then grinding his cutlass. There were more than 20; he held it up and said, "I'll kill Parson Herschell this night and go to "Bath to-morrow morning." After this the mob went back, some by the main road and some by the Wharf Road, to the court-house. I did not go to the square myself; it was daylight. When the mob came back after the firing, I heard Sarah Johnson say, "I wonder if Capt. Grant's gang is strong "enough." She said "You men when you are up in the mountain you say so so, but now when you "come to the town you leave all the work to the women, and you allow the volunteers to kill all our "men." Many women were then present. I did not know them. They were not Morant Bay people. After the people went back to the court-house, about 5 o'clock, I saw the smoke and flame of the court-house being on fire. I did not see the people come back again at all.

Examined by *John Gough.*—I was at home. I gave the evidence about the cutlass at Morant Bay. I don't know where Stephens the pilot lives.

Re-examined by *A. G.*—I was examined by Bicknell and Lindo, not before Ewart alone.

Examined by *Sarah Johnson.*—I saw you before my gate; you came from the Wharf Road. You were there on the 11th.

John Dubruison.—I live at Morant Bay, at the eastern end, in the same yard as Cecilia Gordon; I am her son. I recollect the 11th; an unusual number of people came in the town between 3 and 4 in the afternoon, 300 or 400; they went from the cotton tree to the station; they stopped for about five minutes at the cotton tree. They went into the town like a mob, dancing and blowing horns; they entered the station on the main road first on the right hand side going towards Kingston; first they threw stones, smashed the sashes, and entered the station. Standing at the station you can see the steps of the court-house. I saw them enter the station; they took the arms from it, and every thing there, guns, pistols, bayonets, swords. I ran from there through Baily's yard and within five minutes I saw them enter the parade. The same mob. I saw the custos and other gentlemen come out on the steps; he had a book in his hand reading, but nobody could hear, there was such a noise. After he began reading stones were thrown. I was about 20 yards from the custos, not so far off as the length of this room. The first person I saw receive a stone was Capt. Hitchins; he had a handkerchief to his head, and the blood was rushing down his face. He was calling to the custos, "What shall I do?" This was while the custos was trying to read, and before the volley; then the custos called on him to fire; the volunteers then fired. Then I made my way to the wharf, where I remained until half-past 6. It went on all the while. The same mob of people. I saw Robert Grant. I saw him entering the station along with the rest. I saw William Grant also entering the station in the same crowd. I saw Caroline Grant in the mob removing the goods stolen from the station. I saw John Gough having Alexander White in custody. They flogged him and let him go. He came from Duhary's pen. William Grant had a sword. He was to the rear. He was called Capt. Grant by the mob. He lives at Stanton, about a mile and a half from Morant Bay. I saw the court-house on fire at 8 o'clock. The row continued until midnight or more.

Examined by *William Grant.*—There was a William Grant, a saddler, who is hung. You are left. You are the man.

Examined by *John Gough.*—I saw you with a stick. I can't say if you had a cutlass.

Examined by *Robert Grant.*—I saw you blowing a shell or a horn. I've seen you at Morant Bay before at different times. I came to town on account of the noise. I heard the music. I've known you over four years. I'm certainly sure I saw you enter the station. I'm a tinsmith.

Examined by *Caroline Grant.*—I saw you removing a bundle.

Robert Evan Jones.—I was a policeman on 11th October last at Morant Bay. I was then at the station. Not less than 500 persons forced an entrance there, just after 3 in the afternoon. I saw Robert Grant there. He was blowing a shell. I came and found them in the station. I came out of the yard at the back. He was on the front piazza blowing the horn. About 40 people were inside the station. The guard-room was full, and numbers around the station. They were taking the arms. I saw Alexander Taylor there; he was stamping and urging the men to do their duty. I saw William Ford also. He took off one of the police muskets. The arms were bayonets, swords, and pistols. They asked for ammunition. I said there was none. It was true. Some 12 of them searched for the inspector. He was killed that day. After they left the station they fell in, the men in front of it, in ranks like soldiers; then they marched to the parade, shells, fife, and drum going. I went to Stephen Cooke's house on the hill. I had been severely beaten in the station, and as it were dead, so I did not go to the parade. I could see into the square from Cooke's house. I was sitting on the steps. I saw women in the streets, urging the men to put fire to the court-house. I saw it done. The man who did it is hung. He set fire to the western side. Three men were doing it. One stood on a stone and put fire to the shingles of the school-house. The rioting went on until about one next morning continuously.

Examined by *Robert Grant.*—I knew you for about six months before the rebellion. Often in the market. You came from the mountains. I did not observe the sort of shell you had. It was, I think, a conch shell. You were stooping down and blowing with all your strength.

Examined by *William Ford.*—I've known you since 1863, when I joined the force. You used to sell provisions in the market. You said to me I had made a mistake. I said, "My son, I did see you on the Bay, and I could not help it; I must give evidence what I saw."

James Bonner Barratt.—I was at Morant Bay on 11th October. I keep a bakery close to the parade. You can see into it from my shop. The whole Bay was surrounded by people four square before the attack; four fleets, independent of the attacking fleet, which came down the main street with musicians.

JAMAICA. I saw the volunteers from Bath march in with their music a little after mid-day. I saw afterwards the fleet or mob come into the Parade, and come as near to the volunteers as the prisoners are to the Court. They looked on at the volunteers drilling; then the volunteers rested. About half an hour afterwards I heard a report of the Rebels are coming. I went on towards the parade. I saw a body attacking the station, pelting it with stones. I ran into Justice Marshallack's house. As I was coming back to my place I saw General Bowie and Robert Grant. Bowie had a Scotchman named Watson; was carrying him round the parade. I caught him and shoved him into my shop and locked him up. Robert Grant had a digging bill in his hand. I saw the people attack the police station. Caroline Grant attacked me. Then they were killing. It was not dark. She came to my shop door to kill me. She had a volunteer sword herself. She commanded the men to kill me. Then the court-house was burning. I know Alexander Murray. I saw him twice that day; the second time about 5 or 6 in the evening. He had a rifle with a fixed bayonet—a sword bayonet. Then the court-house was burning. I saw Elizabeth Faulkner. I saw her pass my shop, after the burning, late in the evening. I heard her say, "Take out that old Bennett. I bought six yards of cloth from him the other day, and when I "went home it only measured five yards and a half." I know Nancy Murray. I saw her on the 11th October. The roof of the court-house had been burnt down. She came to my shop; she said, "My "brother has received a bad shot; I beg you let him remain here until the morning." Then two men came up and said if I did not receive him they would kill me and set my shop on fire, as I was a friend of the white people. The man was brought (George Thomas). George Thomas said, "I was coming "on the Wharf Road, and I heard a noise on the parade." And he said he ran up to see what was the matter, and he received a shot from one of his own people; but Nancy said, "No; you not got it from "your own people, but from that fellow, Lipman; but never mind, we are coming back to-morrow, and "will catch him; we don't done yet." Lipman was a volunteer. She said, "We have kill all the "buckra, but we save Dr. Major, and he will come to see the wounded." This was about 2 in the morning. Then my housekeeper (Mary Ann Thomas) asked if many were killed. She said, "Alexander Brown, a volunteer, we rolled him down the Fort hill." She said, "We killed the Baron, "and rolled him down; the brains is dashed out. We kill Parson Herschell; we cut his neck; and we "killed Inspector Alberga. Mr. McCormack, and Mr. Hitchins, a captain of volunteers, and Mr. "Cooke's sons, and Mr. Walton, and Parson Cooke, get away, and Stephen Cooke escape; but if we "could catch him we would cut off his head." As far as I know, all this was true. The row was going on to up to midnight.

Examined by *Alexander Murray.*—I've seen you in Dan Marshallack's store. There was no riot when I first saw you. You said in the evening that that fellow Chevannes had put you in prison for logwood. You had a volunteer rifle and sword on. You don't live in the town.

Examined by *Robert Grant.*—You heard what Bowie said. I know your brothers and your sister. You called Bowie uncle. You had a digging bill. It was in the evening—the fire burning. This is the second time I've given evidence against you. I picked you out before Mr. Lindo.

Examined by *Caroline Grant.*—You had a volunteer sword in your hand and your frock tied up. You attacked me at my shop.

Examined by *Elizabeth Faulkner.*—I never met you in any riot. I gave evidence against you at Gough's tavern, before Ewart and Lindo.

Examined by *Nancy Murray.*—You came to my shop after the court-house was burnt. I gave a statement about you to Mr. Lindo. I gave two statements. You were arrested after martial law.

Mary Ann Thomas.—I was at Morant Bay on the 11th October. I saw hundreds of people come in. I saw Nancy Murray; she had a volunteer cap on her head. It was dark. The court-house had been burnt down. I saw Caroline Grant there before sunset, coming from the main street at my shop close to the parade. She had a volunteer sword in her hand. Two men came up to drink with Barnett, and Caroline Grant said Barnett was the man who said the country people were going to poison the waters for white people to drink, and yet they were drinking with him. I saw Robert Grant the same evening; he was coming from the parade, walking with his mother and others in a great fleet. He had a gun on his shoulder, a bayonet on it. I saw Alexander Murray. He came up the main street and turned down by the bakery into the parade. He had a volunteer gun and bayonet. He was with a fleet of more people than the prisoners here. He said, "Come, let us go for that fellow Chevannes. He put "me in prison for logwood; and if I catch him to-night I'll take his life, because he put me in prison." I saw Elizabeth Faulkner in the evening, when the court-house was burning. She was coming from the main street to Bennett's store. She saw a gang of people at the door. She said, "Is that Bennett "in that store? Take him out and cut off his head. The other day I bought six yards of cloth of "him, and it was only five yards and a half. He say he is blind; he is no more blind than you." She went then in Mrs. Lundie's place where Mr. Bennett keeps his shop, and picked up stone and put in her lap; then she went away amongst the fleet. The court-house was then burning. I know George Thomas. He came into my baker's shop in the middle night—dark. He was wounded. I heard Nancy Murray say how the Baron, Herschell, and the rest had been killed.

Examined by *Robert Grant.*—I generally saw you in the market. I don't know where you are from. You had a gun; I don't know what kind. I don't know where you got it. I don't know what sort of bayonet. I've known you a long time.

Examined by *William Murray.*—I saw you in the evening; the sun was down. I know you well; I have a long time. I gave evidence in Morant Bay; the same as now. I did not say I saw you at 4 o'clock.

Examined by *Elizabeth Faulkner.*—I have not heard of your quarrelling with anyone. I've seen you at Morant Bay at all times, but never in any row until then.

Examined by *Nancy Murray.*—You with others brought in George Thomas; your clothes from here to your waist were covered with blood.

James Moore Ross.—I was living at Morant Bay on 11th October. I was and am a clerk in Mrs. Lundie's store. An unusually large number of country people came in that day between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. A large mob came from the police station to the court-house. I saw a good

lot of men on the west and east entrances of the town; the main body or armed mob came into the town from the north, from the Stoney Gut side. I recollect Henry Theophilus Bogle; I was a volunteer on the parade ground. I saw him first after I was well beaten and was trying to escape to the wharf; that was about half-past 4, before the court-house was burnt, about three-quarters of an hour after the Baron ttempted to read the proclamation. A woman was assisting me down towards the wharf; then I saw Theophilus Bogle; he had a volunteer sword with a steel scabbard; he made towards me and held up his sword. The people were scattered about looking out for people; he was doing the same. The woman ran to him and said, "For God's sake, don't touch him, he's half killed "already;" and I managed to get to the wharf; an old man and another bathed me in the sea and put me on board the Eleanor. I can recognize no one else.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—Before Mr. Cook and Ewart I don't recollect saying that I saw you with a cutlass and a stick. You are a baker. I've often seen you in Morant Bay. I never saw you in a riot before. I saw you between 3 and 4.

Margaret Taylor.—I lived at Morant Bay on the 11th. I know Ross (last witness). I saw him at the parade that day; he had no jacket or cap, but was washed up in blood, I ran and went to him; he was staggering. I conveyed him to the Wharf Road; as I got to junction of the road I heard some one behind say "there is one." I look and saw Henry Theophilus Bogle; he had sword drawn. I shoved on Ross and begged Bogle to retire, as Ross was partly dead already. Bogle never touched Ross. This was after 4. Bogle said to me, "You wretch, I will run you through;" and I was frightened and ran away.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—It was about after 3 or 4 o'clock I saw you. I never saw you in any row before. The gang of you were at Miss Uniack's; it is from there you run. I did not see you beat anyone. During martial law I was in my employer's shop, Mr. Marshallack. When they were hanging people afterwards, I saw you with a lame leg. I remember when Ramsay let you go in November.

Charles A. Lipman.—I was a volunteer of Morant Bay, company No. 2; was so on 11th October last; was on duty at the parade; I saw Theophilus Bogle there, first about half-past 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The ranks of the volunteers had then been broken. He was on the west part of the parade. I saw him running up from the seaside up the hill on the west of the court-house; he had a sword in his right hand and a stick in his left; this was after the attack on the volunteers; I was then in the fort yard; it was half an hour after the attack; it was a volunteer sword bayonet. He said, "There's "a volunteer here, come at him." There were then about 100 following him. I then came to the charge, and I fired, and I saw one fall; he fell under the shed. The next morning I looked for him; that is him, George Thomas. The court-house was then burning. I had heard the Baron trying to read the Riot Act. When I shot the man it was about an hour after the attempt to read the Riot Act.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—Your master was living in the same house with me, and you were there as a servant. I saw you in Morant Bay on the 7th and 11th October. I was with the General during martial law. If I had had another round I would have shot you. You had a handkerchief on your head over a felt hat.

Examined by *George Thomas.*—I shot you to protect myself; you were with the mob.

Charles M. Robinson.—I reside, and did so on 11th October, at Morant Bay. I'm a tailor; my shop is in the parade. About 3 in the afternoon I heard a drum and horn. Several persons, some volunteers, were in my shop. I told them to turn out that I might shut up. As I turned the key I saw Inspector Alberga coming across the private yard leading into the parade; I followed him to the first step of the court to the east step; he raised his arm to the magistrates at the top and said, "They "have taken all the arms out of the station." The mob came into the parade not five minutes after; at that time I saw none of these prisoners. I left the parade. I saw Nathaniel Richards; he came to my house about an hour and a quarter after the Riot Act was read. I was standing at my west gate. I saw him in full chase of a servant of Stephen Cooke's, running up to Cooke's house, which adjoins to mine. Richards had a cutlass and a stick; he said, "Stop that fellow, he has been carrying "powder to the volunteers." The boy ran through my yard; Richards insisted upon coming in after after him; he was much excited and trembling with passion. I told him the boy was gone down the hill. Then I followed Richards clear of the yard down the hill; there I met Theophilus Bogle with 30 or 40 men. This was about a quarter to 6. I asked him what he was about. He said "Look in "the parade and you'll see only one of your colour to five of mine." He said, "The sooner you clear "out the better." He had a cutlass and a stick and a Crimean shirt with a streak of blood on the left breast. I think the school-room was on fire. The volunteers had fired and black people had been killed. I saw four black people dead the next morning.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—I don't remember the 13th September. I've seen you at Morant Bay. I never saw you in a row before. I always thought you were Paul Bogle's son, not Moses's, so little did I know of you. I saw you when you were taken up, when riding a mule or a horse. You've not done me any harm. I did not see you when Ramsay let you go. I was in Kingston then. When I came back I gave evidence against you.

Examined by *Nathaniel Richards.*—I saw you at the back door of my house on the 11th.

Letitia Arma.—I was in Morant Bay on 11th October; there was a row. The people came to Mrs. Lundie's store: they came for gunpowder after they left the parade. The sun was not set; it was after the firing of the volunteers. The court-house was not yet burning. They did not get it then; they got it in the night. They did not pay for it nor buy it, but they took it. I saw John Astwith; he had a gun in his hand, no bayonet on it. I saw Ann Thompson; she had nothing in her hand. Theophilus Bogle was there at the same time; he had a sword by his side in the scabbard.

[Letitia Arma's deposition read].

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—You were at Mrs. Lundie's in the evening. Paul Bogle came together with you and William Bogle. I saw you when you were taken, riding a horse, in October.

Examined by *Ann Thompson.*—It was about 11 o'clock at night; you were handing iron pots and cutlasses from the shop to the people outside.

Adjourned.

Wednesday, 7th March 1866, before same court.

Robert Milne.—I was servant to Mr. Stephen Cooke at Morant Bay. I was at his house on the hill on Monday the 11th October. I was sent to the court-house. I went and I saw the Baron and the inspector; they gave me something; I came back again. In the main street I saw Nathaniel Richards; he had a cutlass, with four or five more, some with cutlasses, some with sticks. He asked me what I had, he said "Stop sir, you have powder carrying for the volunteers, you are Stephen Cooke's servant;" then he ran after me and called out, "Chop him, he is Stephen Cooke's servant and a d—d rascal." A little boy called Barrett was with me. Charles Robinson was at Mrs. Robinson's house; I saw him at the same time.

Examined by *Nathaniel Richards.*—I never saw you before; you were amongst the crowd, the Rebels, that day. I saw you in the parade and by Kirkland's store door.

Fable Taylor.—I was at Morant Bay at Cottage Pen on the 11th October. I saw Betsy Taylor with other people, the Rebels. When the crowd were coming from the Bay at 11 o'clock at night I heard her say that Parson Cooke was a bad man, and don't worth for anyone to kneel under him, and he liked court-house too much; the beating he got was not enough, his head should have been take off.

Examined by *Elizabeth Taylor.*—I knew you before. I don't know where you belong to. I've known you at Spring Garden pass. I saw you with my own two eye. The moon raise at 11 o'clock. Ann Aitchson was with me. I never saw you making any row in Morant Bay before.

Ann Aitchson.—I know Fable Taylor (last witness). I remember the Wednesday; I was at Cottage that night. Fable was in my house about 11 o'clock. I saw plenty of people outside my house coming from the Bay into Moses Bogle's yard, he is dead; among them I saw Elizabeth Taylor. I heard her say Parson Cooke was a bad man, and that this night they must go and look for him and kill him because he loved the court-house too much. She lives at Honey Comb near Spring Garden.

Examined by *Elizabeth Taylor.*—I've known you a long time. I never met you in a row. We are not friends. I've had no quarrel with you. The people had lanterns and spermaceti candles. I was on the steps. There was no moon that night.

Re-examined by *Williams.*—I'm sure it was her.

Caroline Milne.—I know Elizabeth Taylor; that's her. I remember the night of the trouble. I was in my yard at Church Corner. I saw people going into the Bay about three o'clock in the day. I went to the bridge near the Bay at the west end, and I saw her beating Joseph Williams, a volunteer, with a stick, about 3 o'clock in the day, after the firing. She was alone. She asked if his mother was a black woman. He said yes; and she asked why he had joined the volunteers to kill us, you should have come to Stoney Gut and join us. I returned back, and I saw one Matthew Ford and plenty of others. They had Williams and Robb Tod, volunteers, also Mr. Ward, beating them the whole way going down to the church. This was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Ford had Williams' boots in his hand. Ford had a volunteer's bayonet and a sword in his hand. I'm sure it was Ford, for he came into my house and wished to leave his sword and bayonet there and go back to the Bay. I would not allow him to do so.

Examined by *Elizabeth Taylor.*—I have known you a long time, but not in any row. You had a stick and your coat tied up. When you were beating Williams he had a wound in his head and hand. I gave the same evidence before to Mr. Lindo at the gaol.

Examined by *Matthew Ford.*—I don't know what Williams had done to you. You had a black stick, quite shine, and you had Williams's boots in your hand. I've seen you before. You live at Stoney Gut. I know all your family. You begged a bread at the Road Bridge. I did so. This was the morning you were examined. I never said I had made a sad mistake.

Joseph Hardy Williams.—I'm an accountant. Am a volunteer. I was at Morant Bay on the 11th October. I saw 600 or 700 people enter the parade about half-past 3 or 4 o'clock, all armed with sticks, cutlasses and guns, fifes. I made my escape, and managed to go about half a mile to Bronsgut bridge into a comrade's house, one Brittle. I took off my jacket and my belt, my gun had been taken from me in the parade by the mob. Then Brittle's mother hailed out, "they are coming." I looked, and saw about 100 people round the house. Every one had sticks and cutlasses. I tried to escape again into the bush, but was overtaken by them, and they commenced beating me with sticks six or eight at a time. I was beaten until I fell; then other mobs beat me. The third gang was about 100 strong with cutlasses and sticks. Among them was Ennis Napier. He had a stick, and struck me with a stick, he and others did. Both my hands were broken, and had injuries on my head and body. I was ill for six or eight weeks. My head was fractured. I was only beaten with sticks. I was carried home in a hammock. I was marched on from one mob to another, and beaten by each. The gangs addressed people as their captains. The first gang seemed to have a captain called McLaren, the second gang to be commanded by Ennis Napier. Scipio Courle commanded the third gang. He is executed. I've often seen McLaren at the Baptist chapel just south of the Wesleyan chapel.

Examined by *Ennis Napier.*—I saw you a little westward of the prison. I and Mr. Ward were walking together, and were beaten together. You had a stick. I don't know what sort. I felt it. Robert Tod was there. We were going on towards the church.

William E. Ward.—I was at Morant Bay on the 11th October. I know Ennis Napier; there he is. He was with a crowd of Rebels just between the prison and the Baptist chapel. Williams and I were taken prisoners by the Rebels. Napier had a stick and a cutlass in his hand. He seemed to be the head of the gang, and he ordered the gang to take us to Stoney Gut. Before that he and others had beaten us severely with a stick. This was the second gang. The first gang caught me first at the bridge, and one fellow tried to drown me in the water. Then I was handed to the second gang. This was about half-past four. Between three and four I was on the parade in Robinson Taylor's shop. I saw shells blowing, &c. down Stanton Road. I ran upstairs into an old house that looked into the

station. I saw a body assemble in front armed with sticks and cutlasses. Some rushed in and took off the guns.

Examined by *Ennis Napier.*—I met you past the prison. Williams and I saw you too. You beat me.

Sligo Campbell.—I was officer of district prison on 11th October. I know Ennis Napier. I saw him opposite the prison about 4 in the evening. He had a stick. He said he was looking for McPherson the coroner, not to kill him, but to switch him. He was alone and coming to the Bay when he said so. Then I saw Jos. Hardy Williams, and Ward, and Bobby Todd, brought up by Matthew Ford and two other prisoners. They were prisoners and being taken to Church Corner. I saw a body of men near Church Corner facing Caroline Milne's gate. I know McLaren's chapel. One of the Bogle's used to attend it. Jos. Williams was in blood. Napier said, take them on, and he returned back with them. I saw Matthew Ford beating Williams. There were upwards of 100 people at Caroline Milne's gate; they had sticks. I could see them beating from a distance. At 12 o'clock at night I saw a body of upwards of 300 men at the prison; they came from the Bay way, armed with guns, sticks, cutlasses, lances, &c., volunteer guns. Among them I saw Nathaniel Richards, Alick White, and Wm. Osborne. Captain Bowie was leading them. Paul and Moses Bogle were among them also. They came to the Queen's District Prison gate. I had 51 prisoners in there under sentence, some for felony. At the gate the mob came to "order arms" at Bogle's command. Bowie gave orders to load and to fire. I said, "You need not fire, for we are not armed." They called me out; some wanted to chop me; they wanted me to let out the prisoners. I told them to let them out themselves. Then they gave orders to form two deep, and Bowie marched in command of the first company of 10 men; then Craddock had 10 (Bowie and Craddock are hung); then Simmonds had 10 men (he is hung); they marched into the prison; the rest came in a body, opened the door of the prison, and let the prisoners out. They counted the number of the prisoners, and let them go. They swore me to join them, and not to enter into any public situation again. Craddock swore me on the Bible. I was threatened much by William Osborne, and Nathaniel Richards was in a terrible rage. I was sworn to go with them, and fight for their Queen and country. I had seen Alexander White in Morant Bay; he was before the magistrates on the 7th October, on a charge of assault on a little girl; this is the same case when there was a disturbance in the court. The people wanted to find out where the superintendent was, and asked for his money.

Examined by *Matthew Ford.*—I've often seen you in Morant Bay. I saw you beating Williams. I don't know what he had done you.

Examined by *Ennis Napier.*—You had a good sized stick.

Examined by *Nathaniel Richards.*—You had a cutlass and stick, and were very violent. You were not taken up until after martial law, three days after. You got a flogging at martial law.

Examined by *Alick White.*—I saw you come to the prison and let out the prisoners.

Examined by *William Osborne.*—I knew you at Friendship Pen. I don't know if you knew Bogle, but I saw you with him that night. You were one that rescued the prisoners on the Saturday the 7th. I've had no quarrel with you.

John J. Walker.—I remember the day of the trouble. I live a quarter of a mile from Morant Bay. The next day I saw Ennis Napier. I saw his clothes; they were in blood.

Examined by *Ennis Napier.*—You said that Noble had been shot, and that his blood caught you.

Re-examined by *Williams.*—Noble is alive.

Thomas Gibson.—I live at Spring Garden, line on line with Stoney Gut. I know Benjamin Bingling and Catherine Rankin. From what she told me I saw Bingling, and told him what she said, that she said it was him that kill the Baron. I know he was killed at the Wharf Road at Morant Bay on the 11th. It was the next morning that I told Bingling this at my door at Spring Garden. Then he said, I must go and beg Catherine Rankin not to go much far with it; and I said, it was a thing I could not do, and he must go and do it himself. I knew of my own knowledge that Bingling was at Morant Bay on the 11th October. I and he went together. We arrived after 6 in the evening. We saw the people standing up, and we went to see the fire burning. I stopped at Brown's Gut bridge, and he went into a crowd. Next time I saw him was near 8 o'clock. I was sitting on the beach with some ladies. When he and I got to the town the court-house had been burning a good way.

Examined by *Benjamin Bingling.*—We worked on the road from the 9th to the 11th October at Serge Island. We always draw off a little after four. When we heard of the fire burn we went to the Bay instead of going home. We never went to your house. You leave me, and run all the way down. I never caught you until you got to Church corner. We saw a large quantity of people, but you went among the crowd. Afterwards, at the beach where I was sitting, you said you had "drowned the "fellow;" you were walking with Bill Waters. He is hung. I was not put round at the seaside as a sentry by John Bundy. I don't know the man. I was sitting with some ladies, and chatting about the disputes of the day. I went to look at the Baron, according as you told me. You told me the fellow you had "drowned" was the Baron. I went to look at the Baron the next morning. He was then lying in the Wharf Road. You only had a cutlass. I stopped in the Bay that night to see if you had told the truth.

Re-examined by *Williams.*—We are not in the back lands. Where I live is ruinate land; I hire it from the Baron. When I saw Bingling at the Wharf Road he said "Oh! Gibson, I have drowned the "fellow." Then I asked, "Which one of the fellows?" he said, "The Baron." Then I said, "That he "should not have done that, as he was the very man he was employed with," and then he went away. He said the Baron had a sword and he made a strike after the Baron with a cutlass, he did not say where he hit him, he said that the Baron said, "To save his life he would give him two horses." He said when he had done this to the Baron was on the Wharf Road. I went there the next morning and I saw the body in a trench in the Wharf Road, there was a terrible cut as of a cutlass on the forehead. I've had no quarrel with prisoner. I delivered him in charge to John Williams, of Spring Garden, the constable. Bothwell was there when I did so.

Catherine Rankin.—I live at Yorkland; it lines with Spring Garden. I know Benjamin Bingling; I

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saw him on the Thursday, about 8 o'clock in the morning at my yard at York. He came and said he had killed the Baron, and I ordered him out. He did not say when he had done so; he said he had gone the Wednesday evening to Morant Bay. I told Thomas Gibson this the same day. I am not living with him or any family to him. I am married to William Rankin.

Examined by *Benjamin Bingling.*—When I told you, you walked out. John Bothwell took you up. I told him in your presence what you had said. You told me not to tell when I came to give evidence at Morant Bay. I did not see any blood on your clothes. I don't remember your clothes.

Alexander Bothwell re-called.—I received information which led me to search for Bingling. I had received information from constable John Williams. I was in search of him during martial law; could'nt find him; did so in December; he was with me in the presence of Catherine Rankin after I took him. I had made him, Gibson, and Catherine Rankin prisoners; in my presence she said Bingling had come to her yard and said it was he had killed the Baron. Bingling heard her say this; he said nothing. I released the other two.

Examined by *Bingling.*—I was looking all about your house at Spring Garden and could not find you. I burnt it. I took you up in the Valley Road where you were working.

William Padmon.—Shoemaker, was so at Morant Bay on 11th October. I know Sampson Champney. I saw him first about 4 o'clock that day, quarter of a mile out of the Bay. He was in a large crowd; it seemed a reserved gang. I was going to Stanton, and he called out, "Here is a volunteer, lick him, "lick him." I was not a volunteer. They were hindered by some of his own people. The crowd rushed against me, and I fell. All had sticks, no cutlasses; some seemed running from the Bay, some going down. After I had lodged informations against him, Champney came to my house to beg my pardon, and said "For Christ's sake forgive me," and he went on his knees. I said if the justices would forgive him, I would.

Examined by *Sampson Champney.*—I pointed you out to George Panton that day, and he told me what your name was.

Charlotte Carter.—I was a servant at Marshallack's shop at Morant Bay on 11th October. I know Elizabeth Faulkner and Rosanna Finlayson. I saw her come from the parade to Barnet's piazza. She said they must go and get a fire stick and trash, and set the school-room on fire. She said the white people were locked up in the court-house, and if they set fire to the school-room the whole people would be burnt up alive. Then she left the piazza in the main street and went into the parade. Five minutes after the school-room was on fire. There was a crowd on the piazza, and she was talking to them. At the same time she left the piazza they fired after one of the volunteers named Gilfoy. Afterwards I saw his body lying down in the parade. Elizabeth Faulkner was also at Barnet's piazza; she came soon after Rosanna Finlayson left. Elizabeth Faulkner was beating Bennett's door, and calling out for the people to take out the buckra in them and kill them. She had a stick. Miss Downer, and Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Brown were inside.

Examined by *Elizabeth Faulkner.*—Bennett's store was not locked, it was only shut.

Examined by *Rosanna Finlayson.*—I did not see you with a fire stick. You gave orders to your own people. You all came from the mountain together; you live at Stoney Gut way.

Robert Jacobs.—I was in the volunteers on the 11th October; No. 1 company. I saw James Francis at Morant Bay that day. After I escaped out of Price's house I went to the privy. Two others were with me, Mr. Gowan, Rutty, and Duncan McPherson. McPherson is dead, Rutty was severely wounded; also Mr. Gowan and myself. While I was in the privy the window was pulled down. There was a strong light from the burning court house, lots of people all surrounding the place. I saw James Francis through the window. I made a sign to him as I knew him. He said "Ah, you are in there to-night, everyone of your heads will be off." Then the mob began to break down the privy. I fell on the floor and we were pulled out by the leg one by one. Francis assisted with a woman to take off my boots. He took a ring off my finger. I lay down as if dead. He said, "Ah, this fellow "Jacob is dead, and to-morrow we'll go to Bath and have refreshment out of his shop; it is good the "whole of you are all dead." He comes from Friendship estate, near Potosi, about 12 miles from Morant Bay.

Examined by *James Francis.*—You were taken up in martial law. I was sick and could not give evidence, and I heard that they had let you go. I told the Maroons if they saw you to keep you. Afterwards, when you were taken up the second time, I gave evidence against you at Bath. I heard that you were flogged.

Thomas Scott.—I was drummer of No. 1 company. I know James Faily. I was on duty at Morant Bay 11th October. I saw him coming in the crowd of Rebels, coming into the parade from the main street. When they came in there was no fighting as yet. Afterwards Captain Hitchins gave some advice, and I ran out. I left him in fort house. He was wounded then. I ran into the Wharf Road. I saw James Faily then; he had a stick and a cutlass. He licked me down and called out to the rest of the men, a large crowd. They came with sticks, cutlasses, and swords. I was on the ground. They said I was dead already. I kept quiet; they left me.

Examined by *James Faily.*—I am saying now what I said before Justice Ewart.

Examined by *James Francis.*—You were flogged for stealing goods.

Romeo W. Drysdale.—I was corporal of police on the 11th October. I escaped from the parade to the wharf. I was attacked on the Wharf Road. I was in the parade before the Riot Act was read. I saw the mob come in. I tried to get from Wharf Road to a lane leading into the main street. I was attacked by 30 or 40 men armed with cutlasses, sticks, and spikes, under one McLaren (now hanged), I was made prisoner. I saw James Faily among them. This was about half an hour after the volunteers had fired. He asked me if I was Charles Drysdale, the schoolmaster's brother? I said yes; he was about to strike a spike into me and a woman saved me. He ordered me to be tied, but McLaren said, no. I and Sergeant-major Kenzie were made prisoners together and marched to the district prison, and there left in charge of four men until further orders were received from Captain Bogle. I subsequently escaped and got to Duhany pier that night. Then I heard a person in the yard about 12 o'clock making a statement. It was William Osborn's voice. I'm sure he called for Mil,

a rural constable; he was not there. Mr. Uniack went out and answered him. He then said he had called for West to tell him what they had done at the Bay; the first words he said were "We kill "Walton, the Baron dead, another Cooke dead, Stephen Cooke dead, and other gentlemen," and he said at the last, "The inspector we just kill him." Mrs. Uniack said, "Boy, after you kill all the buckra "what are you going to do? come out of the yard." He said "I am going back to the Bay, see my "macheat; those are not killed we'll finish them."

Examined by *James Failey.*—I did not say you had made me prisoner.

Examined by *William Osborn.*—I did not send you here. McKenzie was asleep. Codrington was there. I did not see you. You were outside. I was too much afraid to take you up that night.

Eleanor Uniack.—I'm a washerwoman at Morant Bay. I remember the night of the 11th October. I heard someone call out cousin West that night; it was William Osborn; I know his voice well. Mrs. Anderson answered; West was sleeping. I went into the hall and I saw William Osborn; it was late at night. Serjeant McKenzie was in the house and Corporal Drysdale and Codrington. Osborn said, "All the buckra dead in the Bay." I said, Where you come from so late? He said he was from the Bay. I asked Who, and who? He said, Mr. Cooke dead, and Parson Herschell and the inspector, and Mr. Georges. I said, Good Lord, what is this? all the buckra dead, what will become of we? I ordered him out. I asked him what was the great dinging at the Bay? He said it was after the prisoners were released.

By *me.*—I don't remember his saying anything about Mr. Walton. He said that the Baron was dead. I don't remember if he said anything about going back to the Bay.

Examined by *William Osborn.*—I only saw you with a stick. I saw no cutlass.

John Codrington.—I was boatswain of District Prison; was so on 11th October. That night about a quarter to 12 I went to Mrs. Uniack's house at Duhany's Pen. Drysdale was there. Serjeant McKenzie was there. I did not see him. I heard a person calling "Hulloa, you gone to bed?" I did not know the voice. Mrs. Uniack went out. She and the person spoke. She asked, "Where are "you from at this hour?" He said "Just from the Bay." She said "What's the news in the Bay? He said, "Go in the Bay and you see all buckra lay down dead." He said "We kill Alick Cooke; we kill the "Baron; we kill Walton; we kill parson Herschell, and the inspector." He said "We." Mrs. Uniack asked him if he had seen that fellow Codrington and his busha (McPherson, the superintendent)? He said, No, "they cut," we take out the prisoners. She said, "Good God, boy, come out of my yard; "after you kill all the buckra, how we to live?" Next morning as I got to the river, going to the prison, I saw Osborn coming with a cutlass in his hand. He said, "I see you over this side." I said "Yes, to see my family" He said he was just going to Church Corner himself to meet Captain Bogle, for I have to go to Lyssons to see that fellow Wallace, and then to Bath, and then to Golden Grove.

Examined by *Osborn.*—I saw you working for some time on the road. You said you were going to Bogle.

William Cuthbert.—I was a boatswain at District Prison on 11th October. I was there at 12 at night. About 300 men armed. Nathaniel Richards was there; William Osborn, and Alexander White. The prisoners were released by the mob. Then companies of ten came in, and the rest were outside. They used military expressions. Richards had a volunteer's rifle and a belt and pouch at the back. Osborn had a stick. White had nothing. A sentry was placed over me. I was sworn on a Bible to be no more a public officer; that I would get the key from the superintendent, and go home and work for myself, or come along with them and fight for my Queen and country.

Examined by *Osborn.*—You were at the prison. I gave the same evidence. Mr. Lindo is here.

Examined by *Nathaniel Osborn.*—A Maroon brought you in. You were brought before Ramsay, provost marshal. Three witnesses were brought before him. You were flogged.

Colin Hamilton.—I was fifer in volunteers. On 11th October I saw the crowd entering the parade. I saw Captain Paul Bogle and Captain McLaren, Stephen Cameron, James Thomas, and Moses Bogle. As they came up to about 10 yards of the volunteers, Moses Bogle called out to his company, "Close, "board at once." Both Bogles were there. John Gough was in the front rank. He had a stick and a cutlass flourishing. When the order was given the crowd came on with stones, and flourishing sticks. Gough licked every one he could come across, police and volunteers. I ran away to the bottom walk to a privy. I was not chased. Afterwards I saw John Gough down that side chasing a policeman. Then he met a volunteer and knocked him down with a stick. I don't know who. Next day I saw Gough. I was at Dunkly's, my home. I heard the "Wolverine" had come. I went out and met Captain James Thomas (since hanged) with a gun, and Gough was with him and had a stick, his clothes all over in blood. He said, "This is one of the volunteers." He said, "Don't let me see you "wear that stripe again." They went to the woods when they saw the "Wolverine."

Examined by *John Gough.*—I don't know your yard. I've never had a quarrel with you.

Elizabeth McBeth.—I live near Morant Bay. I remember the 11th October. I saw Ennis Napier about half-past two, before the disturbance. He said, "Fourteen days fight and blood and water "going to be at Morant Bay this day: who to stop at mountain stand there, and who stop at Morant "Bay stand there." He was coming from the Bay past the cottage to Bogle's way. I saw him going back to the Bay just before the row at half-past three. I saw Joshua Gordon just after the firing, coming from the Bay past the cottage, towards his house. He was bleeding on the left side of the head. I never saw him again. Johanna Williams was walking with him, and said in his presence he had been taking a walk in the Bay and they had shot him.

Examined by *Ennis Napier.*—I did not see you in the Bay.

Examined by *Joshua Gordon.*—I know you well. I never knew you to be a blackguard. I was sober. I did not see you on the 19th October.

Richard Daniel Merzinck.—I was a volunteer. I was wounded in the right leg and head and finger in the court-house at Morant Bay. I saw the mob enter the parade on the 11th. Three or four o'clock. Came from the main street. I saw Alexander Taylor in the mob. There he is. He had a long spike and a cutlass and a stick by his left side. He was with old Bowie (since hung). Taylor

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thrust the pike at the volunteers. It struck David Graham; his gun fell. I saw Taylor again after the firing, about six o'clock. He was running through the court-yard. Myself, the Baron, Hitchins, McGowan, Hall, and others were in Price's house. Taylor said, "That fellow Baron's head shall be "off this night." A hundred people were along with him. The mob kept going from place to place about the parade and court-house. I saw Edward Gordon. He was with the crowd. I saw him first about six o'clock running back of the fort yard. He was running with them.

Examined by *Edward Gordon.*—I knew you when at Morant Bay. I was in the police force. I saw you again at nine o'clock with other parties who captured me with one Dan Johnson.

Re-examined by *Williams.*—Gordon and one Dan Johnson were keeping guard at the Wharf Road, about nine, and captured me, to send me they said to Stony Gut; they stripped off my jacket and cap. At this time Mr. Price, who was afterwards killed, came down from the fort to the road, and they left me and laid hold of him; in presence of Edward Gordon they said to Price, "You are a black man, you "join buckra and leave your own colour?" They were fighting to get his money, and I made my escape; I never saw him again until 25th January, when I identified him at the court-house.

John Spence.—I live at Cottage Pen, employed by Dn. McPherson (who is now dead). I know Edward Gordon, I've known him long; I saw him at Church Corner at the meeting house; he asked me to come and join the meeting; this was three weeks before the rebellion; it was at McLaren's meeting house. Thomas Graham was there; plenty of people there, plenty sworn. Graham asked me to join the meeting; McLaren was there, he swore the people. I saw Thomas Graham on the 11th October in the fort yard about eight o'clock at night, plenty of people there; the two Bogles and McLaren and Bowie were there. Graham tried to break into the magazine, the powder house.

Examined by *Edward Gordon.*—You asked me two weeks before the rebellion; you asked me; I saw taken up at martial law; if I had given the evidence you would have been hanged.

Examined by *Thomas Graham.*—I never stole plantains; your brother sent me to your grounds; we went together; he was afraid to go alone because of the soldiers. You had an iron bar knocking the magazine door; the fire from the court-house made it light; several men were helping you; you had that same jacket; I was sent by Mr. McPherson.

John Hillury.—I was at court-house on the 11th October. I have a shop close to parade. I saw the crowd entering the parade, one body by the side of my shop on the east side of the court-house on the parade; afterwards about five o'clock I observed Alexander Taylor, he had a cutlass in his hand in the mob, he was coming from the court-house, he lifted his cutlass over my head and said, "Now sir, what "do you say for yourself, is it the white people or the black people set fire to the court-house? isn't "it the white people?" I said yes, from fear. Then he said, "Ah my boy, as soon as the Maroons "at Hyfield come to hear some of their sons are dead, then you'll see what will be done here to-"morrow." At night I saw Isaac Josephs, he was on the parade, he had a cutlass. About five minutes before this I saw Inspector Alberga, with his son by the right hand; a body of men rushed out on him from a cross street and said "See him here, see him here." He said, "Mercy, my child." A man struck him on the forehead with a stick, he staggered, and his hat fell off, he attempted to run, another struck him another blow, then they dragged him across the parade and finished him. Isaac Josephs picked up his hat, he came from the spot where Alberga was killed to the place where the hat had dropped, and picked it up.

Examined by *Isaac Joseph.*—You had on a straw hat, short shirt, and cutlass. I was 17 yards off from where the hat was, in my room; I afterwards measured it.

By *me.*—I had Joseph taken up after martial law; when he saw me he ran, and I had him apprehended. I'm positive sure it is the same person. Where he picked up the hat he could not have seen me as I was in my room.

John Spence re-called.—I know John Taylor, brother of Alexander Taylor, I saw him in the court-yard on the 11th, where I was sent by Mrs. McPherson; there he is. I asked him if he seen anything of Mr. McPherson, he said he was dead. It was about eight at night. John Taylor was sitting down doing nothing. There was a crowd going backwards and forwards.

Examined by *John Taylor.*—I did not go to see where McPherson was. You said you had been there from morning, and were tired, and could not go. I saw McPherson afterwards on Friday at Cottage Pen, after they brought him there in a cart.

Re-examined by *Williams.*—John Taylor told me where McPherson's body was.

Henry Hardy Williams.—I'm a volunteer, was so on 11th October. I saw Alexander Murray in the main street, he had a volunteer rifle with fixed sword bayonet; this was when the court-house was burning; the havoc was going on. Two other men were with him having volunteer rifles; they were not volunteers.

Examined by *Alexander Murray.*—I'm sure it was you, you were coming from the parade way. I've known you over two years.

Eliza Gregory.—I was at Morant Bay on the 11th October; I know Bronsgut Bridge, I saw William McGregor there that day between four and five o'clock, about 20 of them, some with guns, macheats, sticks, and swords: they were keeping guard; they said they were waiting for Mr. Georges. I saw James McLaren, who has been hung; he said they must wait for Georges. At seven o'clock the shell blew in the Bay, and they all run up. The same night I saw Henry Mitchell, he was standing at the bridge, lots of them there with guns, macheats, sticks, and volunteer swords. I saw McLaren, and heard him tell them to let the prisoners out of prison, then they went towards the prison, this was between 10 and 11 at night. I heard Mitchell say that the broken-hipped volunteer had escaped from the parade, but if he caught him he would kill him. There was a lame volunteer who lived down at the bridge named James Brittes.

Examined by *William McGregor.*—You had a macheat, I saw you, I was at my gate; about 20 of you were keeping guard.

Examined by *Henry Mitchell.*—I've known you a long time. I saw you that night, you came from the Bay with a stick, and spoke about the broken-hipped volunteer. I saw you at night. Your brother came to my yard that night to buy candles; he is taller than you.

William Mitchell.—I was in volunteers on 11th. In the morning I saw people coming in with sticks two by two. I thought it strange. In the afternoon I saw the armed mob come in. They came up to the volunteers; we retired; they said we were running; they came close up. At that time the Baron was waving his handkerchief, saying, "Peace, peace;" the mob said, "No peace." There were 27 volunteers; the order was given to fire; there was no time to re-load; a man came with a spike; I was struck with a brick going up the steps: we had five rounds. I afterwards made my escape through the back with Walton to Hilling's bush; then I returned to Price's house. I saw the Baron, Herschell, Georges, Dr. Major, Gerrard, Alexander B. Cooke, Warmington, and others; they had all been in the Court-house; then the Court-house and school were on fire; after the Court-house Price's house took fire. Then Lieutenant Hale was shot, the Baron also in the leg; also Georges and McPherson, little Alberga was shot. There were cries of "Guard the Wharf road." The Baron said to Paul Bogle, "What's all this, if you want me take me, and save the rest." Bogle said, "No, we "don't want you only, but all the buckras and mulattos." Then a lot rushed in with sticks; he cried mercy. I heard a man chop his dead body with a cutlass. I saw Peter O'Hagan in the fort yard, he had a stick and cutlass; they were beating me; I said, "Don't you know me?" He said, "Yes, I know you, a d—d forward fellow; cut his head off." Alexander Taylor was there too at that "time; he said "Kill him, kill the whole of them." The mob asked what the Queen paid me for being a volunteer. I said, Nothing; then they took my ring and boots; all I had in my pocket. The mob had me down, and somebody called, "Save him," and the mob let me get up; then Mansfield Pantor came up; he saved me; he is now hung; they said, Don't you hear what the head man say?

Sarah Knowles.—I was at Morant Bay on the 11th. I know Peter O'Hagan; that's him. I saw him that day coming up the Wharf road, at Hilling's shop door; he had a cutlass and stick. I was in the shop. I went out to him and said, "Peter, are you going to kill me?" He said, not to call his name, or he would take off my head with his cutlass; this was between 4 and 5; the back part of the school-room was on fire; he was alone; several men in the yard. He said he did not come to kill any women, but seeing all his colour on the parade, he was going to kill all the white people before he went away that night. I asked him to be allowed to take my child from the yard. He said if you are carrying any powder to the volunteers he would cut off my head. I saw the people murdering Price.

Examined by *O'Hagan.*—You had a cutlass as well as a stick.

Thursday, 8th March 1866. Before the same Court.

Francis McKay.—I was employed at Kirkland's store at Morant Bay; was there on the 11th October. I saw the late Arthur Cooke galloping into the Bay, and then I saw some 300 people coming from the Stanton side. I was so alarmed that I had the store closed. I went upstairs. I saw the police station. I saw Alexander Taylor; he was one of the mob who attacked the station; he had a cutlass in his hand; he brandished the cutlass in my face; he said I might go now and he would come back for me. I did not see the attack on the volunteers. The people were crying out they would kill all the white and coloured people in the place. I heard them murdering Price. I heard every blow of his head against the wall. Some said kill him, some not. I remained until 1 or 2 in the morning. The store is near the parade; the row continued off and on until 3.

Gilbert Lindsay.—I was at Morant Bay on 11th. Among those who attacked the volunteers was Alexander Taylor. I did not see what he had in his hand. Afterwards I saw him in the parade, during the day, and at night with a volunteer; he said, All the buckra and volunteer, not one will be left to-night.

George Reid.—I know Robert Wilson. I saw him on 12th October at York, in St. Thomas-in-the-East; his clothes were all over in blood. I asked him where he was from; he said "From Stony Gut now," and that he had come from Morant Bay as well. I asked if any gentlemen had been destroyed by the blacks; he said yes. I asked what quantity? he said a lot. He said Mr. Walton and the Baron, Mr. Herschell; that they were killed. I met him in the road. He said "*We* kill them," I am sure. He said Mr. Walton and the Baron, and Mr. Herschell. Then we left one another. Next day (13th) I saw him; he had the same clothes on with blood; he came to my yard at York, line and line with Spring Garden. I asked him how he had the heart to keep on those blood clothes until this time? He said, "I have a right to have on my clothes, for when a man make up his mind to join "a war, he must make it up truly." I said, "How come you to be daubed so much with blood?" He said, "When I went to the Bay as I went to the Parade, I licked down a volunteer with a stick, and I "take away his rifle and his cartouch box and his sword as well, and clapped them on myself, and I "was there until the Court-house caught fire; that then some one said the buckras were making their "escape to the privy, and he ran round and ran the sword right through one, and he said as I pull back "the sword the blood spilt upon me; that make me get the blood on my clothes; and we drag out the "whole of them and kill them all," He said the buckras called out, "Shoot us and done." Then he said the people moved away, and as the Court-house was burning and falling down, some of the blacks were killed by the volunteers firing on them. He said when they were drawing away the blacks they found one of Mr. Cooke's sons awfully murdered, but not dead yet, and that he (Wilson) called out "Hulloa, "here is one of the fellows not dead yet." He said Cooke was trying to drag himself from the heat of the fire. He said, "When the people came we turned to and beat out his brains, and turned him over "on his back." George Robinson was lying in my house sick when Wilson told me this, and heard part of it.

Examined by *Wilson.*—I met you between 8 and 9 in the morning; you live next door to me; my brother was shot by the soldiers. There was a meeting on the 8th October to which my brother went, that caused him to be shot on the 18th.

By *me.*—Wilson said he saw Cooke at the back of the Court-house near the fort yard; the privy is near. I've had no quarrel with Wilson.

George Robinson.—I live at York. I remember being at George Reid's house. I know Robert Wilson. I saw him on the 13th October in George Reid's house; I saw his clothes all daubed with blood. I was sick, lying down with fever when he first came; I heard him talking to George Reid. He said

JAMAICA. buckra's skin tough and hard to death; for they had well murder one of the young Cooke, but he did not dead until when the Court-house catch fire, and then they were walking to look if any of the black skin near the fire to move them, and then he find Mr. Cooke was dragging on his belly to try to make his escape, and then he called out to the rest, and they came and murdered him until they beat out his brains. I've never quarrelled with Wilson.

Examined by *Robert Wilson.*—George Reid lives at York; he and I live in the same house.

John Hilbury recalled.—I live on the Parade. The morning on the 12th October about half-past 6 I went to look at the dead bodies at the Court House. I saw Alexander B. Cooke's body dead; I found him just back of the privy in the Fort yard; his two eyes were out. The privy is from the school-house about as far as from here to the window.

Romeo Drysdale recalled.—Henry Theophilus Bogle lives at Church Corner, a mile from Morant Bay; Elizabeth Faulkner lives there too. Faily, Francis, and Pinnock do not live at Morant Bay; Faily lives at Thornton, 10 miles off; Pinnock lives also there. I don't know about the others, but I would know them if they lived at Morant Bay.

The Attorney-General entered a nol. pros. against David Fergusson (no evidence against him).

Case closed.

DEFENCE.

ROSANNA FINLAYSON called,—

George Ashby.—I am proprietor of Staunton estate. You were not working on my estate on the 11th that I know of; there was no bill of the labour of that day. I don't know you by sight. Stanton is on the way from Stoney Gut to Morant Bay. About a mile from the Bay.

BENJAMIN BINGLING called,—

Thomas Gilson.—You was working with me on the 11th October up to 4 o'clock.

WILLIAM GRANT called,—

William Padmore.—I never saw you on the 11th. I made my escape until 5 o'clock. I saw you then in your yard at Staunton. You had a gun belonging to Mrs. Blount of Morant.

SARAH JOHNSON called,—

Elizabeth Macbeth.—(No evidence.)

ALEXANDER MURRAY called,—

Thomas Martin.—You are a sawyer sawing at the River course. You came to my yard after 5 on the 11th at Church Corner. You dined with me there; you remained there until dark.

Examined by Williams.—He came from Reading Pen, the other side of the road. He had nothing in his hand. I was at the Bay on the 11th October. I was at home all the time of the row.

James Wilkie.—I saw you on the 11th October. I was at Martin's yard. You came there at 4 o'clock, and met me and Martin (my father) at dinner. After dinner you sat for a little while, and then went out, I don't know where, and did not see you again.

Fidelia Martin.—I'm Thomas Martin's wife. I saw you the same evening of rebellion, you eat dinner there. You came before sundown, you came after 4, and stopped until 7, and then went away. You did not come back. I saw you next time next morning as I was going to the river.

WILLIAM MCGREGOR called,—

Sligo Campbell.—I did not see you on 11th October. I generally see you pass the prison; a great many people passed that day. You are a baker, you are not a blackguard to my knowledge. You have never been in the prison since I was there.

ELIZABETH TAYLOR called,—

John Williams.—I never saw you at Stony Gut, or at a Bogle meeting. You never were a blackguard that I know of. I did not see you at the row. I was not there.

ANN THOMPSON called,—

Colin Hamilton.—You are not a rowersome person. I saw you in the Bay at 10 o'clock of the morning of the 11th with a basket. We are neighbours. I heard you at home about 10 or 11 at night; I had not heard you since you left in the morning.

Henry Johnson.—I live in the same house with you. I went to work at 9 that morning, and left you in the house. I came back about 5 in the evening. You came from the Bay about 5, and had a basket. You did not go out again. I live with you. William Wilson lives in the same yard. He is not here. You were in the same bed with me all night.

Examined by *Williams.*—Ann Thompson went for two pillows over the way about 7.

ALEXANDER WHITE called,—

Edmund House.—You were working at the bay on the 11th October carrying water for Mr. Price. You came to James Job's yard and showed me a cut on your thigh; this was 9 in the evening of the 11th.

Sarah Knowles.—Price is your employer. You were not employed at half-past 4 on the 11th. Job brought in a cart of water himself that day.

ELIZABETH TAYLOR called also,—

Letitia Johnson.—I met you in the pass at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 11th, at Church Corner, coming from Spring Garden to the Bay to look for me; when you met me you turned back; we went back to Spring Garden. You never came out again. My house lines on your's. When I got home I never saw you again. I stopped in my house, I never came out. Spring Garden is three miles from Church Corner. I'm no family to you.

Examined by Williams.—I did not sleep with Elizabeth.

ALEXANDER MURRAY called also,—

William Grey.—I remember 11th October, 4 o'clock in the evening. I observed you up to

7 o'clock at Thomas Martin's house. Thomas Martin was there, and his wife, and James Wilkie. This was while the fire was going on.

ALEXANDER WHITE also called,—

James Britte.—I was in my shop when you were carrying water at 9 on the morning of the 11th. I live by Brownsgut Bridge. You were going with the water towards the east end. I was on duty on the Parade. I saw you again between 12 and 1 driving the cart. I never saw you again.

Examined by *Theophilus Bogle.*—I left my yard at 11 o'clock. I never saw you in any row yet. I did not see you on the 11th, you might have been there.

John Dubuisson.—You were made a prisoner by John Gough. I saw you run into Mr. James Lake's yard, this was between 5 and 6 in the afternoon on the 11th. Lake is a constable. The people were beating you (White). I did not see you after this or before. Gough was saying you were in favour of the white men, and they must all beat you well, and they did beat you; you ran and they followed you.

HENRY THEOPHILUS BOGLE called:

Thomas Bogle.—I remember the 11th October. You had a bad lame leg on the morning of the 11th. We were dismissed school because of the volunteers being in the Bay. You slept in your father's baker's shop the whole night. After 7 my father marched to the gate with the prisoners from the prison; you were then sleeping in the shop. You came in to go to sleep after the volunteers had fired. You slept until 7 or 8 in the evening; then you awoke and went to Stony Gut to your father-in-law's yard, Thomas Miller. I did not see you with any cutlass, it is now with your sweetheart the other side of Stony Gut, but not near Stony Gut.

Examined by *Williams.*—I am Henry Theophlius Bogle's brother.

EVIDENCE CLOSED.

Each of the prisoners (except Alexander Taylor) then severally addressed the jury.

The jury, after retiring and considering their verdict, *acquitted* the following prisoners:

John Astwith.	Edward Gordon.	John Taylor.
James Francis.	Robert Pinnock.	George Thomas.
Joshua Gordon.		

And found the remainder of the prisoners *guilty.*

The Court then sentenced the following prisoners to *penal servitude for life*, viz.:

Henry Theophilus Bogle.	Peter O'Hagan.	Caroline Grant.
Benjamin Bingling.	Daniel Stewart.	Isaac Josephs.
John Gough.	Alexander Taylor.	Alexander Murray.
William Grant.	Robert Wilson.	Ennis Napier.
William Osborn.	Sarah Johnson.	Nathaniel Richards.

The following to *penal servitude for* 20 *years*, viz.:

Matthew Ford.	William Ford.	Henry Mitchell.
Elizabeth Faulkner.	Robert Grant.	Nancy Murray.
James Failey.	Thomas Graham.	Elizabeth Taylor.
Rosanna Finlayson.	William McGregor.	

The following to *penal servitude for* 10 *years*, viz.:

Sampson Champney and Ann Thompson.

And the prisoner *Alexander White* to *two years* in the General Penitentiary, with hard labour.

PERSONALLY appeared before me, D. Callaghan, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace, James Robinson Gordon, who being duly sworn maketh oath and saith, that a few days after the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East had broken out, Dr. R. G. Bruce, in remarking on it, said that the Rebels were damned fools for attempting to destroy the white and coloured people in the way they were doing; the better way would be for them to agree throughout the Island, and in one night massacre them; that the blacks should go to each estate in parties, when they might easily murder them all. He said that the Maroons had joined the Rebels; thus impressing my mind with the idea of his being acquainted with the design of the Rebels, and in a great degree implicated in the murderous affair.

(Signed) J. ROBINSON GORDON.

Sworn before me this 29th day of November 1865.
D. CALLAGHAN, J. P. P.

JAMAICA ss. VERE.

THE affidavit of Catherine Ann Douglas, of the parish aforesaid, who being duly sworn before me, B. W. Davies, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the said parish, on the 20th day November 1865, maketh oath, that on or about 15th of September I remember part of a conversation occurring between Mr. Curnew and Doctor Bruce in front of my shop at Wesleys in this parish. I remember hearing Doctor Bruce say, before long the white and coloured girls would be glad to have black men for their husbands.

(Signed) C. A. DOUGLAS.

Sworn before me this 20th day of November 1865.
B. WATSON DAVIES, J. P.

JAMAICA: JAMAICA ss. VERE.

THE affidavit of Margaret McLeod Howett, of the parish aforesaid, who being duly sworn before me, Robt. Russel, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the said parish, on the 20th day of November 1865, maketh oath, that on or about the 15th day of September 1865, I remember part of a conversation between Mr. Curnew and Doctor Bruce at Miss Catherine Douglas's shop, at Wesleys in this parish. I remember hearing Doctor Bruce say, that the white and coloured girls would be glad to have black men for their husbands.

her
M. M + HOWETT.
mark.

Sworn before me this 20th day of November 1865.
ROBT. RUSSEL, J. P.

JAMAICA ss. VERE.

THE affidavit of John Curnew, of the parish of Saint Dorothys, who being duly sworn before me, Robert Russel, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for the said parish, on the 20th day November 1865, maketh oath, that on or about the 15th day of September 1865, I had a conversation with Doctor Bruce at Miss Douglas's shop, at Wesleys, in this parish, in the presence of Miss Catherine Douglas and Miss Margaret McLeod Howett, when Dr. Bruce said to Miss Catherine Douglas, that she and her sister, white and coloured girls, will be glad to have black men for their husbands. Miss Douglas then asked, Why do you say that, Doctor?—I also said, Doctor, what do you mean by that? Doctor Bruce then said, there would be no white men left here for them. I then asked Doctor Bruce where they were going? He, Doctor Bruce, then said, They will be gone home, gone somewhere, or gone to the devil.

JOHN CURNEW.

Sworn before me this 20th day of November 1865.
ROBT. RUSSEL, J. P.

SIR, Spanish Town Police Office, December 2, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that his Honour the Custos of St. Thomas-in-the Vale, having drawn my attention to a letter from James Heighington, Esquire, J. P., and given me instructions to watch a place called Buxton Town, behind Linstead, but in St John's, and another place called Robinson Village, also in St. John's, I sent policemen in plain clothes disguised on Wednesday. Private Skinner returned this morning, and reports as follows:—

I am informed that secret meetings are held at Buxton Town on Wednesdays. Edward Harris told me so. At Robinson Village I found stuck up on a cocoa-nut tree the notice I hand in. I know George Hoffman King; he was discharged from the police; he lives near the place I found the notice.

I have sent again policemen out to watch.

King is a half-maroon, and a very determined man. He was discharged for letting go a prisoner.

Robinson Village is in the vicinity of the "Gibble Tore" road, and recently a murder was committed there. The neighbourhood is a very bad one; numbers of Africans and discharged convicts reside about there.

Col. Hunt, Private Secretary and Aide de camp.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEO. D. RAMSAY,
Inspector of Police.

As this is the first case in my district, I would respectfully request that you will obtain instructions how I am to act, and whether I ought to attend on the next drill day, and whether, under the recent Acts for the prevention of the administering of oaths and drilling, I would be justified in now apprehending King. I can swear to his writing, and so can others. The Act for the suppression of sham volunteers was signed by his Excellency, I believe, on the 17th November, and this notice is dated 18th.

Refer these to the Attorney-General for his opinion, and instruct Mr. Ramsay to act upon it.
(Signed) E. EYRE,
3 December 1865.

As the Statute 29 Vict. c. 8. does not constitute any of the offences against it a *felony*, the *merely* inciting to the committal of any such offence is not an offence criminally cognizable. If however the misdemeanour can be shown *to have taken place* in accordance with the "Notice," King would be treated in all respects as a principal delinquent.

(Signed) A. HISLOP, Atty.-General,
14 December 1865.

Communicated to Mr. Ramsay.—E. J. 14/12/65.

SIR, Old Harbour, December 5, 1865.

INFORMATION was given me this evening, that secret drilling goes on at a place called Pot House Pen, four miles from Old Harbour, in a yard in which a special constable named Laurence lives; they are drilled on Sundays, and wear black trousers with red stripes, and red band to cap. The man who drills them is named Thomas. I shall be glad to know if I can order them to be apprehended on the information. The name of the informant is Fred Steuart, overseer to the Hon L. McKinnon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS MANNERS, J.P.

Mr. SWIRE to Mr. SECRETARY MYERS.

SIR,

HEREWITH I have the honour to present a report on the Crown Lands in Middlesex.

Many of these lands are trespassed on by shingle splitters, and by persons cultivating provision grounds.

The parties who have lately taken up the several runs of land set forth in the annexed statement, do not appear to have followed the course prescribed by law, in assuming possession; and I think it will be necessary for the proper elucidation of this question, that each vestry clerk in the county of Middlesex shall make a return to the Government of all the lands in his parish on which taxes are paid or due, the dates of such payments, and the names of the former and present owners or possessors.

These returns should date from the year 1838, when the last inquiry was made, and should give the patentee's names, where possible.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq., Secretary to the Executive Committee.

(Signed) R. SWIRE, Crown Surveyor for Middlesex.
November 1864.

A true copy.

STATEMENT OF LANDS in the COUNTY of MIDDLESEX belonging to the CROWN; Lands taken up under the Quit-Rent Law; Lands liable to Forfeiture from Nonpayment of Land Tax.

No. of Acres.	Patentee's Name.	By whom taken up.	When taken up.	Parish.
300	James Elmslie	John Bertram	1862	St. Ann.
300	Not patented	Joseph Wilson	„	Do.
150	Do.	John L. Watt	1864	Do.
600	John Lowe	John Galton	„	Do.
300	William White	John E. Nash	1863	Do.
300	Charles White	Do.	„	Do.
300	Thomas Hay	Do.	„	Do.
300	Mary White	Do.	„	Do.
300	Alex. Dallas	Frederic Worms	1858	Do.
300	Robert Creighton	John Broderick	„	Do.
300	Arthur McKenzie	George Grant	1864	Do.
300	Peter McKenzie	John Spencer	„	Do.
300	Curtis Britt	W. S. Allan	„	Do.
300	Not patented	James Douglas	„	Do.
4,350	Taken up under the Quit-Rent Act.			
	PATENTS ON WHICH TAXES ARE NOT PAID.			
300	Mary White	Behind these there is a large run of land extending into Clarendon and Manchester, not occupied, and on which no taxes are paid		St. Ann.
300	Richard Lewin			Do.
300	William Halstead			Do.
300	James Webster			Do.
300	Alex. Webster			Do.
300	John McKenzie			Do.
1,800				
600	Dr. Patrick Smith, unrepresented, and paying no taxes.			
100	Crown land, Cave River barracks, about 24 miles from Dry Harbour, in ruinate; parish of Clarendon.			
40	Crown land, Rio Bueno, River Head, parish of Trelawny and St. Ann, about 10 miles from Rio Bueno; and a piece of cleared land, in pasture, in the occupation of Dormock pen, parish of St. Ann.			
300	John McKay	Paying no taxes	- - -	St. Ann.
300	Hugh McKay	Do.	- - -	Do.

November 1864.

R. SWIRE,
Crown Surveyor for Middlesex.

Mr. SWIRE to Mr. SECRETARY MYERS.

SIR,

November 1864.

I HAVE to report, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Executive Committee, that the lands called Ashintully, in the parish of Clarendon, belonging to the late Doctor Spalding, and on which arrears of land tax are due, consist of the following patents, viz.:—

William Fraser	300 acres.
„	300 „
„	300 „
„	300 „
„	300 „
Major James Alston	300 „
„	300 „
„	300 „
„	300 „
In all	2,700 „

JAMAICA.

These lands have been partially settled on by unauthorized persons, whose names are as follow, viz.:—Joseph Wright, Joseph Williams, Frederic Robinson, David Robinson, James Parker. Robert Francis, Robert Henry, John Henry, James Freckleton, Mary Ann Walker.

I have, &c.

R. SWIRE,

Crown Surveyor for Middlesex.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to the Executive Committee.

MR. SWIRE to MR. SECRETARY MYERS.

SIR, November 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have visited Guy's Hill, and made, as directed, inquiry into the state and condition of the Middlesex townships in that vicinity.

I find there are only seventeen of the Scotch immigrants, or their descendants, now residing on the lands allotted to them. Of the others, some have thrown up their holdings, and returned to Scotland, some have sold their lots and emigrated to America, and many died in cholera.

The Commissioners under 7 Victoria, c. 43, permitted a great number of small lots of land, part of this run of land, to be laid out for sale at different periods, and these lots have all been settled on by the parties on whose behalf the surveys were made; but I have been unable to ascertain what payments, if any, have been made on account of these purchases.

There are a great number of squatters cultivating provision grounds, who have assumed possession without any authority whatever.

In order to arrive at an accurate idea of the quantity of land sold, the quantity allotted to immigrants, and the quantity remaining undisposed of, it will be necessary to make a regular survey and measurements.

I have, &c.

W. R. Myers, Esq.,
Secretary to the Executive Committee.

(Signed) R. SWIRE.

True copies.
W. R. MYERS, S.E.C.
By MARK GLASHAN, C.C.

DEAR SIR, Kingston, December 15, 1865.

ENCLOSED I take leave to send you a list of names found at Cherry Garden, among the things levied on by me under a writ against the late G. W. Gordon. It is headed by Paul Bogle, evidently it had been attached, or was intended to be attached, to some document, but I am unable to discover anything likely to throw further light upon the matter.

It has occurred to me that I am doing right in sending this to you, that it may, should you think fit, be submitted to his Excellency the Governor, who I pray may be pleased to approve of my act.

I am, &c.

Hon. Edward Jordon, C.D.,
&c. &c. Spanish Town.

(Signed) ISAAC LAWTON.

MY DEAR SIR, Bath, November 17, 1865, 5.50, p.m.

WE are in a state of great excitement at this moment. It is reported that a large number of the *devils* are congregating at Torrington for the purpose of coming down to Bath. We are left here with only a few maroons, many of them sick, and the troops will not move from Stocks Hall without orders from the General. What are we to do?—Mrs. Herschell is with us, and also Mr. and Mrs. Orgill; and I can assure you we are much alarmed.

Yours, &c.

Dr. Browerbank.

(Signed) EDW. JN. MAJOR.

To HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR.

SIR, Spanish Town, November 23, 1865.

WE the undersigned respectfully beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to the unprotected state of the county of Cornwall. We cannot believe that the small number of the military force now stationed in the towns is in any degree adequate either to prevent or to repress outbreaks in the interior of the parishes of the county, while the naval forces remain at so great a distance.

We urgently request that such measures may be adopted for the better protection of the interior of the county as your Excellency may have it in your power to carry out, the more so as the holidays are approaching.

We have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN SALMON.
RAYNES W. SMITH, Member for St. Elizabeth.
JOSEPH STONE WILLIAMS, Member for Westmoreland.
W. H. COKE, Member of St. Elizabeth's.
J. W. BOURKE, St. James.
SEPT. BARRETT, Trelawney.
BENJ. VICKERS, Custos of West.
CHR. LASH THORALES, Member for Vere and President of St. James.
G. M. LAWSON, Senior Magistrate, St. James.
WM. S. GROVES, Jun. Member of St. James.

Enclosure No. 3 in Governor Eyre's Despatch, dated Jamaica, 6th April 1866, to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, M.P. Jamaica.

The Attorney-General to Governor Eyre.

My dear Sir, 2nd April 1866.

Your Excellency's note of date 27th ultimo I received only at 12½ o'clock on Thursday (afternoon). Being desirous of consulting some books and papers in reference to the "Treason" indictment before replying to your letter, I at once went to Kingston, where they had been respectively left with Mr. Williams and Mr. Lindo. Unluckily, neither of these gentlemen was at home, and, though I left a request that the books and papers (which I specified) might be sent to me, I have not yet heard or seen anything of them.

I can, however, state from memory and with confidence what were the considerations that induced me to take the course I did adopt in regard to the indictments for treason and felonious riot.

When first the very meagre depositions were sent down by Mr. Ewart, it was most manifest that they showed no case of treason either under the English definitive Statute 25 Edw. 3. stat. 5. c. 2., nor under the Jamaica Act, 4 Geo. 4. c. 13. s. 1.

The more copious depositions which Mr. Bicknell and Mr. Lindo afterwards sent down did not (I still speak from memory, and with fair confidence in its accuracy) reach me until the latter part of the fortnight's interval of adjournment of the Special Commission. They had been, however, before Mr. Williams, and he had written a lengthy and elaborate "opinion" on a "case" based on them, going largely into evidence and authorities. This case and opinion accompanied the completed depositions when sent to me, and there also accompanied them a note from Mr. Williams to myself, stating that I could confidently rely on his analysis of the evidence for the purpose of sending in a bill for treason. I did so; and acted for the same purpose on his opinion of the *law as applied* to the facts. So the bill was sent in; and it was found on the reassembling of the grand jury.

In the interval between the finding of the bill for treason and my sending in one for felonious riot under the Island Act, 21 Vict. c. 11. s. 4. I had the opportunity of both reading the evidence at large and considering the law applicable to it, and I came to the conclusion that *upon the evidence* the prosecution for treason *ought not* to succeed. The additional evidence seemed to me at most to bring the case (as against those who had escaped military or martial jurisdiction, and were *now* to be tried) within the *second* section of the Island Act (4 Geo. 4. c. 13.) above cited, *felony* only, though to be punished by *death*.

The result was that I indicted under the Felonious Riot Act, and I venture to think that the outcome of that trial and the sentences passed on those convicted on it, are at least no disparagement of my judgment. Nobody wanted to see 84 people even *sentenced* to be hung under the 4 Geo. 4. c. 13. s. 2.

But I will not conceal from your Excellency that a consideration of the effect which a verdict of "guilty of *treason*" would have had in the mother country may have had influence with me.

I know that I ought not to consider merely political consequences in the execution of the purely ministerial duties of my office; and I mentally fought against the temptation to do so. Had there been *no* Royal Special Commission to inquire (*inter alia*) into the *nature* of the unquestionably atrocious rise against constituted authority in St. Thomas-in-the-East, I should have had both the pluck to contemn an inquiry originated by interlopers, and the prudence to shield myself as acting in the ordinary course of official duty.

I was, and I am, perfectly aware of the distinct functions of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry, and of those who sat under the Island Special Commission; the latter having judicial power to *hear and determine* (as well as to *inquire*), the former having no judicial power whatever.

What I did was very deliberately done, and I am perfectly prepared to abide by any consequences that may follow on my exercise of discretion.

With the expression of admiration of what your Excellency did under trying circumstances,

I have, &c.

His Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq. &c. &c. (Signed) Alexander Heslop, Attorney-General.

Enclosure No. 3.

From Mr. J. S. Williams to His Excellency Governor Eyre.

Your Excellency, Kingston, 6th April 1866.

I received your letter, and immediately wrote to Mr. Justice Kemble, who presided at the trial of felonious riot. His letter, with the remarks of the Attorney-General, I enclose.

I also send you a copy of the opinion, which, as the specially-retained counsel for the Government, I wrote, and upon which the Attorney-General preferred the bill for treason found by the grand jury.

In my opening speech to the jury in the presence and with the sanction of the Attorney-General, I stated in open court on the trial of the case for felonious riot that the minor charge was proceeded with, not from any fear of an unsuccessful result on the higher charge of treason, but solely on account of the severity of the punishment, and in consideration of the fact that most of the principal offenders had already met with the doom of traitors.

My speech was (substantially) correctly reported in the "Standard" newspaper of the day.

You are aware that I am wholly relieved from any responsibility for the higher charge of treason not having been proceeded with on the true bill found by the grand jury of the county.

I trust that these papers may be received by you in time for the present postal. I have already sent to your Excellency a copy of the bill for treason.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Governor Eyre, Flamstead, St. Andrew. J. S. Williams.

JAMAICA.

MY DEAR WILLIAMS, Mandeville, 3rd April 1866.

I HAVE received your letter asking me to state the substance of my remarks in passing sentence on the persons convicted of felonious riot at the late Special Commission, in order to enable you to comply with the request of his Excellency Mr. Eyre, to furnish him with a statement of the sentence of the court.

It is impossible for me now to remember the language I made use of, but it may suffice to say that I adverted to some of the details of the evidence proved in the case direct, on the gravity of the offence of which they had been convicted, and told them that a bill for a still higher and still graver crime had been found against them by the grand jury—a crime for which they might, but for the merciful consideration of the Crown, have been put upon their trial, and for which, in case of conviction, it would have been the duty of the court to pass sentence, and they would have had to undergo the punishment of death. I further added that the evidence disclosed circumstances warranting the imposition of different degrees of punishment, and that the court would accordingly endeavour as far as possible to effect an equitable adjustment, but that the evidence against *some* among them was of such a nature as to render it imperative upon the court, for the protection of the public, to inflict the highest punishment within its power. This is (shortly expressed) substantially what I said.

With respect to the Attorney-General. He addressed the court after I had passed sentence, stating that he took upon himself entirely the responsibility of the course that had been adopted, and that he did so on grounds of policy, his reasons being twofold: 1st, Because, as a Royal Commission was sitting in the island for the express purpose of inquiry, among other things, as to the fact of a rebellion having ever existed, if he had pressed on the bill for treason it would have afforded a handle to certain parties to allege that that course had been pursued by the colonial authorities for the purpose of prejudging the question, and influencing the result of the inquiry before the Royal Commission; and 2nd, On the ground of humanity, considering the number of the prisoners against whom the bill was found, and the nature of the punishment in case of their conviction. To my remembrance this is substantially what *he* said, but before communicating this to Mr. Eyre, oblige me by ascertaining from the Attorney-General himself whether I correctly understood him, and perhaps indeed it would be better for you to obtain from *himself* the substance of his address to the court, and forward that to His Excellency.

I have, &c.

Jos. S. Williams, Esq., Kingston. EDWARD KEMBLE.

What Mr. Justice Kemble has reported of my statement in court is in substance quite correct.

A. HESLOP,

5th April 1866. Attorney-General.

Copy Opinion.

REG. *v.* BOGLE and others.

1st. The documents laid before me disclose the following facts, viz., that meetings were held prior to the 11th Oct. 1865 in different places by several bodies of men in St. Thomas-in-the-East (especially,) with designated leaders, for a common public purpose, and in combination to obtain by force, and without authority of law, redress of grievances, either real or pretended; and also for the particular intents of obtaining forcible possession for themselves of all back outlying or waste lands in St. Thomas-in-the East, which belonged either to the Crown or to neighbouring estates of local or absentee proprietors, and of compelling by force the increase of wages. Such intents, comprising the massacre of such of the white and coloured population as these bodies might, from general or individual motives in their fury and hatred, accomplish. It is also disclosed that, with a view of carrying out this common purpose, bodies of men were sworn in upon superstitious oaths, enrolled, drilled, and banded together under officers designated, and that threats were held out to persons of the lower classes, as well as to the police and volunteers, to induce and compel them to take part in this combination. It appears, moreover, that on the eve of the outbreak of the 11th October, a letter numerously signed, threatening to obtain redress by forcible means for "27 years" of alleged wrongs and oppressions by the Government and upper classes was despatched by the leaders of these bodies to his Excellency the Governor, and that without waiting for an answer they marched with such arms and weapons as they could obtain, and with drums and flags, in two or more organized divisions, and under command by different roads from Stony Gut so as to converge on the court-house at Morant-bay, where the custos, justices, and vestry were then assembled in sessions; that accordingly, having at the entrance of the town knelt down and taken oaths to be faithful to each other, they attacked the police station, and possessed themselves of the guns, bayonets, and ammunition of the police, for the evident purpose of confronting and meeting the volunteers who were drawn up in protection of the court-house, and the authorities, and that after waiting for the first fire of the volunteers (not one-twentieth of their own number,) they rushed in upon the volunteers, killed some, wounded others, took away their arms, armed themselves more completely, and massacred the custos, justices, other authorities, and other persons assembled, (saving the women apparently for other purposes). It seems also that they placed sentries in every quarter to prevent the escape of intended victims, and even went so far in their organized movements as to take precautions against escape of their intended victims to sea. They plundered the town, saving the private houses; set fire to the school house and court-house, and actually by threats to the gaolers released 53 prisoners (all) from the public gaol. It is shown also that in different districts of the parish and verging towards Portland on the one direction, and St. Davids on the other, miles apart, other organized bodies under different leaders, in some instances almost at the same time and over a circuit of 40 miles and upwards, plundered the estates and residences and shops, without destroying them and attacked the white and coloured people, murdering some, and wounding others. Their stated cries of "Skin for skin," "Colour for colour," for "War and not for peace," and their threats to "Kill every white and coloured man," were the same in almost every district. At the first they set defiance to the police and at the last they prepared at Stony Gut and Mount Libanus to meet the Queen's troops. The placards mentioned as found posted up, the threatening letter to the Governor, and the proclamation seized at

Stony Gut, are forcible proofs that these bodies of men, with their leaders, were engaged in rebellion against constituted authority and Government throughout St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Under these circumstances I am forced to the conclusion that the parties who have actually aided and assisted in acts of violence, of such a general nature as are shown in these documents, have made themselves amenable to charges of treason, under the local act of Geo. 4, and of constructive treason in levying war.

See Foster, 231, 214;
1 Hawk. C. 2, S. 25;
R. v. Lord Geo. Gordon, Doug. 590;
R. v. Dammarce, 8 st. Ev. 218;
1 Hale, 232.
See also Reg. v. Frost, 9 C. & P. 129;
See also East. P. C. vol. i. 66, 68, 70, 72, 93, 96. And the article in the Jur., Jan. 1866.
See also 29 Vict. c. 1; 4 Geo. 4 c. 13. ss. 1, 2, 3, 7, Chit. Cr. L., 61, 78, 84.

2nd. I think that indictments for murder should also be prepared against the parties named in this question. There appears to be also sttong evidence against William Grant, Caroline Grant, Bingling, and Osborne on the same charges. There are other heavy yet minor charges which I presume will not be taken out of the ordinary course.

3 and 4. I have carefully perused the evidence; if possible it should be corroborated, arranged, and classified as well as it can be under different heads:—

1st. As to the meetings prior to the 11th October at different places, and all occurrences at those meetings, and the persons present, oaths, officers, &c., &c., capture of police, &c.

2nd. As particularly to arrangements made on the 10th and 11th for coming down to Morant Bay on the 11th.

3rd. As to the actual organization of the different bodies en route towards Morant Bay, their leaders, &c., oaths at entrance.

4th. As to the prior attack on the police station, and the conjoint attack by the different bodies converging from all sides on a given point.

5th. As to the different cries.

5th (*a*). As to the occurrences from the actual attack to the completion of the massacre at Morant Bay.

6th. As to the possession of police and volunteer arms and other weapons.

7th. As to the sentries and the seizure of canoes, &c.

8th. As to the release of prisoners from gaol and impressment of persons into service.

9th. As to thanksgivings for victory.

10th. As to the various bodies and their leaders at Morant Bay, Stony Gut, Stanton, Morant Point, Pera, Bath, Plantain Garden River district, Manchioneal, Muirton Font Hill, Mount Libanus, Monklands, and Blue Mountain Valley district, Chigor Foot Market, and Whitehorses, and their almost contemporaneous attacks.

11th. And as to the relative distances of those places from each other and from Morant Bay.

12th. As to the various proclamations and letters.

13th. As to the ordinary residences of the different prisoners, and where they were found in crime.

It would be as well also to mass together the evidence of the witnesses who speak to prisoners from different localities. I have myself made an analysis of the evidence as it affects each person accused.

It would be extremely desirable to have proper plans and maps of the several localities, roads, and general nature of the country throughout which this rebellion originated and was being extended.

J. S. WILLIAMS.

Kingston, February 12th, 1866.

Jamaica, ss.
In the Court under Special Commission, Kingston.
Surrey to wit.
} January 1866.

THE Jurors for our Lady the Queen upon their oath present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis McDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this Island, not regarding their duty towards our said Lady the Queen and her government in this her Island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this her Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen and her government in this her Island, on the eleventh day of October in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days, as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey in this her Island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to levy war against the government of this her Island as by law established, in order to put force and constraint upon and to intimidate and overawe the Governor of this her Island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds herein-after mentioned, that is to say, in order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device,

JAMAICA.

and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days, as well before and after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously did conspire, consult, consent, and agree with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Duncan Stewart Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P. Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, and Alexander Wilson, and divers other false traitors to the Jurors unknown, to raise and excite insurrection and rebellion and war at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid afterwards, to wit on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, conspire, consult, and agree amongst themselves, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, to cause and procure conventions and meetings of divers subjects of our Lady the Queen to be assembled and held in and about the parish of Saint Thomas in the East and in the County of Surrey, with intent that the persons assembled at such conventions and meetings might wickedly and traitorously combine and band together to resist and to subvert by force the laws and government of this Island as by law established, and the peace of our Lady the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked. treasonable, and traitorous compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid afterwards, to wit on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the County aforesaid, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, consult, and deliberate amongst themselves, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Flemming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, for the treasonable and traitorous purposes aforesaid, and how, and when, and where, and against what persons, such purposes should be carried out at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Bailey, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, with force and arms in the County aforesaid maliciously and traitorously did speak and utter divers seditious and inflammatory words, and compose, print, write, and publish, and cause to be composed, printed, written, and published divers letters, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses, and other writings, the said speeches and writings purporting and containing therein amongst other things threats and incitements against the Government of this Island and the public officers and authorities thereof and the laws of this Island, and divers classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also containing encouragements and exhortations to divers others of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island to rebellion and murder and other felonies at the County of Surrey aforesaid, and did thereupon with such divers other subjects meet and assemble upon and in consequence of such threats, incitements, encouragements, and excitements and exhortations at the County aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George M'Intosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, did then and there maliciously and traitorously impress, embody, train, drill, organize, and equip divers numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this her Island at the said County, and cause and procure to be provided, and consented and agreed to the procuring and providing of arms and offensive weapons to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war, and to commit divers felonies in this Island at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghehan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards on the eleventh day of the said month of October, with force and arms, at the county of Surrey, in great numbers, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with flags flying and with drums, guns, swords, machets, cutlasses, pikes, clubs, bludgeons, and other weapons then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days and times before and after that day, with force and arms at the county of Surrey aforesaid, did attack certain public officers and authorities of our Lady the Queen in this Island, that is to say, the Custos Rotulorum and certain justices of the peace of the said Parish and certain of the Volunteers and the Police of the said Parish and also the Volunteer and Police Force of the said Parish, and also did attack, break open, destroy, and burn certain Public Buildings in the said Parish at the said County, that is to say, the Police Station, the Court House, and the Prison, and did then and there possess themselves of the arms and ammunition of the Volunteer and Police Forces in the said Parish, and release the felons and prisoners there then being imprisoned in the said prison.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days before and after that day at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did meet, combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together to proclaim their intent to take possession of and keep by forcible means, and against the laws of this Island and the peace of our Lady the Queen divers large quantities of lands at the county of Surrey commonly known or called as back lands or waste lands the property of Her Majesty the Queen, and of divers of Her Majesty's subjects resident in and absent from this Island.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did combine and conspire to kill and murder divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, that is to say, of the white and coloured population, and others, and with a great multitude of persons at the said parish of Saint Thomas in the East, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together and threaten the lives of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also did kill and murder and wound and assault divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said county, and did feloniously break open, pillage, and plunder the houses, shops, stores, buildings, and estates, and divers goods, wares, and merchandise of large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said County, in contempt of our Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen in that behalf, and against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardiner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray,

Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Stirling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this her Island, not regarding their duty towards our said Lady the Queen and her Government in this her Island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this her Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen and her Government in this her Island, on the eleventh day of October in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey, in this her Island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise and intend to levy war against the Government of this her Island as by Law established, in order to put force and constraint upon, and to intimidate and overawe, the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this her Island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, and declare and evince by publishing divers printings and writings and by divers overt acts and deeds herein-after mentioned, that is to say, in order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before and after that day at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously did conspire, consult, consent and agree with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors to the Jurors unknown, to raise and excite insurrection and rebellion and war at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, conspire, consult and agree amongst themselves, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Bailey, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, to cause and procure conventions and meetings of divers subjects of our Lady the Queen to be assembled and held in and about the parish of Saint Thomas in the East, and in the County of Surrey with intent that the persons assembled at such conventions and meetings might wickedly and traitorously combine and band together to resist and subvert by force the laws and government of this Island as by law established, and the peace of our Lady the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days, as well before as after that day, with force and arms at the County aforesaid, did maliciously and traitorously meet, consult, and deliberate amongst themselves, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and other traitors, for the treasonable and traitorous purposes aforesaid, and how and when and where and against what persons such purposes should be carried out at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further, to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, with force and arms, in the County aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did speak and utter divers seditious and inflammatory words, and compose, print, write and publish, and cause to be composed, printed, written, and published, divers letters, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses, and other writings, the said speeches and writings purporting and containing therein, amongst other things, threats and incitements against the Government of this Island, and the public officers and authorities thereof, and the laws of this Island, and divers classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also containing encouragements and exhortations to divers others of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island to rebellion and

murder, and other felonies, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, and did thereupon, with such divers other subjects, meet and assemble upon and in consequence of such threats, incitements, encouragement, excitements, and exhortations at the County aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, did then and there maliciously and traitorously impress, embody, train, drill, organize, and equip divers numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this her Island, at the said County, and cause and procure to be provided, and consented and agreed to the procuring and providing of arms and offensive weapons to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war, and to commit divers felonies in this Island at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, Willliam Bowie Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, with force and arms at the County of Surrey, in great numbers, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with flags flying and with drums, guns, swords, machets, cutlasses, pikes, clubs, bludgeons, and other weapons, then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagnation, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days and times before and after that day, with force and arms, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, did attack certain public officers and authorities of our Lady the Queen in this Island, that is to say, the Custos Rotulorum and certain Justices of the Peace of the said Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East; and also certain of the Volunteer and Police force of the said parish; and also the Volunteer and Police forces of the said parish; and also did attack, destroy, break open, and burn certain public buildings in the said parish at the said county, that is to say, the Police Station, the Court House, and the Prison, and did then and there possess themselves of the arms and ammunition of the Volunteer and Police forces in the said parish, and release the felons and prisoners there then being imprisoned in the said prison.

And further, to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Bailey, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and divers other days before and after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did meet, combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together and proclaim their intention to take possession of and keep, by forcible means, and against the Laws of this Island and the peace of our Lady the Queen, divers large quantities of lands at the County of Surrey, commonly known or called as back lands or waste lands, the property of Her Majesty the Queen and of divers of Her Majesty's subjects resident in and absent from this Island.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George

McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days, as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did combine and conspire to kill and murder divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, that is to say, of the white and coloured population, and others, and with a great multitude of persons at the said parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together and threaten the lives of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also did kill, murder, wound, and assault divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said County, and did feloniously break open, pillage, and plunder the houses, shops, stores, buildings, and estates, and divers goods, wares, and merchandise of large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said County, in contempt of our Lady the Queen, and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen in that behalf, and against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, Dorothy Barclay, Maria Barclay, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowler, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this her Island, not regarding their duty towards our said Lady the Queen and her Government in this her Island, as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this her Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen and her Government in this her Island, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days, as well before as after that day, at the County of Surrey in this her Island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to excite insurrection against the Government of this her Island, as by law established, in order, by force, to put force and constraint upon and to intimidate and overawe the Governor of this her Island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing imagination, invention, device, and intention maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds herein-after mentioned, that is to say, in order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, treasonable and traitorous compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days, as well before and after that day at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously did conspire, consult, consent, and agree with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Baily, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors to the Jurors unknown, to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the Jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days, as well before as after that day at the County of Surrey, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, conspire, consult and agree amongst themselves, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors to cause and procure conventions and meetings of divers subjects of our Lady the Queen to be assembled and held in and about the Parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and in the County of Surrey, with intent that the persons assembled at such conventions and meetings might wickedly and traitorously combine and band together to resist and to subvert by force the laws and government of this Island, as by law established, and the peace of our Lady the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, with force and arms at the County aforesaid, did maliciously and

traitorously meet, consult, and deliberate amongst themselves, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, for the treasonable and traitorous purposes aforesaid, and how, and when, and where, and against what persons such purposes should be carried out at the county of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, with force and arms in the county aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did speak and utter divers seditious and inflammatory words, and compose, print, write, and publish, and cause to be composed, printed, written, and published, divers letters, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses, and other writings, the said speeches and writings purporting and containing therein, amongst other things, threats and incitements against the government of this Island, and the public officers and authorities thereof, and the laws of this Island, and divers classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also containing encouragements and exhortations to divers others of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island to rebellion and murder, and other felonies, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, and did thereupon, with such divers other subjects, meet and assemble upon and in consequence of such threats, incitements, encouragements, excitements, and exhortations at the county aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors. afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, did then and there maliciously and traitorously impress, embody, train, drill, organize, and equip divers numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this Her Island at the said county, and cause and procure to be provided, and consented and agreed to the procuring and providing of arms and offensive weapons to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war, and to commit divers felonies in this Island at the county of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, with force and arms, at the county of Surrey, in great numbers, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with flags flying and with drums, guns, swords, machets, cutlasses, clubs, bludgeons, and other weapons, then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days and times before and after that day, with force and arms, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, did attack certain public officers and authorities of our Lady the Queen in this Island, that is to say, the custos rotulorum and certain justices of the peace of the said parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and certain of the volunteers and police, and also the volunteer and police forces of the said parish, and also did attack, destroy, break open, and set fire to certain public buildings in the said parish at the said county, that is to say, the police station, the court-house, and the prison, and did then and there possess themselves of the arms and ammunition of the volunteer and police forces in the said parish, and release the felons and prisoners there then being imprisoned in the said prison.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith,

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James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days before and after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did meet, combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together and proclaim their intention to take possession of and keep by forcible means, and against the laws of this Island and the peace of our Lady the Queen, divers large quantities of lands at the county of Surrey commonly known or called as back lands or waste lands, the property of Her Majesty the Queen, and of divers of Her Majesty's subjects resident in and absent from this Island.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did combine and conspire to kill and murder divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, that is to say, of the white and coloured population and others, and with a great multitude of persons at the said parish of Saint Thomas-in-the East, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together and threaten the lives of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this island, and also did kill, murder, wound, and assault divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said county, and did feloniously break open, pillage, and plunder the houses, shops, stores, buildings, and estates, and divers goods, wares, and merchandise of large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said county, in contempt of our Lady the Queen and Her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen, in that behalf and against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her crown and dignity.

And the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thomson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this Island, not regarding their duty towards our said Lady the Queen and Her government in this Her Island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this Her Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen and Her government in this Her Island, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey, in this Her Island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to excite insurrection against the government of this Her Island as by law established, in order to put force and constraint upon, and to intimidate and overawe the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this Her Island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, and declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds herein-after mentioned, that is to say, in order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously did conspire, consult, consent, and agree with James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, to the jurors unknown, to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war at the county aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their most wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, conspire, consult, and agree amongst themselves, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren,

James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, to cause and procure conventions and meetings of divers subjects of our Lady the Queen to be assembled and held in and about the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East and in the county of Surrey, with intent that the persons assembled at such conventions and meetings might wickedly and traitorously combine and band together to resist and to subvert by force the laws and government of this Island as by law established, and the peace of our Lady the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, treasonable, and traitorous compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county aforesaid, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, consult, and deliberate amongst themselves, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, for the treasonable and traitorous purposes aforesaid, and how, and when, and where, and against what persons such purposes should be carried out at the county of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Baily, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after, with force and arms, in the county aforesaid, maliciously and traitorously did speak and utter divers seditious and inflammatory words, and compose, print, write, and publish, and cause to be composed, printed, written, and published, divers letters, resolutions, orders, declarations, addresses, and other writings, the said speeches and writings purporting and containing therein amongst other things threats and incitements against the government of this Island and the public officers and authorities thereof and the laws of this Island, and divers classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and also containing encouragements and exhortations to divers others of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island to rebellion and murder and other felonies at the county of Surrey aforesaid, and did thereupon with such divers other subjects meet and assemble upon and in consequence of such threats, incitements, encouragements, and exhortations, at the county aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Bailey, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, did then and there maliciously and traitorously impress, embody, train, drill, organize, and equip divers numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this Her Island at the said county, and cause and procure to be provided, and consented and agreed to the procuring and providing of arms and offensive weapons to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war, and to commit divers felonies in this Island, at the county of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelley, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, with force and arms at the county of Surrey in great numbers, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with flags flying and with drums, guns, swords, matchets, cutlasses, pikes, clubs, bludgeons, and other weapons, then and there unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly,

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Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Baily, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days and times before and after that day, with force and arms, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, did attack certain public officers and authorities of our Lady the Queen in this Island, that is to say, the custos rotulorum and certain justices of the peace of the said parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and also certain of the volunteers and police of the said parish, and also the volunteer and police forces of the said parish, and also attack, destroy, break open, and burn certain public buildings in the said parish at the said county, that is to say, the police station, the court-house, and the prison, and did then and there possess themselves of the arms and ammunition of the volunteer and police forces in the said parish, and release the felons and prisoners there then being imprisoned in the said prison.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days before and after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did meet, combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together and proclaim their intention to take possession of and keep by forcible means, against the laws of this Island and the peace of our Lady the Queen, divers large quantities of lands at the county of Surrey, commonly known or called as back lands or waste lands, the property of Her Majesty the Queen and of divers of Her Majesty's subjects resident in and absent from this Island.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geogheghan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did combine and conspire to kill and murder divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, that is to say, of the white and coloured population and others, and with a great multitude of persons at the said parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, to wit, the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together and threaten the lives of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also did kill, murder, wound, and assault divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said county, and did feloniously break open, pillage, and plunder the houses, shops, stores, buildings, and estates, and divers goods, wares, and merchandise of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said county in contempt of our Lady the Queen and Her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen in that behalf, and against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her crown and dignity.

And the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaac Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardiner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this Island, and not regarding their duty towards our said Lady the Queen and Her government in this Her Island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen and Her goverament in this Island, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey in this Island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to levy war against the government of this Island of our Lady the Queen as by law established, in order to put force and constraint upon and to intimidate and overawe the Governor of this Island of our Lady the Queen, and such their wicked, tratiorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds in

contempt of our Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen in that behalf, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Stirling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this Island, and not regarding their duty towards our said Lady the Queen and Her Government in this Her Island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this Her Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen and Her Government in this Island, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey in this Island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to levy war against the Government of this Island of our Lady the Queen as by law established, in order to put force and constraint upon and to intimidate and overawe the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this Island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds in contempt of our Lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity:

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward MacTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Stirling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Weeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowls, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our lady the Queen in this her island, and not regarding their duty towards our said lady the Queen and her government in this island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said lady the Queen in this her island should and of right ought to bear towards our said lady the Queen and her government in this island, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey in this island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to excite insurrection against the government of this island of our lady the Queen in this her island as by law established, in order to put force and constraint upon and to intimidate and overawe the Governor of this island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds in contempt of our lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our Lady the Queen, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity:

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis DacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stuart, Austin Stuart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stuart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stuart, William Russell, Richard Knowls, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our lady the Queen in this her island, and not regarding their duty towards our said lady the Queen and her Government in this island as by law established, and withdrawing the obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said lady the Queen in this her

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island should and of right ought to bear towards our said lady the Queen and her Government in this island, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey in this island, with force and arms maliciously and traitorously, together with divers other false traitors, did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to excite insurrection against the Government of this island as by law established, in order to put force and constraint upon and to intimidate and overawe the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this island, and such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, declare, and evince by publishing divers printings and writings, and by divers overt acts and deeds in contempt of our lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to their duty to our lady the Queen, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Stirling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our lady the Queen in this her island, not regarding the duty of their allegiance, nor having the fear of God in their hearts, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil as false traitors against our said lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity, and obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said lady the Queen should and of right ought to bear towards our said lady the Queen, on the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days as well before as after, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, pistols, swords, cutlasses, machets, bayonets, pikes, and other weapons, being then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said lady the Queen, most wickedly, maliciously, and traitorously did levy and make war against our said lady the Queen in this her island, and then and there did maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavour by force and arms to subvert and destroy the Government of her Majesty in this her island as by law established, in contempt of our said lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to the duty of their allegiance, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that the said Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, Sampson Champney, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David, Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our lady the Queen in this her island, not regarding the duty of their allegiance, nor having the fear of God in their hearts, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil as false traitors against our lady the Queen and her Government in this her island as by law established, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity, and obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said lady the Queen should, and of right ought to bear towards our said lady the Queen and her Government in this her island as by law established, on the eleventh day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days and times as well before as after, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, pistols swords, cutlasses, machets, bayonets, pikes, and other weapons, being then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said lady the Queen and her Government in this her island as by law established, most wickedly, maliciously, and traitorously did levy war against our said lady the Queen and her Government in this her island, as by law established, and did then and there maliciously and traitorously attempt and endeavour by force and arms to subvert and destroy the Government of this island and of our lady the Queen in this her island as by law established, in contempt of our lady the Queen and her laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to the duty of their allegiance, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

And the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that the said Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, Isaiah Barclay, Benjamin Bingling, Anthony Bignal, John Barber, Sampson Champney, John Cruickshank, Francis Cowell, Fagan Carr, William Donaldson, Edward Duffus, James Francis, James Francis, Matthew Ford, James Fraser, Elizabeth Faulkner, David Ferguson, William

Ford, James Faily, Henry Francis, John Foster, Charles Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, John Gough, William Gray, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, William Gardner, Archibald Graham, George Gunter, Thomas Graham, James Gordon, Junius Hibbert, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Lewis MacDermott, Henry Mitchell, Charles Mais, John Mais, Nancy Murray, Edward McTarvish, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, John O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Thomas White Priddy, Edward Reid, Nathaniel Richards, David Richards, Henry Stewart, Austin Stewart, Henry Smith, Daniel Stewart, Grant Shand, Thomas Sterling, James Thomas, John Taylor, Lewis Thompson, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thompson, George Thomas, James Walters, Tobias Wilson, Alexander White, James Wheeler, Robert Wilson, William Grant, William Parke, John Stewart, William Russell, Richard Knowles, Richard Wilson, and Robert Nicholas, being subjects of our Lady the Queen in this Island, not regarding the duty of their allegiance nor having the fear of God in their hearts, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil as false traitors against our Lady the Queen and her Government in this her Island as by law established, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity, and obedience which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen in this her Island should and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, on the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, with force and arms, at the county of Surrey in this her Island, with divers other false traitors, maliciously and traitorously did compass, imagine, devise, and intend to depose our said Lady the Queen from her power and her Government in this her Island, and the Government of our Lady the Queen in this her Island as by law established, to subvert and destroy against the peace of our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity, in this her Island, and such treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention maliciously and traitorously did express, utter, and declare, and evince by divers overt acts and deeds herein-after mentioned, that is to say, in order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their most evil and wicked treason and traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid; they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey, with force of arms maliciously and traitorously did conspire, consult, combine, consent, and agree with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war within this island, and did rise in divers large bodies, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, to make insurrection, rebellion, and war, to wit, at the county aforesaid, against our said Lady the Queen and against the Government of our said Lady the Queen in this her island as by law established, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen and further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked treason and traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards to wit on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, at the county of Surrey, with force and arms did maliciously and traitorously meet, conspire, consult, and agree amongst themselves, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, to cause and procure conventions and meetings of divers subjects of our Lady the Queen to be assembled and held in and about the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East and in the county of Surrey, with intent and in order that the persons assembled at such conventions and meetings might wickedly and traitorously combine and band together to subvert by force the laws and government of this island.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their most wicked and evil treasons and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and on divers other days as well before as after, with force and arms, at the county aforesaid, did maliciously and traitorously meet, consult, and deliberate amongst themselves together with other false traitors for the traitorous purposes aforesaid, and how and when and where such meetings should be held and purposes carried out at the County of Surrey aforesaid.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the said eleventh day of October, and on divers other days and times as well before as after, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did then and there maliciously and traitorously impress, embody, train, drill, organize, and equip divers numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said County, and cause and procure to be provided, and consented and agreed to the procuring and providing, of arms and offensive weapons to raise and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war in this Island at the County of Surrey aforesaid against our Lady the Queen and Her Government in this Island as by law established.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the said jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew

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Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards on the eleventh day of the said month of October with force and arms at the County of Surrey in great numbers, to wit, to the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with flags flying and with guns, swords, matches, cutlasses, clubs, pikes, bludgeons, and other weapons, then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble, and gather together against our Lady the Queen and her government in this island as by law established:

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect such their traitorous and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days and times before and after that day, with force and arms, in the county of Surrey aforesaid, did assault certain public officers and authorities of Our Lady the Queen in this Island, that is to say, the Custos Rotulorum and certain Justices of the Peace of the said Parish, and also did attack, destroy, and burn certain public buildings of Our Lady the Queen in the said parish, at the said County, that is to say, the Police Station, the Court House, and the Prison, and did then and there possess themselves of the arms and ammunition of the Volunteer and Police forces in the said Parish, and release the felons and prisoners then being imprisoned in the said Prison against our Lady the Queen and her Government in this Island as by law established.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, to wit, on the eleventh day of October aforesaid, and divers other days before and after that day, at the County of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together to take possession of and keep by forcible means and against the laws of this island divers large quantities of lands at the county of Surrey, commonly known or called as back lands or waste lands, the property of Her Majesty the Queen and of divers of Her Majesty's subjects resident in and absent from the Island, against our Lady the Queen and Her Government in this Island, as by law established.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring into effect such their wicked, traitorous, and treasonable compassing, imagination, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, together with George William Gordon, James Dacres, William Bowie, Smith, James McLaren, James Bowie, Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Charles Maine, Joseph Kelly, Alexander Badson, William Grant, William Forbes, Edward Howell, Archibald Bailey, George Gordon, Thomas Graham, Briscoe Patterson, William Bogle, Abraham Anderson, B Clarke, P Cameron, Edward K Baily, Henry James Lawrence, Scipio Bartholomew Cowell, George Craddock, Fleming, Charles Geoghegan, George McIntosh, Mary Ward, Edward Stewart, Alexander Wilson, and Duncan Stewart, and divers other false traitors, afterwards, on the eleventh day of the said month of October, and on divers other days, as well before as after, at the county of Surrey aforesaid, with force and arms did combine and conspire to kill and murder divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, that is to say, of the white and coloured population, and others of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and with a great multitude of persons at the said parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, to wit, the number of two thousand persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did assemble and gather together and threaten the lives of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in this Island, and also did then and there kill, murder, wound, and assault divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the aforesaid County, and did feloniously break open, pillage, and plunder the houses, shops, stores, buildings, and estates of divers large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects at the said County, in contempt of Our Lady the Queen and her laws to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, contrary to the duty of their allegiance, fidelity, and obedience, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of Our Lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

(Signed) ALEXANDER HESLOP.
Attorney General.

Jamaica "SS."
In the Court held under Special Commission, Kingston, Surrey, to wit. } January, 1866.

THE QUEEN against HENRY THEOPH. BOGLE and others.

Brief Ex-parte Prosecution.

Indictment found February 1866.

The jurors for our Lady the Queen, upon their oath, present that Henry Theophilus Bogle, John Astwith, William Donaldson, Benjamin Bingling, Matthew Ford, Sampson Champney, Elizabeth Fawlkner, Francis Cowell, James Failey, James Francis, Rosanna Finlayson, David Fergusson, John Gough, William Ford, Joshua Gordon, Edward Gordon, Caroline Grant, Robert Grant, Thomas Graham, William Grant, Sarah Johnson, Isaac Joseph, Alexander Murray, William McGregor, Henry

Mitchell, Nancy Murray, Ennis Napier, William Osborn, Peter O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, Nathaniel Richards, Daniel Stewart, John Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Alexander Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Ann Thomson, George Thomas, Alexander White, and Robert White, together with divers other evil-disposed persons, to the number of 12 and more to the jurors aforesaid unknown, on the 11th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1865, at the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in the county of Surrey, unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously did assemble together to break the peace, and to the disturbance of the public peace; and that the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, and the said other persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, being so unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together to break the peace, and to the disturbance of the public peace as aforesaid afterwards; and whilst they were so assembled as aforesaid, to wit, on the day and year aforesaid, at the parish aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, one Maximilian Augustus Baron Von Ketelhodt, Esq. (then being the Custos Rotulorum and one of the justices of our said Lady the Queen assigned to keep the peace of our said Lady the Queen, in and for the parish aforesaid, and also to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses, and other misdeeds committed in the said parish), as near to them the said several persons so presented by the jurors as aforesaid, and the said other persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, so unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled as aforesaid, as he, the said Maximilian Augustus Baron Von Ketelhodt, could then and there safely come, did then and there command and cause to be commanded silence to be while proclamation was making and being made, and that the said Maximilian Augustus Baron Von Ketelhodt after that did then and there, as near to them the said several persons so presented as aforesaid, and the said other persons so assembled as aforesaid, as he, the said Maximilian Augustus Baron Von Ketelhodt, could then and there safely come, openly and with a loud voice make and cause to be made proclamation in these words following; that is to say, "Our Sovereign Lady the "Queen chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled immediately to disperse themselves, "and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in "an Act made in the 21st year of Queen Victoria for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies. "God save the Queen." And the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that the said (*names of prisoners*), and the said other persons to the number of 12 and more to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, being so required and commanded by the said Maximilian Augustus Baron Von Ketelhodt, the Custos Rotulorum and Justice aforesaid, to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, did then and there, to the number of 12, and more, notwithstanding the said proclamation so made as aforesaid, feloniously, unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously remain and continue together for the space of one hour after such command so made by the said proclamation as aforesaid, in contempt of our said Lady the Queen and Her laws, to the great disturbance and terror of the quiet and peaceable subjects of our said Lady the Queen, to evil example of all others in the like case offending against the form of the Act in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her crown and dignity.

The QUEEN against HENRY THEOPHILUS BOGLE and others.

List of Witnesses on Behalf of the Crown.

For Treason.

* means examined on trial for felonious riot.

William Anderson, domestic, Newcastle.
*William Alvarenga, druggist, Morant Bay.
Donald Allen, mason.
George Ashby, Esquire, Stanton Estate.
*Letitia Arma, domestic, Morant Bay.
*Ann Aitchison, cake maker, Morant Bay.
William Anderson, constable, St. Thomas-ye-East.
James Asher, policeman, Morant Bay.
Matilda Allwood, servant, Bachelors Hall.
Captain Adcock, Kingston.
Clarence Alberga, Kingston.
George Jas. Armstrong, planter, St. Johns.
*Francis Bowen, overseer, Coley Estate.
*James Beard, carpenter, Morant Bay.
*J. B. Barnett, baker, Morant Bay.
William Belt, labourer, Pera.
*Alexander Bothwell, carpenter, Spring Garden.
Richard Brooks, servant, Morant Bay.
John Grands, carpenter, Morant Bay.
Matthew Benjamin, clerk, Morant Bay.
Thomas H. Bunting, storekeeper, Port Antonio.
George L. Bolton, labourer, Spring Bank.
James Bates, tailor, White Horses.
Sergeant Burnett, policeman, Morant Bay.
James Britt, shopkeeper, Morant Bay.
Mary Bastibo, domestic, Kingston.
Thomas Brown, watchman, Holland Estate.
*William Cuthbert, policeman, Morant Bay.
Alexander Cameron, labourer, Font Hill.
*Stephen Cooke, clerk of the peace, Morant Bay.
Rev. Cooke, rector, Morant Bay.
Brookes Cooke, custom house officer, Morant Bay.
Matthew Cresser, shopkeeper, Blue Mountain.
Jas. Cresser, overseer, Blue Mountain Valley.
Mrs. S. Cooke, lady, Morant Bay.
*Sligo Campbell, policeman, Morant Bay.
Dr. Crowdy, doctor, Clifton Hill.
*John Codrington, boatswain of district prison, Morant Bay.
*Charlotte Carter, servant, Morant Bay.
Miss Anna Carter, organist, Bath.
William Carney.
Isaac Cornwall, shopkeeper, Amity Hall.
William Dummond, planter, Amity Hall Estate.
Eleanor Davidson, labourer, Coley Estate.
Margaret Davis, servant, Morant Bay.
*Sergeant Drysdale, policeman, Morant Bay.
Gabriel Downs, labourer, Bowden.
Robert Dacres, schoolmaster, New Monklands.
Abraham Dacres, labourer, Monklands.
James Duffus, Esquire, Bowden.
John Daily, labourer, Morant Bay Prison.
Thomas Donaldson, labourer, Monklands.
*John Dubuisson, tinsmith, Morant Bay.
George Davis, planter, Middleton.
S. DaCosta.
Thomas Earle, book-keeper, Golden Grove.
David Ewart, stipendiary justice, Morant Bay.
Honourable Espeut, Esquire, Saint Andrew's.
*James Foster, rural constable, Duhaney Penn.
Catherine Francis, servant, Bowden.
*William Fuller, policeman, St. Thomas-ye-East.
*Ursella Fitzgerald, cake maker, Morant Bay.
Eliza Ford, domestic, Monklands.
Reverend Foote, minister, Manchioneal.
Charlotte E. Friend, lady, Amity Hall Estate.
Thomas Forbes, labourer, Golden Grove Estate.
*Francis Gordon, labourer, St. Thomas-ye-East.

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W. C. Gabay, accountant, Morant Bay.
Henry Good, policeman, St. Thomas-ye-East.
Honourable W. P. Georges, Esquire, St. David's.
*Eliza Gregory, domestic, Morant Bay.
John M. Gray, planter, Golden Valley.
*Cecilia Gordon, cakemaker, Morant Bay.
*Thomas Gibson, road contractor, Spring Garden.
Elizabeth Gordon, labourer, Monklands.
James Gordon, carpenter, Port Morant.
*Dr. Gerrard, doctor, Morant Bay.
Maria Gordon, servant, Pera.
James Graham, labourer, Somerset.
David A. Graham, tailor, Bath.
Margaret Hamilton, domestic servant, Golden Grove.
James Harrison, Esquire, Hordley Estate.
Edward Norman Harrison, planter, Kingston.
Abraham Harvey, carpenter, Plantain Garden River.
Christian Henry, shopkeeper, Golden Grove.
*C. Hamilton, cooper, Dumfries.
*John Hilbury, shoemaker, Morant Bay.
Alexander Hoare, carpenter, Golden Valley.
James Hague, servant, Pera.
*Edward House, Dep. Col. Petty Debts, Duhaney Pen.
Col. Hobbs, Newcastle.
Capt. Hole, Newcastle.
Wm. Hughes, labourer, Plantain Garden River.
T. W. Jackson, stipendiary magistrate, Port Antonio.
*R. Jacobs, shopkeeper, Bath.
*R. E. Jones, boatswain of district prison, Morant Bay.
Dorothy Johnson, servant, Rhine.
Douglas Johnson, labourer, Monklands.
Sergeant Johnson, policeman, Kingston.
W. P. Kirkland, collector of dues, Bath.
Robert Kirkland, storekeeper, Golden Grove.
Julian Kerr, servant, Monklands.
Jane Kelly, cook, Monklands.
Edward Kelly, policeman, Saint Thomas-in-the East.
H. S. Kennedy, Esquire, Manchioneal.
*Sarah Knowles, servant, Morant Bay.
Chas. Wm. Kenton, planter, Manchioneal.
Baron Von Kettelhodt, Esquire, Saint John's.
*C. A. Lipman, tailor, Morant Bay.
George Lake, labourer, Saint Thomas-in-the-East.
*Gilbert Lindsay, labourer, Bath.
Nathaniel Lake, constable, Wilmington.
Mrs. Lundy, storekeeper, Morant Bay.
John Lindsay, blacksmith, Stokes Hall.
Martha Lewis, servant, Pera.
Prince Lawrence, blacksmith, Pera
Capt. Luke, Spanish Town.
Wm. McPherson, Deputy Collector of P. Debts, Manchioneal.
Wm. Middleton, watchman, Holland.
James Marshall, tailor, Golden Grove.
James Moyston, druggist, Morant Bay.
*Elizabeth McBeth, midwife, Morant Bay.
*Robert Milne, servant, Morant Bay.
*R. D. Marzink, shopkeeper, Port Morant.
Peter McDowell, book-keeper, Coley.
John McPherson, policeman, Morant Bay.
Richard McLean, labourer, Monklands.
Eve McIntosh, servant, Monklands.
James Minot, tailor, Morant Bay.
W. C. Miller, overseer, Serge Island.
James Moody, labourer, Font Hill.
W. W. McGowan, book-keeper, Holland Estate.
Dr. Major, doctor, Rhine.
Mrs. Major, lady, Rhine.
Francis McKay, accountant, Morant Bay.
W. Mitchell, clerk, Morant Bay.
Sergeant McKenzie, police sergeant, St. Thomas-ye-East.
*Caroline Milne, servant, Morant Bay.
Francis McCrea, planter, Friendship Pen.
Joseph Messenger, tailor, Morant Bay.
Thomas McCrea, overseer, Potosi.
Alexander McCouty, carpenter, Bath.
A. E. K. Moody, schoolmaster, Morant Bay.
Catherine McPherson, servant, Amity Hall.
General Nelson, Kingston.
*William Onslow, labourer, Stanton.
Richard Ogilvie, mason, Ross Isle.
Jerry Ogilvie, labourer, Duckworth.
*Geo. F. Osborne, policeman, St. David's.
Lieut. Oxley, H.M.S. "Wolverine."
George Pinnock, labourer, Pera.
*William Padmore, shoemaker, Stanton.
W. C. Porter, overseer, "Winchester."
Rev. Panther, minister, Morant Bay.
Mrs. Patterson, lady, Monklands.
G. W. Pennell, island engineer, St. Catherine.
John Parry, surveyor, St. Andrew.
Eliza Price, domestic, Pera.
Gordon D. Ramsay, gentleman, Spanish Town.
J. W. Rutty, book-keeper, Plantain Garden River.
*George Reid, blacksmith, St. Thomas-ye-East.
*George Robinson, labourer, York.
H. N. Reid, clerk, Bath.
*Catherine Rankine, servant, York.
*Charles M. Robertson, tailor, Morant Bay.
*James M. Ross, accountant, Morant Bay.
Joseph Ross, labourer, Hordly.
Captain Ross, Manchester.
*John Spence, labourer, Cottage.
Thomas Stewart, baker, Morant Bay.
J. V. Sergeant, fisherman, Rocky Point.
Obadiah Stewart, shopkeeper, York.
Charles Smith, servant, Georgia.
Francis Scott, labourer, Cottage.
James Sneddie, gentleman, Morant Bay.
*Thomas Scott, labourer, Bath.
Daniel Stewart, labourer, Greenfield.
Robert J. Stuart, overseer, Holland.
H. A. Solomons, gentleman, Kingston.
Wm. A. Sherwood, storekeeper, Manchioneal.
Mrs. Shortridge, lady, Plantain Garden River.
Isaac Taylor, labourer, Whitehall.
Theodore Testard, shopkeeper, White Horses.
*Fable Taylor, labourer, Morant Bay.
*Margaret Taylor, servant, Morant Bay.
*M. A. Thomas, baker, Morant Bay.
*Eleanor Uniac, washerwoman, Duhaney Pen.
John White, labourer, Moore Town.
R. M. Whittle, jun., clerk, Bath.
M. A. Woolfe, tailor, Morant Bay.
James Williams, tailor, Middleton.
*H. H. Williams, musician, Morant Bay.
Catherine Walton, lady, Dalvey,
*Jos. Hardy Williams, accountant, Morant Bay.
*W. E. Ward, accountant, Morant Bay.
*John T. Walker, labourer, Duhaney Pen.
William Walker, saddler, Morant Bay.
Arthur Warmington, gentleman, Muirton.
John Williams, labourer, Spring Garden.
James A. Wilson, book-keeper, Golden Grove.
Richard Williams, labourer, Greenfield.
Justina Whittle, domestic, Potosi.
Evelina Williams, labourer, Monklands.
*Hon. Ed. Gordon, Governor's secretary, Spanish Town.
*Jonathan Thomas, soldier, Spanish Town.
J. F. Bell, soldier, Spanish Town.
Albert DaCosta, clerk, Kingston.
John Sharpe, printer, Kingston.
Thos. Moodie, printer, Kingston.
John Taylor.

IN THE COURT HELD UNDER SPECIAL COMMISSION, JANUARY 1866.

THE QUEEN *v.* BOGLE AND OTHERS.

Copy Evidence.—For Mr. Attorney-General.

EDWARD NORMAN HARRISON.

I am a shopkeeper and drill instructor of No. 1 Company, St. Thomas-in-the-East Rifle Volunteers. On Wednesday, 11th October 1865, I received a circular from Captain Hitchins stating that the custos had ordered out the volunteers to Morant Bay on active service. I immediately proceeded on to Duckenfield, from whence I was accompanied by my two brothers William and Richard Harrison and Rutty (volunteers) to Bath. On arriving there I found the company had gone on, and taking each 20 rounds of cartridges, we proceeded on our way to overtake them, seeing many people running in the same direction armed with sticks. We overtook Captain Hitchins with his company at Oxford estate. Having arrived at Nutts River, Captain Hitchins ordered a halt and we fell in, 10 rounds of cartridges being served out to the other men. We then marched on to Morant Bay, surrounded by a mob as we went, who gradually fell back as we entered the Bay. Having refreshed ourselves at the tavern, we marched to the parade, and were ordered to fall out but not to separate. About 3 o'clock p.m. we heard voices saying "They are coming, they are coming." The bugle sounded and we fell in and were ordered to load with ball cartridges. I then saw an immense crowd of people armed with different kinds of weapons marching down to us. As they appeared the custos and magistrates came on the steps of the court-house. The custos waved his hand to them and told them to "keep back and "keep peace," but they steadily advanced upon us with drums beating. Captain Hitchins advised the reading of the "Riot Act," which the custos commenced doing, when a volley of stones were thrown at us by the mob, who had advanced to within six feet of us. The order to fire was given, and we fired. The mob dispersed and surrounded the houses, from behind which they kept up a constant fire at us, we firing at those we saw with guns. Private Ross was knocked down with a stone and was brought under the court-house insensible. I also received a wound from the first volley of stones. The school-house was now set on fire, from which the court-house caught, and from which we were soon after obliged to escape to Mr. Price's house. That also soon took fire, and we had to go behind the walls of the fort. Soon after the Rebels rushed in upon us, and I was shot through the elbow joint and back. I tumbled down the hill into the wharf road and got on the sea beach, where I remained until next morning, when I got on board the "Wolverine" and was brought to Kingston.

MCGOWAN.

On the morning of the 11th October 1865 I received at Holland estate, St. Thomas-in-the-East, where I was employed, a despatch from Captain Hitchins, ordering my immediate attendance at Bath head-quarters, for the purpose of marching on to Morant Bay to quell an expected riot. I hastened to obey the call, but living a distance of eight miles off, I found on reaching Bath that the volunteers under Captain Hitchins had already marched on to the Bay. I hastened to overtake them, which I did about Harbour Head, and the march was hastened as quick as possible. When we arrived at Nutts River, we were ordered to dismount for the purpose of marching on foot to the Bay. I observed an unusual quantity of negroes, both men and women, had gathered together, some with bludgeons, and others with cutlasses, apparently restive in their movements, but at the same time attentive to the movements of the company, and followed us into the Bay, again witnessing the several evolutions through which we were put during the time we remained in the parade. After we were removed to the tavern for refreshments, after which we were again marched to the parade in front of the court-house, where we were dismissed for a few minutes. (During this time the vestry was sitting.) Myself and several of the non-commissioned officers and privates were in the fort, when I had an occasion to go into the school-room where some of the men were, and where our rifles had been left, when I saw Mr. Arthur Cooke come galloping through the parade, and said to me, when near enough, "They are coming in "hundreds, they are upon you." Being one of the non-commissioned officers, I ordered the bugler who was standing by to sound the alarm, which was accordingly done; each man quickly flew to his arms and took up his position in front of the court-house; this was scarcely accomplished when I saw a great body of men, to all appearances numbering about 400 or 500 men, advancing in front of the company, some with bludgeons, some with bills on long sticks, some with cutlasses, some with bottles, some with stones, which was most effectually played on us, some with fish spears, some long sharpened sticks like lances, others had old rusty bayonets fixed on long sticks, and I observed in front of the mob one African with a pistol; they also advanced with a blowing of shells or horns, and beating of drums. The custos then stood on the steps with the Riot Act in his hand; in place of reading it, as he was requested by Captain Hitchins, showed it to the people, calling out for peace, but the rebels answered (which I heard), "We want no peace." Still the custos withheld the reading of the Act until the captain, many others, and myself got our heads broken with stones and sticks, and some of our faces literally covered with blood. The Baron, yet unwilling to fire on or charge upon the Rebels with bayonets, reminded the company that if they fired without orders it would be murder; notwithstanding this, the Rebels got more furious although a shot had not been discharged against them; the custos then read the Riot Act, and the word of command to fire was given, but the yells and noise was so great that I am not prepared to say from whom it came, whether from the captain or custos. By this time the Rebels were so close upon us that after the first volley was fired there was not a chance of reloading, and the Rebels must have numbered a 1,000, armed with all sorts of dangerous weapons. The volunteers retreated into the court-house, some above and others below, at those who were above shots were fired and stones thrown by the Rebels, and all the windows smashed; this excitement was kept up for

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about an hour or more. We fired at many from the court-house, shot some, while others escaped; when the school-room was set on fire by the Rebels on the west during a westerly wind, soon after the court-house ignited; a few minutes after all hands jumped through a window to escape being burnt to death; we ran into a small house adjoining the court-house on the east, into which Mr. Price lived; soon after that house also ignited, and we eventually had to leave; by this time 1st Lieutenant Hall and Private Ross had been killed. The Rebels were in ambush and came upon us in hundreds, murdering those of us that were found dead next morning, and leaving for dead those of us that were found alive, but fearfully mutilated and disfigured. Whilst I was laying down I heard the Rebels trying to break down the door of the magazine; I also heard them saying We will return to-morrow and finish every one of them. The next morning one of the Rebels came up to me and said, "You brute, you no "dead yet, I have a great mind to take off your head now." He then flourished a cutlass over me, and I believe from his actions would have taken it off had not a woman come up and begged that my life should be spared, at the same time offering 4*s.* for the removal of my body; the Rebel, on application for the 4*s.*, was sent to Mr. Ross Richards; while he was on his way thither for it the "Wolverine" came into harbour, landed her sailors and soldiers, and he ran away into the bushes or disappeared.

FRANCIS GORDON.

I live at Stanton. I am a labourer. Knew James McLaren who has been hung. Recollect the 11th October. I went to a meeting at Church Corner about three weeks before the murdering. Church Corner is close Morant Bay. I saw James McLaren at the meeting. I saw him with a book swearing people with the book. Don't know what book it was. He swore about 20 people. When they came to be sworn they asked what they were to be sworn to. He said, Kiss the book first; and after they did so he said they must not tell neither their mother, father, or sweetheart. I don't know what the secret was at all. Moses Bogle, since hung, was there. Bogle and McLaren asked me to join the meeting. I asked what it was about. They said to swear first, and I refused. I saw William McGregor, one of the prisoners, there. I saw Joshua Gordon, another prisoner, there, he is my brother, and Edward Gordon my brother. I saw William Donaldson there. There were plenty others at the meeting; it was held at the meeting-house. The meeting-house is the Baptist chapel at Church Corner. It was about 10 o'clock at night when McLaren was swearing the people. The prisoners I have named were outside the door when McLaren was swearing the people. They saw it, but I did not see them sworn; did not see them take part in the meeting. The day before the murdering at Morant Bay I heard the shell blow, and went to Stoney Gut, and saw a gang of people there. They had caught Fuller and three other policemen. Paul and Moses Bogle were there. They handcuffed the policemen. William Onslow called me. I went with him to Spanish Town. Onslow had a letter. We reached Spanish Town on Wednesday. Onslow gave me the letter, which I delivered at King's house same day, Wednesday.

WILLIAM ONSLOW.

I am a labourer, and live at Stanton. I went to Stoney Gut the day before the murdering at Morant Bay; I went there on hearing a shell. I saw plenty people there. I can't say if any of the prisoners were there; they had the police handcuffed. Paul and Moses Bogle were there. Moses Bogle gave me a letter, telling me to carry it to the Queen's house in Spanish Town to the Governor. I took the letter with Francis Gordon to Spanish Town. I got fever, and gave it to Gordon, who took it to the King's house. Paul Bogle gave me 4*s.* 6*d.* for expenses.

JAMES MINOT.

I am a tailor, and live near Morant Bay. Know Paul Bogle. I swore to a statement which I handed to Mr. Livingstone, and which Justice Marchalleck handed to Mr. Lindo, and I took it away from Mr. Lindo. Some time in the month of September I was invited by Moses Bogle by message to join a meeting. Moses Bogle's son brought the message. I did not go. On the day of the rebellion, 11th October, I saw Moses Bogle. He sent me two messages after the one in September. When I saw Moses Bogle on the day of the rebellion he was at the wharf; it was whilst the murdering was going on. He said to me, "I am sorry, Mr. Minot, you were sick; this is the same affair I sent to call you "about." He took me aside, and said, "We going to send to call the Maroons to join us." I said, "I bet my life they will do nothing of the kind." He said, "I am busy now; I will see you another "time," and he ran off. I am a Maroon, and Moses Bogle knew it. I can't say whether any of the prisoners were at the Bay or not on the 11th October. I saved Mr. Brooks Cooke's life. He was being beaten by three men named Howell (hung); another man, whose name I don't know, also hung; and another man, I don't know what's become of him.

Examined by Henry T. Bogle.

I used to go to your father, Moses Bogle's, yard. I used to sell bread for Moses Bogle. He used to send to me for the money. I don't owe him 2*l.*

STEPHEN COOKE.

I am clerk of the peace for the parish, and was so last year. On Saturday, 7th October, there was a court of petty sessions at Morant Bay. Justices John Walton and Francis Bowen sat. Mr. Walton was killed on the following Wednesday, the 11th October. There was a case of trespass tried that day at the instance of James Williams, for a trespass on Middleton plantation, of which he was lessee, against one Lewis Miller. All the papers and proceedings in this matter were burnt on the 11th October with all the peace office records. The proceedings were under the 14th Victoria c. 46. s. 2. for trespass in an enclosed pasture. Defendant was convicted after evidence taken, and was fined 20*s.*

and costs 9*s.* 6*d.* The defendant called no witnesses. The alternative of fine not paid; was sentenced to 20 days' hard labour in the district prison. Several voices in the court-house cried out, Appeal, Appeal. I said, Keep him in custody till he enters into recognizance to appeal. Paul Bogle immediately stepped forward with a large stick in his hand, and offered himself as his surety. The magistrate accepted him, and the minute of recognizance being taken, the prisoner was released, and the parties all left the court-house. There were some 40 or 50 people in the court-house during the trial. All had sticks. Previous to the hearing of this case a boy, Allick White, one of the prisoners, was brought up for assaulting a girl, Rosannah Stowell. He was convicted and fined 4*s.* and costs 12*s.* 6*d.*, 9*s.* 6*d.* for process and 3*s.* for subpœna. Shortly after the boy was removed I heard a great noise in the court-house, so much so that the business of the court could not be proceeded with. Mr. Justice Walton ordered the police to bring the party making the noise before the court. I saw some one run out the court-house and a policeman after him. Couple minutes after I heard a great noise in the market. I ran to the window with the magistrates, and saw some 40 or 50 people with sticks licking at the police. The rioters were drawing away a man through the market, and the police trying to prevent them taking him away. The magistrates, fearing that the police would be injured, had them called back into the court-house. One policeman, McPherson, had one of his fingers broken. The magistrates resumed duties, and the trespass case was tried. The row outside was caused by the police endeavouring to bring the man who made the noise in court before the justices. His name, I believe, was James Geogehan. On Monday, 9th October, I took the necessary informations of the police, and issued a warrant against 28 persons for the riot and assault of the police on Saturday. Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, Henry Theophilus Bogle, and others were in the warrant, so was Geogehan. The next day the police went to Stoney Gut to execute it. On their return, in consequence of what they stated had taken place at Stoney Gut that day, his Honour the Custos Baron Kettlehodt sent off an express that evening to his Excellency the Governor for troops. On the 11th October a vestry was held at Morant Bay, in which the Baron presided, and several magistrates and vestrymen. The custos had also ordered the No. 1 Company of Volunteers from Bath to be present at Morant Bay, and that day the No. 2 Company at Morant Bay was also ordered out; both companies were under command of Captain Hitchins. About half-past 3 I was down stairs on duty as first lieutenant. I heard the sound of a drum and fife. Captain Hitchins immediately ordered the men to fall in, and I ran up stairs to the vestry and informed the custos what I heard, and that I feared the Rebels were coming; as we got from the table and came to the top of the steps the Rebels were just turning down the parade from the police station side; they were armed with guns, bayonets fixed, cutlasses, and spikes. The custos asked for the "Riot Act;" before I could get the Act the rebels had got nearly into the centre of the parade. The custos beseeched them not to do what was wrong; if they were suffering from any wrongs he would have them redressed. The Rebels still advancing towards the court-house, the custos read the proclamation under the Riot Act. The volunteers were drawn up about 15 or 18 feet from the wall of the court-house. As the Rebels advanced the volunteers retired by order of Captain Hitchins two paces at a time. The volunteers retired until the butt end of their rifles almost touched the wall of the court-house; the rebels then showered a volley of stones at them, and the same time rushing on the volunteers. The order was then given to fire, but by whom I don't know. Several of the Rebels were shot; the volunteers being overpowered were unable to reload, and from the pressure of the Rebels had to retire in the court-house. The Rebels then commenced, and break in all the sashes with stones. Several gun shots were fired through the windows in the court-house. About 5 o'clock the custos tied a handkerchief to the end of an umbrella and put through one of the windows. The rebels asked what it meant; they were told it meant peace; they said they had not come there for peace, they came for war. The handkerchief was put through the second time, and same reply. The custos then went to the window and told the people if he was the object of their fury, and if they would spare the other gentlemen in the court-house, that he would open the doors and go down and deliver up himself. They said, No, they wanted him and every white and mulatto man. I heard two or three voices said so. Immediately after this we perceived the school-room adjoining the court-house on fire. As soon as the court-house had taken fire, Mr. Georges jumped through one of the windows, and shortly after I did the same myself. I tried to persuade the custos to do the same, but he refused, saying he would remain to the last. About 9 o'clock the same evening I heard the Rebels say they had killed Walton, Alex. Cooke, Arthur Cooke, the Baron, that fellow Herschell, and the inspector of police. I also heard when they brought Mr. Charles Anthony Price from the parade; some said, Kill him, others said, Spare him; he pleaded for mercy; they said they would kill him because he was the friend of the white men. Mr. Price is a black man. Some said, Tie him and carry him to Stoney Gut. Some one said, Let us go for Captain Grant. Captain Grant, a black man, came. Some one said, Who is your mother? he said, a black woman. What was your father? he replied, A black man; they said, So much the worse for you. I then heard the same voice who asked those questions say, Kill him, kill him, kill him. I heard distinctly the blows, and his groans and his cries for mercy. About 2 o'clock in the morning I heard a gang of people come at the police station. They said these words, The rest of them gone to Stoney Gut, and it is time now for us to go down the river, and we will take that fellow Wallace and McKen in our way. Wallace is overseer on Lysson's estate, and McKen is book-keeper; they are both coloured men. Lysson's is on the road to the River district. The Rebels entered the Bay from three distinct directions in three separate gangs. The main body came past the police station, entering the town from the east, and turning down from the main street into the parade. The other gang came from the back of Edwards's shop into the road leading from the wharf eastward into the parade. The third gang entered the parade westward. The effect of this was effectually to cut off all retreat from the court-house. They entered the parade in silence and in regular marching order, very unlike an irregular disorderly mob. I recognized Paul Bogle at the head of the party that came into the parade from the main street; they never halted, but advanced slowly unto the volunteers. I can't say whether any of these persons were with them.

Examined by Henry Theophilus Bogle.

The Baron read the Riot Act.

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WILLIAM FULLER.

I am a policeman of this parish and was so on the 10th day of October last. I went to Stoney Gut on that day with other policemen, Robert McKay, George Fuller Osborne, Andrew Miles, Charles Jacobs, and William Lake, and constables James Foster and Richard West, with a warrant against Paul Bogle and about 25 others, for a riot in the parade at Morant Bay on Saturday, the 7th October. When we got to Stoney Gut, a village about six miles from the Bay, we went to Paul Bogle's yard and saw him. Private McKay read the warrant to him. Paul Bogle said, I won't go with you to-day. Private Osborn clapped him on his shoulder and said, You are my prisoner. We had no arms, only our staffs. Paul Bogle bawled out, "Help here." William Grant called out, "Turn out, men," and immediately shells blew and drums rolled. Then men turned out from the cane fields and Bogle's chapel, to the number of 300 or more, and surrounded us. William Ford caught me by the back of the neck, saying, "Fuller, you come here to take up your colour!" They carried me into Paul Bogle's house. Other people laid hold of policemen Osborn and Jacobs, and constable Foster. (The other three policemen made their escape.) They were also taken into Paul Bogle's house. Paul Bogle handed me a Bible, saying, "Skin for skin, from after this day must cleave from the white and cleave to the black, nothing but the truth, so help me God." I refused to take the oath at first, but Paul Bogle said, "If you don't take it we will take off your head." They were all armed with cutlasses, bayonets, sticks, and knives. Then I kissed the book. As we were captured, we were handcuffed to each other. They got the handcuffs from us. The other two policemen and constable were also threatened and made to kiss the book. Paul Bogle said, We will keep you here until the white men from the Bay come to look for you, and we will capture them the same way. They kept us from 8 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon, and then they took off the handcuffs and let us go and kept the handcuffs. Paul Bogle said he was coming to the Bay that day, but it was too late, but he would come next day and take me and others. William Ford was quite intimate with Paul Bogle, and was there all the time I was. I was not on the Bay on the 11th October.

Examined by William Ford.

You were the first man who held me.

JAMES FOSTER.

I am a rural constable; was so in October last, and live at Duaney Penn. I went with the police to Stoney Gut the day before the row, when we went to Paul Bogle's house. He was the only man there. He asked what brought us. We told him we had a warrant against him and others. McKay read the warrant because Paul Bogle said to read it. He said I must go. I don't do nothing. Policeman Osborn clapped him on the shoulder five times and said, You are my prisoner. Paul Bogle called out, "Men, turn out, help," and Grant did the same. Grant had come in; the shell commenced to blow and the drum commenced to play, and over 300 men came from the chapel and the cane piece. I ran and was caught and beaten, and taken to Bogle's house, where I was tied. They gave me something to eat. I saw gunpowder thrown in a bottle of rum, and they offered me a drink. I did not eat or drink. Seven men had a drink of this rum and gunpowder. Henry Theophilus Bogle, who I identify, brought a double-barrelled gun loaded into the house, saying, I have a great mind to shoot you. Paul Bogle said, No, look at his skin. He asked me to put down the hammers; both nipples were capped. Paul Bogle said, Mr. Foster, you have to kiss the Bible before we let you go. I asked, What must I kiss the Bible for? He said, If you kiss this Bible, and after I come on the Bay and find you amongst the whites, so help me God I will kill you. Nothing but the truth, so help you God. And I kissed the book to save my life. Five men, who I believe have been hung, came in after and kissed the book and drank the rum and gunpowder. Paul Bogle spoke to them in a lingo I do not understand. They answered him in the same lingo. Paul Bogle said to Bowie, Turn out men to drill. Shell blew and drums rolled, and the men, over 300, went into an open field. Moses Bogle, Bowie, and Dacres drilled them. They had cutlasses and lances, and three guns. Then I was released. Benjamin Bingley, a prisoner, I identify, was at Stoney Gut on the 10th among the people drilling. Henry Theophilus Bogle was with them too. Ennis Napier was also there with cutlass and stick amongst those drilling. Edward Reid was also there, but not drilling. He saw all that was going on. He is a prisoner here, and I identify him.

Examined by Henry Theophilus Bogle.

I did see you at Stoney Gut about breakfast time.

Examined by Benjamin Bingley.

I did see you at Stoney Gut.

Examined by Ennis Napier.

Him Napier said I was there at 11 o'clock, I saw you with a stick and cutlass.

WILLIAM MITCHELL.

I am a volunteer in the No. 2 Company, Saint Thomas-in-the-East Rifle Volunteers. I live at Morant Bay. I was on duty with the volunteers on the parade on 11th October. Between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon I heard the alarm bugle sounded, and I fell in. I noticed suspicious gatherings of people on the day during the day. As soon as we fell in I saw a lot of people, hundreds entering the parade by the main street from the station. They did not come in any order. They had guns, cutlasses, spikes, and sticks. They advanced to us stoning us, and pikes pointed. Our Captain, Hitchins, received a blow in his face from a stone, which cut him, and he was bleeding. They never halted, and as they advanced we retired, by Captain Hitchins' order, against the court-house. We could not retire further. The Rebels cried out, "The volunteers are running, now is the time;" they were running up to us, and when at our bayonets' points, Captain Hitchins gave the word "Fire," and

we fired. We were in a single line, 27 of us; a few of the Rebels fell. They commenced to draw back, but seeing us reloading they rushed upon us. One man drove at me with a bayonet at the end of a long stick. I felled him with a thrust of my sword-bayonet, and ran up the steps into the court-house. Whilst going up the steps I was struck on the head with a brick, and attacked by two men. I fired on them. The court-house was then attacked by stones and fire-arms. We fired on the Rebels until our ammunition was expended. I had only five rounds. Then I and Mr. Walton jumped through a window into the magazine, and ran and hid myself in the bush in Hilberry's yard. I remained there about an hour, and then got into Mr. Price's house, where I met Baron Von Kettlehodt, Mr. Georges, Dr. Major, Dr. Gerard, Mr. Warmington, Inspector Alberga, Duncan McPherson, and many volunteers. Alexander Cooke, Captain Hitchins, Rev. Mr. Herschell, and others, all of whom I had left in the court-house when I escaped. When I got to Price's house the school-room and court-house were on fire. The Rebels were firing at us in Mr. Price's house and stoning it. Lieutenant Hall, of the volunteers, was killed by a shot in the throat. The Baron was shot on the thigh, Mr. Georges in the leg, Duncan MacPherson, who was a major of volunteers and clerk of the vestry, was also shot in the leg, and so was his son and little Alberga. It then came on dark, and the house caught fire from the court-house, which drove us out of the house. I rushed into the penguin and the others different ways. Whilst in the penguin I observed the Baron leaning on his elbow against the fort wall alone, then he laid himself down in the trench by the penguin. A number of Rebels now came into the fort yard. I heard Paul Bogle say, "Guard round this place; they are all here; mind the wharf road." He then saw the Baron, and cried out, "Ah! we have the Baron." The Baron jumped up and said, "What's all "this for?" Paul Bogle said something about money. The Baron answered, "If it is me you want, take "me, and let everything be over." Paul Bogle said, "No, we don't want you one, we going kill you, "Georges, and all them buckras and Mulatto fellows, and them volunteers you bring out." As he uttered these words I heard blows as with a stick. The Baron cried out "Mercy." They said, "No! no mercy," and they continued to beat him until they cried out, "He is dead." They left and returned about 20 minutes afterwards, Paul Bogle again amongst them, and beat the corpse with sticks, and one with a cutlass said, "Captain, I must give him a chop," and he chopped the corpse. Another came with a loaded gun and said, "We must fire a load into him," and he discharged his gun into the corpse. Paul Bogle then gave orders to drag him down to the wharf road, and let the pigs eat him. Some time after some called out, "Let us go away now, for fear soldiers come." The women said, "Search the bush before you go away, plenty more in there;" then they lit a torch and began to search, and so found me and caught me, and drag me out. Peter O'Hagan and Alexander Taylor, from Mount Stewart, two prisoners who I now identify, were present when I was taken and beaten. Others have been executed. They asked me how much the Queen gave me to be a volunteer. I said, "Nothing." They demanded my rifle, cap, and jacket. I said to Peter O'Hagan, "O, try and save me, don't you know me?" He said, "Yes, I know you, fellow Mitchell, you is damned forward, kill him, cut his head off." O'Hagan had a stick and cutlass. Alexander Taylor said, "O, yes, kill them, kill the whole of them." They beat me with sticks and the flat sides of cutlasses, and took off my boots and rings. They threw me and held me down, and one raised his cutlass over me and said, "What do you say, shall we kill him?" Then I heard a man named Manfield Panton say, "Who is that you have there?" They said, "We have that fellow Mitchell." He said, "Which Mitchell, Mr. Lundy's Mitchell?" They said, "Yes," and he said, "Save him." Then they let me go to stand up, and took me into Mr. Lundy's store, and demanded my half salary from her for saving me. They left me there and I fainted away. Never heard them complain of any grievance. Never heard them say what their objects were.

Examined by Peter O'Hagan.

You had a cutlass.

Examined by Alexander Sr. Mt. Stewart.

It was late, I cannot tell what hour when I saw you. I recognized you by the light of the fires. I know you well for years.

MOSES NATHANIEL ELOLFE.

I am a tailor, and live at Morant Bay. I am a volunteer of No. 2 Company, Morant Bay. We were called out on duty on 11th October 1865. We assembled and fell in opposite the court-house under Captain Hitchins. Immediately as we fell in I saw the Rebels coming down the street immediately opposite the court-house leading into the parade. They came down dancing and jumping, and flourishing sticks and cutlasses. The Baron stood on the court-house on the steps, and asked them what they wanted; but they made no reply, but still advanced. The Baron then waved his white pocket handkerchief, and said, "Peace." They answered, "Peace, hell! Peace, the devil! We want "no peace." The Baron then said, "If you come to destroy anybody, take me in preference." They replied, "We will take you and get the others, the buckras." They were still advancing. It was a vestry day, and many gentlemen were in the court-house. The custos then read the Riot Act. The Rebels pelted us with stones before the Riot Act was read. I was struck with a stone on the lip. This is the mark. Several of the volunteers' blood was drawn with stones before the Riot Act. When the Riot Act was read, Captain Hitchins gave the word to fire. We fired. The Rebels were then not more than five yards from us, still advancing; as we fired they drew up. As we commenced to reload they rushed on us. We were in single line, and had all fired at once. As the Rebels rushed in Captain Hitchins gave the word to retreat. We retreated and scattered, some going up the steps and some going up the court-house. I was one who went underneath the court-house in Mr. Cooke's office, about nine more with me. Then we loaded, and continued firing on the Rebels through the window of the doors. The Rebels retreated, as we shot a great many, scattered, and hid behind the buildings. We then came out of Cooke's office, and went upstairs in the court-house. Then the Rebels began storming and firing into it. Whilst in Mr. Cooke's office we were fired upon from upstairs; as the Rebels showed to fire stones or guns the volunteers fired on them. The Rebels set the school-room on fire, then the court-house took fire from the school-room. The fire drove us out. Before this the Baron tied a

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white handkerchief on a stick, and sent a black old man out with it to the Rebels to ask for peace; he never returned. I don't know who he is. I and some other volunteers escaped down the steps. The Baron waved his hat from a window in the court-house to some of the people in the church asking for peace. We went into Mr. Price's house, and the Rebels fired on us in the house. The Baron and Mr. Georges were wounded. Price's house took fire from the court-house, and we had to leave it. We all ran at the back of the fort and scattered; the Baron, Mr. Georges, Duncan MacPherson, one of the Cookes, and some volunteers with me. We were fired upon and surrounded by the Rebels. Afterwards the Rebels rushed in upon us from the west. The volunteers fired at them, and then they rushed on us and took away our arms. I was beaten. I tumbled myself to the bottom road, where more Rebels caught me, and chopped me with cutlasses, and beat me with sticks. I received five cutlass wounds on my head. They cried out, "Ah! he is died, the damned son of a bitch." They stripped me of my uniform, and left me naked. About two hours after two men came and examined me, and said, "Ah! this is one of the volunteers; he is died. They turned me over on my back, and felt my chest and nose to see if I breathed. They went away, and returned, and said, "Come let us "take off his head." The one with the cutlass put his knee on my chest, his hand on my forehead, and the cutlass to my throat. The other said, "Oh, come on, don't bother with him, the "man is dead already; go look for them that don't dead yet;" and they went away. A while after I heard a shell blow. I heard them running, and crying "Hurrah!' Nearly morning I crept away home.

JAMES MOORE ROSS.

I am clerk to Mrs. Lundy, and live at Morant Bay. I am a volunteer, and was on duty on the parade on 11th October 1865. Two distinct parties of Rebels entered the parade, one from the north, the other from the east. The volunteers were stoned by the Rebels before they were ordered to fire. Immediately after we fired I was attacked with sticks and cutlasses, and left senseless between the court-house and the school-room. After lying there about an hour I recovered and saw the Rebels attacking the court-house. I was trying to get away when Henry Theophilus Bogle, one of the prisoners who I identify, with a cutlass and stick in his hand, ran after me, when a woman, Margaret Taylor, held him, and begged him not to kill me; whilst she was doing this I got away.

MARGARET TAYLOR.

I live at Morant Bay. I am employed by Mr. Marchalleck. I remember the 11th October during the murdering. I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle, a prisoner here, who I identify. He was running after James Moore Ross, a volunteer. Prisoner had a sword in his hand, and said to another man, "Come on, there is one of them going along here." I stood before Bogle, and said, "Never mind, "he is partly dead already." Bogle said, "You wretch, if you say any more I will run you through." I then ran away, and Bogle turned back. This was before the court-house burnt.

THOMAS WITTER JACKSON.

I am a stipendiary magistrate now, and on the 12th October 1865 located at Port Antonio. I was at Amity Hall, the residence of the late Augustus Hire, on the 12th October. Amity Hall, by the post road, is rather more than 20 miles from Morant Bay. The short cuts would take off six or seven miles. Mr. Augustus Hire, since dead, Mr. Creighton, who I believe is now in England, Mr. Alexander Chisholm, and Doctor Crowdy and young Hire were there in the evening. I had retired to bed about 11 o'clock. I was awoke by Mr. Augustus Hire. I had scarcely time to put on my clothes when a concourse of persons approached the house. I went to the outer door of the dining-room, and was opening it to go and meet the people, when Mr. Augustus Hire persuaded not to do so. I spoke to the people through the window, advising them not to commit violence, and telling them who I was. They however entered the house, and I faced them. Two men passed me; the third or fourth struck me with a bludgeon on the head, which stunned me, and I was deprived of my senses. When I returned to my senses, some time during the night, I found myself on a bed with Dr. Crowdy in the house. In the morning I found myself in another bed in another room. I had eight or nine distinct wounds on my head, three of which the doctor tells me, and I believe, were cutlass wounds. Mr. Augustus Hire was lying on the floor at the foot of the bed on which I was, and he died shortly after. Dr. Crowdy left in the morning. Mr. Creighton I left wounded in bed. Young Hire was severely wounded. Mr. Chisholm escaped unhurt. The people appeared to me like a maddened crowd. It was dark. I could not recognize any of them. I went to Amity Hall that morning from Port Antonio. Mr. Augustus Hire was attorney and manager of Amity Hall estate, and a justice of the peace for Saint Thomas-in-the-East.

JAMES HARRISON.

I am a magistrate of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and attorney and manager of Hordley estate in the Plantain Garden River district. On the 11th October last I was at Hordley estate. Early on the morning of the 11th the volunteers were ordered to meet at Bath to proceed on active duty to Morant Bay. We heard during the same day of the treatment of the police at Stoney Gut on the 10th. We saw in the evening a glare of a fire towards Morant Bay. We also heard the same evening that there was a terrible row at Morant Bay; this was between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening. In consequence of all I heard on the morning of the 12th I collected all the ladies of the district at Hadley. In the evening I heard noises, caused by the destruction of the neighbouring estate from Amity Hall works. I heard the cry of colour for colour; this was between 9 or 10 o'clock at night. Then I heard them at Amity Hall top house. I heard a crash and a cry, "One white bagger is dead; give it them all; don't "spare them; don't let one go; colour for colour; don't burn the house; save house; we want

" house." Then they came on to Hordley, shouting " Colour for colour." We all evacuated Hordley House. I saw the people ; some were armed. The people threatened to kill all they found. The wash-house was set on fire twice, and put out by the Rebels, saying they wanted it for themselves to make sugar by-and-bye. They destroyed everything in the house, and a portion of the house. The Rebels sung out, " Hurrah, buckra country ; for we lots of sugar and rum; never mind the buckra " woman now, we can get them when we want them." They then left, and went to Holland estate. The Rebels who came to Hordley was at least 700. The ladies had to flee to the negro houses the morning of the 13th. The same morning, about 11 o'clock, I heard in the negro houses where the ladies were a great commotion, and a cry of Colour for colour. They then left in two divisions, one over Quah Hill, and the other over at Holland, blowing shells. The ladies were in the bush till night. I know the prisoner Barber; he belongs to Wheelerfield estate; he was cattleman at the time at the " Rhine." I believe that the gang that ravaged the river district was composed of people principally belonging to that district. I judge so from the facility with which they found their way from place to place by bye-ways and short-cuts. I recognize among the prisoners George Brown, a carpenter; he comes from Plantain Garden River district. Nathan Brown also comes from the River district.

William Drummond.

I am overseer at Amity Hall estate. On the 10th October 1865 I was in Blue Mountain valley, between Coley and Chigoe foot market. I was then residing on my own property, Ben Lomond, in Blue Mountain district. During that day I heard horns blowing in different directions, a very unusual thing. In the evening, just before dark, I was on my way to Coley from the market. I met a band of about 100 men with a fife and bugle blowing, and all armed with cutlasses. They were coming from the direction of Somerset and Coley, and going towards Morant Bay. I met them between 9 and 10 miles from Morant Bay. They seem to be commanded, and to be trying to march in order. They could not be a party returning from work. They seem to be a party bent on a. The Thursday morning following, 12th October, I was at Serge Island about 11 o'clock with Mr. Miller. The house was surrounded by about 50 men armed with cutlasses, swearing to murder the overseer, Mr. Miller. We made our escape. Serge Island is about eight miles from Morant Bay, and the very opposite direction as to Morant Bay from Plantain Garden River district. When we were making our escape I saw a band of about 1,000, armed, going towards Chigoe foot market, and we met several small parties of about 20 each, also going towards Chigoe foot.

Andrew Markes.

I am a shopkeeper, and reside at Morant Bay. I have also a business in Bath, and I am frequently in the River district. I know Alexander Murray, a prisoner; he resides at Morant Bay.

Robert Marshall Whittle, Jun.

I live at Bath. On 11th October last I came to Morant Bay with the late Captain Hitchins. I know James Thomas, one of the prisoners; he belongs to Cotton Tree Mountain, near Bath. I also know James Francis, jun., from Friendship Pen, one of the prisoners. Friendship Pen is near Bath. I know another prisoner, James Walters. I always see him at Bath; he was always working at Plantain Garden River district. I was on the parade on the 11th October at Morant Bay when the Rebels entered the parade.

Horatio Nelson Reid.

I am clerk to Mr. Ford at Bath. I know James Thomas, a prisoner here. On 12th October he showed me a mob of Rebels that plundered Mr. Ford's store. He had a cutlass and said, " If you don't " show me where all the guns and gunpowder are, I will take off your head." He held me by my arm and raised the cutlass over me, when Samuel Thompson said, " If you take his life you will have to " take mine." The same night Rebels were drilled in the street of Bath. I heard them drilling. I heard " Shoulder arms," " Shorten arms," " Head parry," and drums were beating ; they were in possession of the town ; all the inhabitants had fled to the woods. I know Nathan Brown, a prisoner; he belongs to Plantain Garden River district. I know Richard Daily, a prisoner; he belongs to Plantain Garden River district. I know James Francis, jun., from Pera, a prisoner. I know Henry Francis, a prisoner ; he belongs to Plantain Garden River district. I know Henry Stewart, a prisoner, from Plantain Garden River district. I know Charles Francis, a prisoner, from Plantain Garden River district; he was with those who plundered Mr. Ford's store; he had a stick. He said, " I know " Mr. Reid had some good rum which he used to give his masters and to give it them." The Mr. Reid was my brother, a volunteer that was killed at Morant Bay. I know Isaiah Barclay, a prisoner ; he belongs to Rocky Point district. I know Henry Smith, a prisoner here; he comes from Plantain Garden River district. I know James Walters, a prisoner here; he comes from Plantain Garden River estate. I know Smart Scott, a prisoner here ; he comes from Plantain Garden River district. I know John Barber, a prisoner here ; he comes from " Rhine." On 13th October I saw him in Bath with a ham and two bottles whilst Bath was being pillaged. He said to Thomas Fleming, one of Ford's cartmen, " Look what me get now." I know Jane Anderson, a prisoner here ; she comes from Plantain Garden River district.

Examined by Charles Francis.

I saw you in the shop; you were drunk.

Examined by John Barber.

I saw you with a ham and two bottles in the street.

JOHN MENDES.

I am captain of Maroons. I live at Retreat Pen, above Bachelor's Hall. I belong to Maroons of Moore Town. On Friday, 13th October, I was in Manchioneal, and left for home. At Hector's River I met a crowd of people loaded with plunder. They had cutlasses, and hoes, and sticks; they were making a great noise and uproar coming. I besought them all to go home in peace. A man amongst them, who has been hung, said, We will take off Parson Foote's head, because he was a preacher and had turned a planter. They were threatening to kill people, Mr. Ward, Mr. Hinchlewood, Mr. Bunting. I told them not to interfere with buckra. After this Mr. Hinchlewood's house was burnt down that same night. I met another gang at Amity Hall the same day, and they had Mr. Hire's wines. I know George Brown, a prisoner here; he comes from Plantain Garden River district. He was with me from the Monday after the rebellion, assisting me as constable; so was Lewis Johnson, a prisoner here, from Plantain Garden River district. I know James Walters, a prisoner; he also comes from Plantain Garden River district. I know John Barber, a prisoner here; he comes from the Rhine, and assisted me the Saturday after the doings at Morant Bay in carrying Mrs. Harrison to her carriage. I know Nathan Brown, a prisoner here; he comes from Plantain Garden River district. I know Alexander Taylor, solicitor, of Mount Stewart, from Bath district. I know Dorcthy Barclay, a prisoner here; she comes from Bath district.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS LIPMAN.

I am a tailor, and live at the Bay. I was a volunteer on duty on the 11th October About half-past 4 o'clock I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle, one of the prisoners who I now identify, with a sword and a stick, with a great body of Rebels coming from the west side of the parade. He said, "You Mulatto "fellows, you all come to strengthen the buckras; we will take off your head this day." I had my rifle retreating. He and others attacked me, and I fired on them and hit a man, who is now in the almshouse, and I effected my escape. This was before the court-house was on fire. Before I escaped I was beaten and stripped. George Thomas, a prisoner here, who I now identify, is the man I shot. He was along with the Rebels and Bogle coming after me. Some of the Rebels, after beating me, carried me and Jacobs, a volunteer, to the Morant road, and then let me go, ordering me to be on the bay the next morning.

Examined by Henry Theophilus Bogle.

I saw you at half-past 4 o'clock in the evening to the west part of the parade with a sword in your hand, running after me; you and a great many.

ROBERT JACOBS.

I live in Bath in this parish. I am a private in No. 1 Company of Volunteers, and was so on 11th October on duty in parade, Morant Bay. I saw James Francis, jun., from Friendship Pen, about half-past 6 in the evening. I was at the time I saw him hiding in the privy with volunteers McGowen and Rutty. I saw him through the window. He had a big stick. I know him well, as he used to catch my horses, and so I called to him and said, "James, will you let me out?" He said, "Ah, I will have all your heads off to-night." He and others then attacked the privy, and pulled us out and beat us, and Francis put his hand into my pockets and took out the stopper of my rifle, and assisted taking off my boots, and he took off a gold ring from my finger, a valuable one. All this time I pretended to be dead. He gave me a kick and said, "Good, the whole of you are dead."

NATHANIEL LAKE.

I am a rural constable. I live at Wilmington. I knew James Bowie, who has been hung. I assisted to bring him down to Morant Bay when he was taken. On our way down he told me that Mr. Gordon put them right out of their way, and I asked him what Mr. Gordon put you out of your way to do. He said Mr. Gordon told them that the meeting go right round and round to destroy the white folks and the coloured men them, but those that join them not to be destroyed. I said then, Old man, you have done a bad thing to take life, but, however, I am nothing to do with it; when you go down you can tell that to the high quarter. He said, My son, what use am I to speak. I know I am going to be hung. I can't identify any of the prisoners. I know nothing of any meetings.

GEORGE LAKE.

One Friday night before the riot at Morant Bay, Paul Bogle sent his son to me at Brown's Field, in the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, to call me. He said his father sent him to call the whole of us. I went to Paul Bogle the same night at Torrington, where he was holding a meeting. He gave me a Bible and told me I must take an oath. He said to me, "So help me God, the truth and not the truth." There were a great many persons at the meeting. Paul Bogle told us a war was expected to take place in Saint Thomas-in-the-East. The best half of the whites know about it. Paul Bogle said, if it was him, Paul Bogle alone walking about and gather all these people must be afraid, but Mr. George William Gordon was the back and he will know what way to get gun and powder to give to all the people. Paul Bogle said when the riot is to take, Mr. G. W. Gordon is to go and hide in the black people's houses, and the white people won't know that it was him that set on the people to the riot, and that the back lands were free a long time, but the white held it from us for a long time, and now they come to find out they won't surrender, and if they have land and the master ask them for the rent, not to pay a rap, and we must make a hut in the land and put a table and call it our own property, and if the master ask for any rent, to lay him down and whip him well. Paul Bogle said he was coming down to the Bay Saturday, for he had a prisoner that was going to be tried. If the prisoner is guilty or guilty not, he must be taken away by force. On the following day, Saturday, I came to the bay, saw Paul Bogle

there. I was in the court-house when they were trying a case. Paul Bogle was also there. There were plenty of people in the court-house. They all had sticks when the case was tried. Sergeant Burnett had a paper in his hand. Bogle's son peeped into the paper as Burnett held it in his hand Burnett said to him, Don't interfere with my duty. James Geogehan came forward and interfered, and said, Not to-day, Bogle's son must take up. The magistrates had ordered the police to take up the man making a noise. It happened to be Bogle's son. Bogle's son ran out of the court-house; the police ran after him. Bogle's gang of people raised directly and had a fight in the market. Afte this I went away home. On Wednesday, the day of the rebellion, I came to Morant Bay before Bogle's gang came to the bay. I came down to buy three pairs of trousers; at this time the volunteers were in front of the court-house. On my return home I met Bogle at the station door with his gang coming down. There were more than a hundred persons with him. I returned into the bay. I stood up at the corner of the street leading into the parade. I heard guns firing. People said they were shooting people, and I ran away out of the bay. The Rebels were armed with cutlasses and sticks. I met lots of people on my way home, all armed with cutlasses and sticks, coming into the bay. I never returned to the bay. I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle, a prisoner, who I identify, was on the bay on the day of the rebellion. Also Alexande r Taylr, junr., of Mount Stewart. Also Matthew Ford. Bogle had cutlass and stick. He was with the Rebels. I only saw him before the row. I did not see anything in Alexander Taylor's hand, but he was with the Rebels. I did not see anything in Matthew Ford's hand, but he was with him. I was tried here by a court-martial. I expected to be hung, but was afterwards let go. The Rebels brought me with them to the bay by force on the 11th October. Paul Bogle said a war was to break out that day at Morant Bay. Henry Theophilus Bogle, Alexander Taylor, and Matthew Ford came down with us into the bay from Thornton. I was not armed. I came down with a stick.

Examined by Henry T. Bogle.

I did not have a cutlass. I was at Thornton the Wednesday morning when Paul Bogle sent for us. We went and met him at Spring Garden Road and came in with him to the Bay. I was not at Stoney Gut the night before. I was not a captain. You said nothing to me on 24th October.

JAMES BEARD.

I am a carpenter, and live at Morant Bay. I was a policeman on 11th October. I was on duty at the district prison here. I saw Alexander Murray armed with a stick coming in the Bay with a band of Rebels. They came down the valley. They entered the Bay along the wharf road, the lower road. This was between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. I was on duty at the district prison the whole day. I saw many gangs enter the Bay by the lower road, armed with cutlasses and sticks. On Thursday morning, when the gunboats was coming in, I saw Alexander Murray making his escape out of the Bay by the wharf road, going back valley way.

HENRY HARDIE WILLIAMS.

I am a volunteer and a musician. I know Alexander Murray, a prisoner, I saw him at Morant Bay on 11th October last, before dark in the evening. He had a volunteer rifle with fixed sword-bayonet. He was coming down the Bay westward from the court-house, which was then on fire. Some volunteers had already been killed. I was not on the parade that day, I could not get there for the Rebels. I saw them attacking the station. Alexander Murray was with other men, who had also volunteer rifles.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

When I saw you I was at my residence in the Bay, in front of the Wesleyan chapel.

JAMES BONNER BARNETT.

I am a baker, and reside at Morant Bay. On 11th October last, between 5 and 6 in the evening, I saw Alexander Murray (a prisoner) on the Bay with a whole gang of the Rebels, all armed. Murray had a volunteer rifle with fixed bayonet. I heard him say, "Halloa, let us go and look for that fellow "Chevannes; he put me in prison for Logwood, and if I catch him this day I will take his head off." They went into the parade. They gave three cheers at 2 o'clock in the morning. I saw Caroline Grant and her son Robert Grant at the Bay that day. She was a queen of the Rebels, and had a volunteer sword. I was talking to two of the Rebels, who told me they had been too long oppressed, and was seeking their revenge. When Caroline Grant came up with a mob, she had a volunteer sword, and her son Robert Grant also came up with them, had a volunteer rifle, and she said to the two men, "You "come and drink with the man instead of doing your work—kill the man. We hear in the mountains "that he has told the white people, Black people going to poison the rivers. We hear they poison the "rum at Morant Bay with wicked, so don't drink with that man—kill him." Richard Grant, another son, not yet taken, raised his cutlass and made a chop at me, and chopped a bottle in two, and ordered me into my shop, saying, "Go into your shop, or else we will lay you where the buckras are, as you "are on their side." Robert Grant said, "Brother, leave the man alone, we will come back here "to-morrow and will catch him, and if any man say anything to you, kill him." Jane Grant was present when this was said and done, and had a small stick in her hand. She said to my housekeeper, "Aunty Mary, take in Mr. Jim into his shop, for I don't see why the people should be doing him that "way; you know he is a man always making his puppet show." She went away with her mother and the rest of them into the parade.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

You had a volunteer gun and sword. I have given evidence against you before, the same as now.

Examination in chief resumed.

About 10 or 11 o'clock at night Nancy Murray came to my shop and said, One of my brothers is shot, let me bring him here. I said, Don't you know this is a baker's shop; take him to your own house.

JAMAICA. Two men said, You must receive him, if you don't we will burn down the shop and kill all in the shop. I said, There is the baker's shop, do as you like. Nancy Murray then brought George Thomas, a prisoner here, to my shop. Nancy Murray said to George Thomas, who was groaning, Never mind, that fellow Lipman shoot you, but we will catch him to-morrow. I asked Thomas what he was doing to get wounded; he said, I heard the noise and ran into the parade to see what was the matter, when one of my own people shot me. Nancy Murray said, No, it is that fellow Lipman shoot you in the fort yard in front of one of the gun carriages. Nancy Murray said to George Thomas, who was still groaning, Never mind, we kill all the buckras, but saved Doctor Major to attend to the sick, and he will come in the morning. She told me and my housekeeper, Mary Ann Thomas, and my baker, Thomas Stewart, We kill Alexander Brown and roll him down the fort hill, and we kill the Baron and roll him down the same place, and his head was smashed and his brains come out. We kill Parson Herschell and cut his neck; we kill the inspector; we kill Mr. Walton, and leave him leaning against the spars down at the wharf; we kill Mr. McCormack, he is into the fort yard; we kill Mr. Hitchins in the fort yard, and one of Parson Cook's sons is killed, another has been beaten, but run away with his father; if we catch Stephen Cooke we will cut off his head this night; we beat Mr. Price and made him a prisoner, and took him to the station. Another gang met him; he tried to get into Grant's shop, but he pitched him out, and a party penned him up and beat him. I don't suppose he is alive now. On the 7th October I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle, another prisoner, put his fist into inspector's face at the court-house. On 11th October at Morant Bay I saw Elizabeth Faulkner, a prisoner here, soon as the row commenced, with her lap full of stones among the Rebels; and when they said to kill old Bennett, she said, "Yes, kill him, he says he is blind, but he is no more blind than me, for "I bought 6 yards of cloth from him, and when I measured it it was only $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards."

Examined by George Thomas.

You had the apron of Mr. McCormack's gig over you; you had no shirt on. I gave the apron to the justices; this is the apron. I examined the gig next day, the apron was gone.

William Pitt Kirkland.

I am senior magistrate for the parish. I reside in Bath, and was there on 12th October last. Between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning between 100 and 200 Rebels entered Bath, which is 14 miles by the post road from Morant Bay eastward. They had handkerchiefs as flags, and drums beating, and horns blowing; they plundered Mr. Ford's store; they remained in the town till the next morning plundering. I had to run away and hide in the woods as they were searching for me to kill me. I heard them say my head was to be stuck on a poll, as I had taken their money as tax collector, and sent many of them to gaol. I am collector of dues for the parish. I heard one man say, Bring a firestick to burn court-house; another one said, No, we are not going to work by fire. During the night a party of them proceeded on to the River district with a drum beating and a horn blowing.

Francis Bowen.

I am a justice of the peace for this parish. I sat in petty sessions at Morant Bay, on Saturday, the 7th October, and was at the vestry at Morant Bay on Wednesday, the 11th day of October last. I reside at Coley estate in the Blue Mountain Valley district. During the sitting of the court on Saturday, 7th October, a man who I don't know disturbed the court, talking out loud. We ordered the police to take him in charge and keep him till the court was over. The police took the man. There was a great scuffle. The police was surrounded by the black people; the police was dragged out of the court-house down the steps, then the market people (it was market day) joined in rescuing the prisoner and beating the police. The inspector came up, and I called out to him to let his men retreat, as they were overpowered; there were five or six policemen against a large mob of people. The police retreated, and the prisoner was rescued. The business of the petty sessions was then resumed and concluded. The bearing of the people in the court-house, which was filled after the rescuing, was most threatening and insolent, and calculated to intimidate us; so much so, brother justice Mr. Walton (who was killed on the Wednesday) suggested an adjournment. On Tuesday, the 10th October, I was riding round the cane pieces on Coley estate about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I heard a great drumming coming up the road, and shortly after saw between 20 and 30 men with a drum and fife marching up the road towards the village called the barracks. As they passed the Coley gate I rode up to the shop were some people were standing and inquired the meaning of this. The people said they were black volunteers, but could not tell what they were marching for. In the evening I went up to my house about 6 o'clock; heard drumming again, and saw the same gang I had seen in the morning returning down the road. They talked at Coley Gate about 10 minutes and looked up at my house. This demonstration was something very unusual. On Wednesday 11th, on my way to the bay, I passed several men with sticks coming down to the bay in parties of 12 and 15. I came on to the bay and expressed my apprehensions, and advised the adjournment of the vestry. The Baron said I was frightened, and refused to listen to my suggestions. The vestry met at the court-house about 1 o'clock, and I went there. We were proceeding with the vestry, when about 3 o'clock some one called out, "The negroes are coming." The volunteers were ordered to fall in. We ran to the court-house steps, and I saw a large crowd of people with guns, sticks, and cutlasses, bayonets on the guns, fife and drum playing, coming down the street into the parade directly opposite the court-house. They marched in regular soldier style. As they advanced the Baron called out and asked what they wanted; they would not listen to him. The Baron was called upon to read the Riot Act; he hesitated to do it. The people kept advancing until they came so near to the volunteers that the latter had to retreat a pace or two. The Baron began to read the Riot Act, when the people began to throw stones. I was hit by one on the nose, which cut me. The Baron then gave the word to fire, and the volunteers fired. We all then ran into the court-house from the shower of stones, and I immediately jumped through back window of the court-house into the fort yard, and hid myself in a gulley below Price's house. I was followed and stoned by a man. I then got on the wharf road, and there I saw some

men beating Mr. Brooks Cooke. As I ran past and got on the Wharf road, a man with a gun and fixed bayonet stopped me, and putting the bayonet against my side said, Which side you belong to? (he was a black man). I said, For God's sake don't put that into me. Immediately then a black man called Thompson bawled out from the wharf, "For God's sake don't do that, it's Mr. Bowen from "Coley, he is a good man." Thompson was advancing; I made a spring and ran away, clasped Thompson, and said, "For God's sake show me where to go and hide myself." He said, "Run on the "wharf, Sir, the 'Eleanor' is in." I did so, and hid myself in the privy, and called out to some men, who hailed the "Eleanor" (they were men from Kingston, black men). Captain Robinson brought the boat and took me off. JAMAICA.

JOHN LINDSAY.

I reside at Stoke's Hall in this parish. I know prisoner, he is a fiddler. I saw prisoner, James Fraser, one of the Rebels, at Plantain Garden River estate on the Friday after the rebellion. As I saw the Rebels go upstairs I followed them. Saw prisoner with a hammer, with which he broke Mr. Shortridge's piano. I spoke to him, he made a brush after me with the hammer. Prisoner is employed by any one. I am a blacksmith on Plantain Garden River estate. Prisoner comes from Kingston. The Rebels took away all the furniture out of the house. Prisoner was armed then.

THOMAS MCCRAE.

I am overseer at Potosi. On Friday, the 13th October last, the prisoners John Mais and Charles Mais who with David Richards came to Potosi on that day. David Richards had a rifle, John Mais a fowling piece, and Charles Mais a cutlass. David Richards said he had come for a cow to refresh his people. I said I had no cow, he said he would have one. He went to works accompanied by John and Charles Mais, and brought a cow; they caught the cow with a rope they took out of a room that was locked; found the room broken; the next morning they took away the cow and killed it. Prisoners John and Charles Mais live at Gunny Hill and Richards at Torrington.

JAMES VALENTINE SERGEANT.

On the 14th October last I saw prisoners Isaiah Barclay and James Francis coming down from Hampton Court towards Pera. Barclay had a cutlass in his hand, Francis had something like a stick, he was on horseback. Francis said to some people, "You are standing up minding Colquhoon rum "shop, instead of going out, we kill all the rest. What is Porter, is he a king or governor? But we "will find him, where he is." They continued on their way to Pera.

FRANCES MCCRAE.

I am the daughter of Thomas McCrae, and reside with him at Friendship in the Bath district. On Thursday, the 12th October, I saw James Francis, jun., of Friendship Penn, one of the prisoners, with Abraham Cornwall's gang, armed with a cutlass and a stick, came to the house at Friendship to demand rifles. We told him there were none. They said they were just from the war, and had authority to come and look for the rifles. They said they were for peace, but the white people were for war, and they would war against them. They asked for my father, but he had hid himself. The leader of this gang has been hanged.

GEORGE REID.

I know Robert Wilson of York, a prisoner. I saw him on 12th October, his clothes were all over blood; I met him in the village of York, with a stick. I asked him where he was from, he told me he was from the bay; this was about 8 o'clock in the morning. I asked him if they had destroyed any white men, he said, Yes; I asked him how much; he said he could not tell me what quantity, but between the volunteers and white men there was a good quantity. On Friday, 13th October, he came to my yard with some bloody clothes on; I asked him why he kept on his bloody clothes, he said he was a war man, and a war man had a right to wear his dress. I then said, As you are a war man, I suppose you have killed some of these buckras too. He said, Yes, that I do; I do kill. I said, What do you take to kill these gentlemen? He said, When he first came in the bay he had nothing but this stick. He said when he came on the parade he saw the volunteers, and as they fired out the first volley, they came down so fast upon them they had no power to load again. He licked one of them down and took away his gun and cartouche box, then he clapped them on and commenced shooting buckra; that whilst they were shooting some one cried out that all the gentlemen were escaping from the court-house to the privy, and the whole of them run round to the privy and found the buckras hiding in it; and as he went his bayonet was fixed on his gun, and as he made a jam, and as he pulled the sword, the blood daubed him. He said he jammed a buckra. The buckras cried out, Don't jam us in this way, shoot us and be done. Some commenced to shoot, some to jam, and some dragging them out; that by this time the court-house was on fire, and they were dragging away their side, that had been killed by volunteers. That in doing this they found Mr. Cook's brother who had been well murdered, but not yet dead. That Mr. Cooke was trying to move himself from the heat of the fire, and as he saw him he called out to the rest, saying "Holloa, there is one of those fellows not dead," immediately the rest came back, and take sticks and beat his brains out. George Robinson of York was present, and heard Wilson tell me all this.

ROBERT KIRKLAND.

I am a storekeeper. I reside at Fairfield in Plantain Garden River district. On 11th October last I was at Morant Bay, upstairs my store, which is nearly opposite the police station, when I

Jamaica.

heard the cry "They are coming," this was about 3 o'clock. I heard the sound of shell and drums. I saw a crowd of persons armed with sticks and cutlasses approaching the station from the eastward. They were marching together. They rushed into the police station, and took away the police arms. They then halted at the top of the street leading into the parade opposite the court-house for about ten minutes. They then advanced into the parade straight on to the volunteers slowly and steadily, at the same time throwing stones. When about six yards from the volunteers they were fired on by the volunteers, and they returned the fire. Before firing the volunteers had retired as the people advanced to the wall of the court-house steps. Volleys of stones were fired by the people, and they rushed on the volunteers. I then came down stairs and walked along the main street westward, just below the Wesleyan Chapel. On my way I met several persons, at least a dozen, with guns, or cutlasses, or bayonets, and many more with sticks. They were going towards the parade.

William Padmore.

I am shoemaker. I reside at Stanton near Morant Bay. On 11th October last I met Sampson Champneys (one of the prisoners) with a concourse of people all with sticks about one quarter of a mile on the Stanton road coming towards the bay, from which I was escaping, having left the Rebels attacking the court-house. He said, "Here is a volunteer, lick him! lick him," and they rushed at me and I fell. Some said, Don't lick him, he is a stranger. I ran and escaped. Champneys had a pimento stick in his hand.

Examined by Sampson Champneys.

After I laid information against you, you came to me and knelt and said, "Massa I beg your pardon, "for Christ's sake forgive me;" this was after the martial law.

James Haig.

I am a servant to Mr. Porter at Pera. I was in the yard at Pera. John Foster, Dorothy Barclay, and Maria Barclay (prisoners here) came to Pera with plenty more armed with sticks and macheats. They broke up the house and went away. John Foster beat me with a chaise whip and Dorothy Barclay took away some wine glass. They are Pera people.

Martha Lewis.

I am a servant at Pera. On the Friday of the week of the rebellion this chemise and petticoat belonging to me were in Pera house. A couple of weeks after I found the chemise on Maria Barclay, a prisoner here. William Anderson the constable brought me the petticoat.

William Anderson.

I am a special constable. The third week in the rebellion I found a chemise and a petticoat in Dorthy Barclay's (prisoner's) house. I showed them to Martha Lewis, and she identify them as hers. Dorothy Barclay, a prisoner, was present when I found them; Maria Barclay, another prisoner, lives in the same house. She was there the time when I found them. Martha said nothing, but Dorothy denied all knowledge of the things.

Examined by Maria Barclay.

I never did cat you at the station.

Prince Lawrence.

I live at Bowden and work at Pera as blacksmith. On Saturday the week of the rebellion I was at Pera at the blacksmith shop, I saw Nathan Brown, a prisoner, and Robert Wilson, another prisoner, of Barking Lodge, Henry Francis, another prisoner, Richard Gray, another prisoner; they broke open the curing house and boiling house doors, and entered; but left without taking anything; they were armed with cutlasses. I was on Friday at Pera and saw a crowd of people, some with cutlass and sticks, go up to the great house and destroy it, and carried off all they saw. Gray took away a hog and killed it.

Examined by Nathan Brown.

I saw you broke the doors.

Examined by Robert Wilson (Barking Lodge).

You had a cutlass in your hand.

William Bell.

I am a labourer, and live at Pera. I was at Pera the week of the rebellion. I saw Richard Gray and James Stewart (prisoners); they came on the Friday to Pera with others. Gray chased hogs; they returned next day with others and again chased hogs; James Stewart took away a stretcher on Friday. Henry Scott (a prisoner) came to Pera on Saturday morning and took a pig. He had nothing in his hand. Henry Smith (a prisoner) came to Pera with others on Friday, and broke the store door; all of them entered the store. I did not see them take anything. Smart Scott (a prisoner) was with Henry Scott. I saw George Brown (a prisoner) with a gun at Pera on Friday, the week of the rebellion, before the Rebels came and broke up the house. I saw James Walters, another prisoner, with a gun on same Friday at Pera. He and George Brown went into the house. On this same Friday the house was destroyed and everything stolen of it by a gang armed with sticks and cutlasses. James Stewart and Henry Smith came with this gang.

Examined by Henry Smith.

When you and the rest were breaking the house, he said he was doing his duty. I did tell you at the time, if everybody behaved like you, nothing will be lost. The man who broke the store door with you has been hung.

DOROTHY JOHNSTON.

I am servant to Dr. Major. On Friday after the rebellion (the 13th October), John Barber said to me, "Mr. Hire's head is taken off." I said, "Is Mr. Herschell killed?" Barber said, "Yes, "Mr. Herschell is killed." I said, "All the gentlemen are dead; what are we to do?" He said Mr. Herschell ought to have been killed before this day, and if I take the gentlemen's part they would soon know what to do with me. This was on Friday morning. In the evening he also said to Mrs. Major's sister that the doctor was at Stoney Gut quite safe, and that if Mrs. Major would give him a letter he would go to Stoney Gut and bring the doctor home. I said to Mrs. Major, "This is the man "who told me this morning that Mr. Herschell ought to kill. He said if I come out of the house he "would soon know what to do with me, at the same time showing me a knife." Mrs. Major got frightened, and locked me up in the room.

CATHERINE WALTON.

I reside at Dalvey, in this parish. On Friday, the 13th October last, I was in my room at Airy Mount, dressing. I saw prisoners; they came up the hill running; they were breathless. George Brown had a gun in his hand, James Walters had a cutlass, Henry Stewart had a gun, and Lewis Thompson a cutlass. James Walters ran upstairs; the door was bolted, and he could not get in. The rest of the prisoners were downstairs. Finding he could not get in at the outer door, he then came upstairs from the staircase underneath the house. He came to the room door, and asked me to open the door. I said I was undressed, and could not. He asked if Mr. Porter was in the room. I said he was not. He insisted on me to open the door, but I would not. I made my escape through a back door into the yard, and came back into the drawing room, where I saw prisoner Walters. He said to me, "I am going down to Pera to Mr. Porter, and if he does not pay me every damned penny half-"penny I will let him know." I said, "What will you do to Mr. Porter; will you kill him?" He said, "Yes, I am going down there." He repeated the words over. The report of a gun at this time was heard, when the Rebels cried out, "Duffus is killed; what are we doing here?" They all ran away towards Bowden, except Walters, who stopped to shut the door. Walters had been working there before as a carpenter. He searched in every room in the house, as if he was looking for some one. Brown opened a drawer in the house, and took away some powder that was in the drawer. The prisoners removed the furniture from the upstairs to the downstairs.

Examined by James Walters.

You held the cutlass over me in the drawing room.

Examined by Henry Stewart.

You told me Miss Cunan had better secure her silver.

EMMA MAJOR.

I am the wife of Doctor Edward William Major. On the 11th October last the doctor went to Morant Bay. We reside at the Rhine. Henry James Lawrence (since executed) was overseer for Mr. George William Gordon. He only rented the dwelling. Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 11th October, Lawrence came to the house in consequence of a message I sent him on hearing of disturbances at Morant Bay. He told me the doctor would be safe; that he had opened his eyes for him by telling him there would be a disturbance, and better keep out of the way, but that he had no hope for the Rev. Mr. Herschell and the Baron. He said the negroes would not hurt the doctor, as he had been kind to them during small-pox. He wrote me notes, which were produced at the court-martial. John Barber, one of the prisoners, was at my house on the afternoon of Friday, the 13th October. He had brought me a note from Lawrence. John Barber then told me he had seen my husband at Stoney Gut the night before, and if I would give him a letter he would take it to him. He told me the doctor was quite well.

Examined by John Barber.

You came up on Friday to the house.

DR. WILLIAM EDWARD MAJOR.

I am medical practitioner, and reside at the Rhine. On the 11th October, at 7 o'clock, I left the Rhine for Morant Bay to attend vestry. On my way out of the Rhine gate I asked Henry James Lawrence, the overseer, whether I could do anything for him in the Bay. He came down the steps, and said to me, "Surely you are not going to Morant Bay to-day!" I said, "Yes, I am; why not?" He said, "Have you not heard of the disturbance there?" I answered, "No, what disturbance?" He said, "I am told that Captain Hitchins had orders late last evening to have his men ready at 8 "this morning." I said, "I must go, Mr. Lawrence," and he shook his head, and said, "I would "advise you not to go, but you will hear more about it when you get to Bath, as the volunteers are "getting ready." I went to Bath, and found Captain Hitchins getting ready with his men, and he was telling them to be prepared for active service. By his advice I went back for my instruments. I was surgeon to the company. I came on with the volunteers to Morant Bay. I was at the vestry in the afternoon, when the alarm was raised that the Rebels were coming. They entered the parade in a thoroughly well organized manner, slowly and deliberately. They were not more than four or

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five feet from the volunteers and advancing when the orders were given to fire. I saw an attack on the volunteers before they fired. I was one who left the court-house when on fire, and went to Price's house, and left it when the roof fell in, and hid myself in the penguin fence behind the fort, where I was discovered about 9 at night, but was spared on telling them who I was, and they conducted me to Mr. Marchelleck's house. I saw lying dead the next morning Baron Kettleholdt, custos (white), the Rev. Mr. Herschell, curate of Bath (white), Mr. John Walton, proprietor of Retreat estate (white), Mr. Charles Anthony Price, a builder (black), engaged building the new church, Edward Whitehouse Hitchins (white), deputy clerk of the peace and captain of volunteers, Henry Alberga (white), inspector of police, Alexander Barnes and Arthur Devany Cooke (whites), sons of the rector; Alexander was a justice of the peace and a planter; Arthur was a clerk of the church; Thomas McCormack (coloured), and the following volunteers:—Lieutenant George Montgomery Hall (coloured), Lieutenant W. S. Read (coloured), privates Ross (coloured), Gilfoy (coloured), Brown (coloured), Harrison (a white). I examined the corpses; they were all mutilated. The fingers of the Baron's left hand were merely hanging by the tendons, and one finger of the right hand was gone; several others seriously wounded, and Duncan McPherson, clerk of the vestry, has since died. About 300 entered the parade on the 11th October, but by night I would say upwards of 1,000. I never was taken to Stoney Gut. Next morning I attended to the wounded indiscriminately at my own discretion. At the first fire of the volunteers seven of the Rebels were killed.

William Codner Miller.

I am a manager of Serge Island estate, and reside there; it is eight miles from Morant Bay on the road to Monklands. On Thursday morning, the 12th October last, about 8 o'clock in the morning, I and Mr. Wm. Drummond, who was staying with me, rode out and returned in consequence of what we heard. Shortly after a gang of about 25, armed with sticks and cutlasses (one man had a gun), entered the house, saying Miller and Drummond's head must be taken off, because every white and coloured man, and every black man who sides with the whites, must be killed. We escaped. They sharpened their cutlasses both sides. We took the road leading to Monklands. Just opposite Serge Island we saw a body of about 1,000 people, all armed with sticks and cutlasses, flags flying, drums beating, and horns blowing, going in the direction of Morant Bay.

At Coley we met a gang of about 25 people with sticks and cutlasses coming to the bay.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

I did see you on Tuesday, 10th, working on the Valley road near Serge Island. You are employed by me. This was about 10 and also at 3 o'clock; this may be about three miles from Stoney Gut. On Wednesday morning about 10 o'clock you were working on the road.

Dr. Alfred Southby Crowdy.

I reside at Clifton Hill, Port Morant. I am medical practitioner. On the 12th October last I went to the late Mr. Hire's residence at Amity Hall between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon and went to bed ill. About 11 o'clock at night I heard shouts from a gang of people coming up to the house; shouts were "Colour for colour, surround the house." Mr. Thomas Witter Jackson spoke to them through the window, telling them he was a Queen's magistrate and their friend. They said Mr. Jackson was at Port Antonio; they broke in, I was in bed, and my nurse got me under the bed. Two or three men came into the room, found me, saying "Colour for colour," and ordered me to come out. I was pulled out by my nurse and put on the bed, and told the men I was a doctor. A boy named Kelly got on the bed with a knife and told them not to touch me. The bed was set on fire by some of the men. The women pulled me off the bed and carried me into another room, into which Mr. Creighten came all covered with blood. The women pushed him under the bed, then Mr. Jackson came in bleeding. Then about 60 men came into the room some holloaing "Peace," others "Colour "for colour." The boy Kelly and a man named Shires, with others, protected me, and fought those who tried to kill me; then the mob retired, after destroying everything in the house. They were all sober, although they destroyed a quantity of liquor and wine. Then we found Mr. Hire dreadfully wounded, and one finger chopped off and another hanging by a bit of skin. He died about 5 o'clock in the morning. Then Kelly got my horses and I went down to Golden Grove. They begged Mr. Jackson's pardon, and told me I had no business up there. After I got to Golden Grove about 50 or 60 people came there, crying "Colour for colour," and killing all the small stock. Lewis McDermott, one of the prisoners here, was amongst them; he had a fowl or a duck under his arm. I took him out of the still house in November and gave him in charge.

John Orgill MacKenzie.

I am senior serjeant of police for this parish. I came to Morant Bay from Bath on the morning of 11th October. I was at the court-house attending at the vestry when the Rebels came in. I was with the volunteers, and fled after the volunteers fired, but the people advanced on the volunteers with lances, guns, cutlasses, and sticks. I got down to the beach; armed men were on the Wharf road; they seemed to be stationed there to take any one who escaped that way from the court-house. Serjeant Drysdale and policeman Jacobs were with me. The people cried out, "See police, see "police; catch them and kill them," and one with fixed bayonet who has been hung attempted to stab me. They took me prisoner and carried me to McLaren (who has been hung) at the bridge at Brown's Gut; McLaren seemed to act as captain of that gang. He had 20 or 30 men with him at the bridge, armed. Armed men were all along the Wharf road. I asked McLaren what he took me for. He said, I want you to go to Spring Garden to assist me. I said, I cannot go, I am a policeman, rather kill me. He said, I will take you to Spring Garden; and they took me as far as the district prison. On my way I met several armed men. A man said, Be careful what you do, the serjeant is a Maroon.

Then they let me go and Drysdale too. They told me not to let see me again, as they would kill me. I went to Friendship Pen and remained there till morning. At the bridge of Brown's Gut William Davidson came up and said, "Don't kill the serjeant, he is a good man." When I was taken, I left him there. I did not see anything in his hand. This paper was found at Stoney Gut on the 8th October last. Letter to Graham, 17th October, marked A. Paul Bogle is hung. I don't know any one of the name of B. Clarke or P. Cameron, I was present when the paper was found. I believe it was found by Mr. Inspector Ramsay. I know E. K. Bailey, he was shot.

William Cathcart Gabay.

I live at Morant Bay, I am an accountant. I know the late Edward K. Bailey who was shot during the rebellion. He lived at Morant Bay. He was a black man. He was an upholsterer. I know his writing well, I have seen him write, I believe this document (letter to Graham, 17th October, marked A.) to be in his handwriting and the signature his. I know the late James McLaren. I know his handwriting, this is his signature to this document (marked B.) The name James Robertson is in McLaren's handwriting. On 11th October last I saw the Rebels breaking the police station and entered the parade, I was on the parade at the time, and saw all that transpired; all the volunteers fired, when I tried to escape and was severely beaten.

George Robinson.

I live at York, I am a labourer. On Friday the week of the rebellion I was at George Reid's house at York; I saw Robert Wilson of York (a prisoner here) at Reid's house. He had blood on his clothes. I had fever, was lying down. Wilson was talking to Reid. Wilson said to Reid, "Buckra "is hard to dead," for when the court-house catch fire they were going to draw away their black dead bodies, and he saw one of Mr. Cooke's sons was dragging himself away from the heat. He was not dead but well murdered up. That he called to the rest "Here is one of these fellows well murdered "up but not dead." Then they fall to and murder him, and beat out his brains. It was his chatting that woke me. I went out and left him with Reid.

Evelina Williams.

On Thursday, the day after the rebellion at Morant Bay, I was at Monklands, on the borders of Saint David's. A large number of Rebels came and broke into the house and shop; they had plenty of guns, cutlasses, and sticks. They asked for Mr. Paterson and Mrs. Paterson. They left, and returned next morning to look for Mr. Paterson again. They saw Mrs. Paterson; they demanded drink. They went away and returned on Saturday. On Friday they left three men to watch the shop. On Saturday they took everything out of the shop. On the Thursday James Whaler, a prisoner, came with them; he had a cutlass; also William Telfer, another prisoner; he had a cutlass in his hand. One of the gang said "Hurrah;" Whaler said, "What you hurrah for, for you don't find the thing you came for?" On the Friday Thomas White Priddy, a prisoner, came with them; he had a stick. Said he was looking for James Paterson. Edward Duffus, another prisoner, came with them on the Friday; he had a gun. On the Saturday Junius Hibbert, another prisoner, came with them; he had a gun. He said, "Where is that fellow William Ogilvie, Mr. Paterson's head man; when he working in the field he "making his manish; where is he now?" Fagan Carr, a prisoner, was with them; also Robert Wilson, of Monklands, John Cruickshanks, William Gordon, Anthony Bignall, prisoners here. Fagan Carr came with the Rebels on the Friday; he drank with the others; he took a box of soap out of the shop. Wilson came on Saturday evening to the shop, and Lawrence McLaren, who has been shot, gave him a pan of salt; he had a stick that he usually walked with. Cruickshanks came on the Thursday; he had a cutlass; I saw him with two bottles of porter. Gardner came on the Friday; he had a volunteer gun. Bignall came on the Friday; he had a lance. Fagan Carr said they were looking out, doing good for we all. One of the Rebels, Alsam Kelly (who has been shot) asked Mrs. Paterson on the Friday if she join her colour or she join the black side. Mrs. Paterson asked him if he ever saw a black or white woman go to any war. Fagan Carr heard this and said, "Don't bother "the lady."

Examined by James Whaler.

Jane Kelly.

I live at Monklands. I am Mr. Paterson's cook. On the Thursday, the day after the rebellion at Morant Bay, we heard the Rebels coming, and I ran in the bush with Mrs. Paterson and the other ladies to hide, and left Evelina Williams in the yard. We returned to the house at night, after we heard they left. On the next day, Friday, a gang of Rebels came there. William Gardner, one of the prisoners, was with a gang that I met on the road going to Monklands village. William Gardner had a volunteer's gun. I got frightened and ran into the bush. Next day, Saturday, I met him again in Monklands; he had the same gun, and was with a boy named George Anthony; he said, "If you don't "turn back your head shall be taken off." I was going to Armtolly, where Mrs. Paterson was and the soldiers. He said I was going to call the soldiers. I turned back.

Richard McLean.

I am a labourer, and reside at Monklands. On the Friday the week of the rebellion I saw a body of people come up to Monklands. William Gardiner here, a prisoner, was with them; he had a volunteer gun in his hand; he said I must deliver Mr. Paterson's gun to him or he would shoot me; he cocked and presented the gun at me: he said if he did not shoot me he would take me down to

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Fuller's shop to meet the Maroons. I refused. He said, "What are you? look at Mrs. Paterson, a "white lady born, submissive to us, and gave us the whole of Sherley Castle." One of the men that was with Gardiner, and since shot, took away the gun.

ROBERT DACRES.

I am schoolmaster at New Monklands in connexion with the Church of England. On Saturday, the 14th October, I saw William Gardiner, Edward Duffus (prisoners here), and William Carr, who has been shot, come to my yard at New Monklands. William Gardiner had a cutlass and a stone; Edward Duffus had a cutlass and a stone; and William Carr had a lance and a stone. Having heard the soldiers were coming we hoisted a white flag in the yard. William Gardiner said, "What is this flag about?" I told him the soldiers were coming down and I put up the flag. They cut down the flag and proceeded to meet the gang of Rebels that was going to Monklands. Monklands is 16 miles from Morant Bay.

Examined by William Gardiner.

I did not tell you that I heard there was a war at Morant Bay, and that I put up the flag to show I had joined. I did not say "Colour for colour," "Skin for skin," "Those who can't fight can write." I did not call you.

Examined by Duffus.

I did not tell you so either. I did not say I would write the Governor to say what the soldiers were doing. The troops came down on Sunday, and then the Rebels dispersed, fled to the woods, and some to Stoney Gut.

DANIEL STEWART.

I live at Greenfield. I am a labourer. Greenfield is below Monklands. On the Friday the week of the rebellion I saw Fagan Carr at Monklands with the rest of the Rebels; he had a half cutlass in his hand. They went to the coffee store to look for guns. They found one and carried it away. The next day, Saturday, I saw Grant Shand (a prisoner here) at Greenfield in the evening. He came to the gate and said, Who is here? he came in and said to me "What you doing here? the rest are "down at Fuller's shop and the chapel, keeping guard;" he demanded gun and powder. He had a gun and a powder horn. I said, That gun and powder will get you into trouble. He said, If you say so I will blow your brains out, my gun is loaded.

Examined by Fagan Carr.

I had not seen you at Monklands for some weeks before the rebellion. James Gordon, who is in custody in Kingston, was there, and told you where the gun was.

RICHARD WILLIAMS.

I am a coolie and a labourer. I live at Greenfield. On Saturday of the rebellion I was at Daniel Stewart's house. I saw Grant Shand (a prisoner here) at Daniel Stewart's gate; he came into the yard and said to Stewart, The rest are keeping guard at Fuller's shop and the chapel, why don't you go with the rest of the people? Shand had a gun in his hand. He demanded gun and powder from Stewart. He called to me to stop as I was running away, or he would blow my brains out. I did stop. He take me to go to the top house where the Misses Haliburton were. He demanded gun and powder from them. He went into the house and asked the ladies for their brothers. They told him that they had gone to town. He went away, saying he was going to Monklands.

RICHARD OGILVIE.

I live at Ross Isle. I am a mason. I know Fagan Carr. On Sunday, 15th October, I met him with Sammy Beckett, who has been shot at the public road at New Monklands. They caught me and tied me, and dragged me to old Rankine's gate, and called for help, when William Anthony and Jim Brown (since shot) came out and helped them, and dragged me to Mount Libanus River, and from there I walked to Mount Libanus Chapel, where they took me before Paul Bogle, and said, My Lord Bogle, there is a man I brought you; you must not let him go, keep him till the soldiers come, then put him in front, let them shoot him first, for he is on the white man's side. Then by Bogle's orders I was handcuffed. There was a lot of plunder from Monklands at the chapel. James MacLaren (since hung), Archibald Graham, Thomas White Priddy, William Gardner (prisoners here), were all at the chapel. James MacLaren said to Archibald Graham "Serjeant Graham, move out the goods that we "got to Mr. Alvaranga's house, for the soldiers are coming." Graham, Priddy, and William Gardner assisted to remove the goods. Paul Bogle sent out to see if the soldiers were coming. When the messenger returned and said the soldiers were at Monklands, Paul Bogle said to his men, Get your fire-arms ready. They had guns. Immediately Scipio Cowell (who has been hung) ran up with a white flag and said, "They cry for peace in the bay," and they all went down to Fuller's shop, leaving me in charge of John Martin at the chapel. Before going down they stuck up a white flag. There were about 100 men with Bogle at the chapel; more came in afterwards. Martin left me alone. I broke the handcuffs and ran away. Fagan Carr when he took me was armed with a cutlass.

WILLIAM COLERIDGE PORTER.

In October last I was overseer at Pera, in this parish, which belongs to Mr. Ewart, 14 miles from Morant Bay in an opposite direction from Monklands. I left Pera on Wednesday, the 11th October, and came to Morant Bay, and left in a gun-boat which stopped at Port Morant on Tuesday, 14th. Finding the Rebels in force attacking Bowden, the neighbouring property to Pera, I did not land. In

consequence of volunteer duty I did not return to Pera until the third week after the rebellion. I found all my property, as well as Mr. Ewart's, carried away or destroyed, furniture strewed about the roads, the house greatly damaged. Mr. Ewart's losses must amount to 200*l.*, mine amounts to 470*l.* I sent a constable to Richard Gray's house (a prisoner here), he brought me back an axe which I had left in my kitchen at Pera on 11th October, when I left my property.

JULIAN KERR.

On Thursday, 12th October, as I was coming from the bush (having been obliged to hide from the Rebels), coming towards Monklands Great House, I saw George Cruickshank with a gun in his hand, standing at the Great House. As I got close to him he pointed the gun at me and said, "Where are "you going?" I did not speak to him at first; he said again, Where have you put Mr. Paterson? I said to him, My good massa, I do not know where Mr. Paterson has gone.

JERRY OGILVIE.

On Friday, 13th October, Anthony Bignall came into my yard at Duckworth; he had a lance in his hand, and he said to me he heard from Mrs. Paterson that I had got a gun which belonged to Mr. Paterson, and that I must give it up to him. I told him I had not got the gun; he then went away. James Gordon, Billy Grant, and several others then came into the yard with pistols and sash cord; they said if I did not go up with them to Monklands they would tie me and carry me up. I went with them up to Monklands, and saw Anthony Bignall again at the shop on the road up to Monklands. I met Fagan Carr with other Rebels standing in the market. I saw him again at the shop, when he said that they should have tied me properly, and if I did not join them and go to Stoney Gut they must carry me.

ABRAHAM DACRES.

On Saturday, 14th October, I met Fagan Carr on Walker's Hill, which is on Monklands property. He had a cutlass and stick in his hand. He told me that Paul Bogle had sent him to see if the soldiers were coming. Then I told him I was looking for my brother, as I did not know whether they had killed him. Then he said he was with his friend Paterson at Monklands. He said if he saw my brother Robert Dacres, if they did not kill him, they would take off his boots and stockings and make him walk down to Stoney Gut. They also wanted to get Mr. Paterson; if he did not tramp down to Stoney Gut too, they would take off his head and carry it down to Stoney Gut. He then went away towards Greenfield.

THOMAS HENRY BUNTING.

I live at Port Antonio. I am a storekeeper. On 12th October last I lived at Manchioneal Bay, in the county of Surrey, and kept a store there. On that day I heard several people (some who have been tried by a court-martial and executed) say they intended, when the rest came up, to join and kill all the white and coloured people. The next day, after 12 o'clock, about 40 or 50 people armed with cutlasses and sticks, with bundles on their backs, entered the bay, blowing shell or horn. They plundered my shop and all the others in the bay, except Mr. Sherwood's. I put to sea in a canoe, and went to Port Antonio. From the canoe I saw my house burning in the night. My stock-in-trade was 900*l.*, and furniture and clothing stolen or burnt, 300*l.* Manchioneal Bay is 30 miles from Morant Bay. I also saw Mr. Hinchlewood's house, Mulatto River, on fire; it is four miles from Manchioneal Bay.

EDWARD KELLY.

I am a policeman. On Friday, 13th October, I was on duty at Manchioneal Bay. About two o'clock in the day about two or three dozen men came into the bay with cutlasses and sticks, and broke into Mr. Bunting's store, having first demanded the keys, which were refused. They took out all the goods. They came from the river district. Then the Manchioneal people joined them and they plundered all the shops. They threatened to kill all the white gentlemen and the police. They remained the whole night there. Set Mr. Bunting's house on fire and plundered all the other houses. Some of them went to Mulatto River, and burnt the house and returned to the bay. They remained in the bay till Monday morning, when they heard the soldiers were coming. The soldiers came about nine o'clock.

MATTHEW CRESSER.

I live at Blue Mountain Valley, Chigoe boot market, in charge of Mr. Robert Kirkland's business. A party of about 10 men with a drum passed, going in the direction of Somerset and Font Hill, on Tuesday, 10th October. On Wednesday, 11th October, several small parties of four or five, with sticks, passed me, going towards Morant Bay. This was unusual. About five in the afternoon Andrew Harris (since executed) told me of the occurrences at Morant Bay, and of their determination to kill Mr. Bowen. Between seven and eight o'clock a crowd came from Morant Bay and said, "Hot work at "Morant Bay to-day." They afterwards went to Mrs. Lundy's shop there. I heard them say, "Oh, "we have got some gunpowder." Then they returned to Morant Bay. About eleven o'clock another party from Morant Bay came to the shop and ordered me to open it. I did so, and served them with rum and biscuits, for which some of them paid. They passed up. About two o'clock two men came; they had volunteers' arms. Next morning about seven o'clock another armed party came. They demanded arms, took all the cutlasses (over a dozen). One Henry Davis, a constable (since executed), held me, and with a cutlass over me demanded what volunteer I was now. I said, "Where can I go "from you? I am here with you," and they let me go. The captain of the band, Wilson, said, "So help

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" me God, as the sun rise this morning, if we did not find you as we did, by this time everything " would be smooth down." They left, going towards Morant Bay. All day small parties, armed, passed by and came into the shop demanding arms. About 11 o'clock in the day 200 or 300 people had collected in the market armed. I was taken by them, and by James Dacres' order. I was taken by about 100 to Stoney Gut; there I saw Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle, Craddock and Bowie, all since executed, and lot of men came in from other parts with guns and volunteer rifles, and one man, named Taylor (since hung) drilled them, and marched them round the chapel. I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle (a prisoner here) with a long sword and black cross-belt marching with them. Craddock addressed them, saying, " This country was long yours, and you have been kept out of it, and you are " about getting it; keep it and hold possession. You have been trodden under sandals. The other " day you have sent in a petition to our beloved Queen, and the answer came out saying you must " work, but I don't believe it went half way. How many years have you not been working, and what " have you got? Where are your chaises and your buggies? they make you pay taxes for them to " drive in? Stop, stop, friend, I just got something new. I heard one Georges arrive, and is pointing " out this man and that man, but let him take up; we shall see in what court-house and by what " jurors and what judge they will be tried by. Georges and Shortridge are the two lions now roaring, " our great opponents; if we had got them, we would have been all right." Then Paul Bogle addressed them. He said, " Well, my friends, the other day, Monday, they sent policemen here for " me, but I would not go. On Wednesday I went down to Morant Bay to get bail, and some people " go with me, and as I go in the parade they fired on the people, and the people returned it again. " They go into the court-house and fire gun, and the school-house catch fire and the court-house burn " down, and now the people was wait for a few days and see how things are going to turn out. No " one of you to go to any work, and if any man go out to work he is to get dollar a day, and if any go " out and don't get a dollar a day he will appoint 12 men to lay him down over the cane bank and " have him well flogged, and when they want anything, to go on any estate and take out a cow and " kill it. They must go up to Monklands and tell Mr. James Paterson to go off the island at once " and leave the property, for he reap enough in the country, which is theirs, and not his." Bowie came with a long sword, and said, " How are you, my friends?" He showed them a sword, and said, " This sword I walk into Price with, for his life not better than my son's life." James MacLaren (since hung) was there with a volunteer gun. He asked me, " How comes you here?" I said, " O! Mac, the same as anybody else." He said to Paul Bogle, " Captain, I have done a job, and not " yet paid." Paul Bogle said, " Wait; we will appoint 12 men to go with you, and you shall receive " your pay according to the agreement you made;" and they all said " Hear, hear." Paul Bogle said, " You live valley side, send us alarm if the enemy come, and we will send you alarm if they come " here." Then one-half of them left for the valley. I mixed among them, and came away back home. As they got to Mrs. Lundy's shop they plundered the shop, and then they went to my shop, and break into it and plundered it; then they all left. On Friday, the 13th, about 10 or 11 o'clock, a great crowd, armed principally with guns, some with volunteers' rifles, like a body of soldiers, came up the road. They stopped at the market, and some loaded their guns. Paul Bogle and McLaren headed and commanded this gang, between 100 and 200 of them. Paul Bogle flogged a boy for robbing a shop. He first ordered him to be shot. Somebody begged him not to take life. MacLaren brought in Mr. FitzHerbert's travelling bag, and asked me to keep it. Then they went on up the road towards Monklands. Every man I saw had a man among them whom they addressed as captain.

Benjamin Bingling (a prisoner here) I saw at Stoney Gut, and I heard him say, " We let go " prisoners, but we don't touch any of the Queen's things." I saw Edward Reid on the Tuesday going up to the valley with the party that had the drum; he had a stick in his hand.

Examined by Henry T. Bogle.

I had a piece of cutlass in my hand when I went to Stoney Gut; a man gave it to me, and I was obliged to take it. I went into the chapel, but was not eating biscuits. I did not give any evidence against you in the court-martial because I did not see you injure any one.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

I can't tell if you were taken up as a prisoner.

GEORGE ASHBY.

I reside at Stanton, my property. On the morning of the 11th October last my people said they were not going to work. About 12 o'clock I saw half-a-dozen men pass with sticks going to the bay. My wife was playing the piano, and they cried out, " Stop that noise." A mob of about 600, with sticks and cutlasses, and one or two with a pistol or gun, passed very fast going towards the bay. They halted at the cross road for about five minutes, and then went on towards the bay. During the night people were passing through towards Stoney Gut side. I was never disturbed. I had only been six weeks in the parish.

DR. JOHN STOTHERT GERARD.

I am a medical practitioner, and reside at Morant Bay. I was attending the vestry at the court-house at Morant Bay when the alarm was given, " They are coming, they are coming." I went with the others to the front steps. I saw all that transpired, and left the court-house with the last batch, when it was burning, and got to Price's house, and left that when it was on fire. Then I got into the privy. I heard the cries of those being murdered outside, and voices calling to me by name to come out, and they would save me. Just then Duncan McPherson and Volunteers McGowan, Rutty, and Jacobs rushed in and shut to the door. After a little while, while the murders were being carried on, Daniel Stewart (one of the prisoners here), with a gun over his shoulder, came to the window, an open one, and seeing us rushed back and calling out, " Send lot of buckras here, shoot them." Some of the Rebels said, Take care, they shoot you, they have gun. After awhile the fight came nearer to us, and

I opened the door and rushed out, Rutty clinging to me; he was cut down by a man with a cutlass, who said, "Let go the doctor." I then recognized prisoner here, William Donaldson, who took charge of me; he had a musket over his shoulder. I do not think he was acting with the Rebels, because he seemed to be looking for me; he put his arm through mine. Passed by two of their sentries. We were stopped by the first, a tall man, who held a cutlass over me, and asked who I was, and said if I was not a doctor he would chop me up as he had done the others. He took my hat off my head and said, Queen don't know what black people can do. Just about then Daniel Stewart came on the scene again, recognized me, and asked where my hat was; I told him the tall man had got it; he took it from him and gave it to me, and said, Give me all the money you have about you, doctor, for saving your life. He felt my pockets, asked me for my watch, and took all the silver, about 2*l.*, a silver pencil case, a penknife, and some other things out of my waistcoat pockets; the second sentry said, Who you got there? Donaldson said, A friend, the doctor. Sentry said, "Which doctor? Donaldson answered, Doctor Gerard. Sentry said, All right, take off him boots, tie him up, and keep him safe." Donaldson took me up to Mr. Stephen Cooke's house, saddled a horse for me and took me home through the bush by about half past nine; as I got out of the privy I saw Hitchins kneeling covered with blood, and a man behind him chopping him with a cutlass. The man left him and came up to us; then Hitchins crawled up to me, struggled on his legs, and threw himself over me, saying, I am weak, doctor, I can't stand. The same man then chopped as he clung to me until he dropped. William Donaldson was holding me at the time. He made no effort to prevent this nor did he say a word to the man. Donaldson was a servant at Mr. Blunt's, where I lodged, and head man of the pen. Next morning William Donaldson came to me at Morant Estate, my residence, and told me that he was afraid to go back to the bay that night, as they sworn vengeance against him for letting me go. He brought me my own horse, which I had left the afternoon before at Mr. Stephen Cooke's stables, at the bay. He said the wounded black people had sent him for me, and that I must go and attend them, or else he would get into trouble. He carried my medicine chest, and he went to several houses behind the church, and one on the road and saw and attended four or five wounded black men. After that I attended the wounded volunteers on the bay, and went round and saw the dead. I saw the corpse of the Rev. Mr. Herschell, his throat was cut, and from one side of the angle of the mouth to one side of the angle of the jaw cut through. I believe from the condition of the face and what I heard after his burial that his tongue had been cut out. I saw the Baron's body; the first three fingers of the right hand were hanging by tendons, the skull had been beaten in, and half the brains had oozed out. I was with the Baron and others in Price's house. He offered to go out and deliver himself to them if they would spare the lives of the others. He asked Mr. Price to go out and tell them this, as he was a black man they may listen to him, and also asked Mr. Price's servant, and then he would go out himself, but we would not let him.

Examined by William Donaldson.

I did not see you do anything; you were at your work between 12 and 1 o'clock carting logwood from Morant to the wharf. I borrowed Mr. Cook's carriage and sent you up for my family after the arrival of the "Wolverine."

Re-examined by Justices.

Donaldson was taken during the rebellion; Interceded, and he was let go and not tried.

THOMAS EARLE.

I am head book-keeper on Golden Grove estate in this parish. On Thursday morning, the day after the rebellion at Morant Bay, I went to the field as usual; that morning I met prisoner coming out of the cane piece; he had a gang of 29 people working on the estate. I asked him where he was going to; he said, "Stop, you will see." I said, "What is the matter?" He said, "Where Walton is "you will soon follow him, and if you give me two words I will do it at once." I said, "Thank you, "Sir." I had heard nothing of the rebellion at the time. I then went along with prisoner and remonstrated with them, and advised them to go back to their work. Prisoner said, "Don't stand "there and talk to him, let us go at once." He then turned round to me and said, "It is a pity that it "is you and not Chisholm; but he will have his share." I then rode away. I met Chisholm going to the field and advised him not to go, as they swore they would kill him, prisoner and the others. About five o'clock in the evening the Rebels came to Golden Grove, prisoner among them; had a stick in his hand; he was along with the Rebels when they plundered Tavare's shop; but did not see him inside the shop.

JAMES ALEXANDER WILSON.

That on Thursday, the day after the riot, Mr. Harrison sent me to Bath with a letter to Mr. Kirkland to secure the ammunition that was there. I met a number of persons at Bath; they took me off my horse and plundered my pockets, and beat me with sticks. Mr. Ford's servants took me away on my return from Bath. When I got a little beyond the Rhine I met prisoner with about 30 others, cane-hole diggers from Golden Grove. They stopped me and asked me where Chisholm was; I said at Golden Grove. Prisoner said why did he not come along with me; it was him he wanted and me afterwards. Prisoner said, "We will surround you at Golden Grove; cut off Chisholm's head; divide "it into four pieces, and place it at the four corners of the Golden Grove Bridge; and after that they would settle me. The same night I saw prisoner among the Rebels at Golden Grove armed with a stick.

Re-sworn 22nd January 1866.

I saw Lewis McDermott, a prisoner here, with a mob, chopping at the barracks steps, and carried away plunder. The people cried, "Pull down the houses; pull down the houses. Kill all the white "and brown people. It is a pity it has come on so soon; Christmas was the day appointed. We are "to save Golden Grove great house for Captain Bogle's residence."

Jamaica.

James Williams.

I reside at Middleton; I am lessee of Middleton. Middleton adjoins Stoney Gut. I have tenants at Middleton. I leased Middleton on 1st April 1865. I found tenants on it. I leased it from Wellwood Maxwell Anderson, who with his wife is the proprietor. This rent was payable quarterly at 20s. per annum per acre. Give land up to July 1865. With few exceptions they paid their rents regularly. In September last Clarke and Miller, two of my tenants who have been executed, told me that Mr. George Wm. Gordon had told them that he had searched the records, and found that the lands had been given to them by the Queen for many years past, but buckra "duct" it from them. That I must stop a little and they would soon get possession of it. About one week after Clarke brought me one of the "Watchman" newspaper and told me to read it; I read a part of it and gave him back the paper: it was to the effect "you must be up and be doing, you have been a long time "kept down and oppressed." Other tenants made other excuses for not paying their rents, but did not set up any rights. About the latter end of September I took up tenants' horses trespassing on my land; one tenant, Lewis Miller, since executed, rescued his horse, and I procured a summons against him for trespass, which was tried at pettty sessions at Morant-bay on 7th October. On same day as the trial of this case I was in court when a boy was tried and fined. A man named Geogehan (since hung), made a noise in court and the magistrates ordered the police to take him; he ran out of court and the police after him, and all the people from the Court House followed and prevented the police from taking Geogehan, and beat the police and shamefully ill-treated them. The justices called back the police, and then my case was tried, and Miller fined. As he was fined Paul Bogle, who was there, called out very loud three times "Appeal the case." He was accepted as surety. The following Monday I met several detached parties of five or six going towards Font Hill with sticks and cutlasses, James McLaren, since hung, was with one party. This alarmed me and I returned home about 4 o'clock. I heard shells, horns, and drums, at Stoney Gut, and saw lots of people running to Stoney Gut. Many of them returned at daylight, Tuesday morning, but returned to Stoney Gut about 8 or 9 in the morning. On Wednesday morning I saw nearly the whole of Middleton village, upwards of 30, go to Stoney Gut. At night I was at my residence at Middleton and heard the women say "Colour for colour;" "the volunteers killing blacks, "and black kill volunteer, and every buckra and mulatto must kill to-night." I got alarmed and left my house and went into the woods. On Thursday I returned to my house; on my way I met Sarah Johnson (a prisoner) here, and a little boy before her. She had a basket on her head. The boy said, I hear that soldiers coming to Stoney Gut. She said to him, "You too fast, you no right to "say anything to him whatever." I said to her, "You are quite wrong to say so, I never done you "anything, I am for peace." She made no reply, went up the road to her house. She was coming from Stoney Gut way to Middleton. Many other of my tenants have been executed.

Catherine Rankine.

I live at York. I am the wife of William Rankine. I know Benjamin Bingley (a prisoner) here. He came into my yard Thursday after the rebellion. He told me he went to Morant-bay the Wednesday, and we have the handling of Mr. Baron. I ordered him out of my yard, and told Thomas Gibson what he had told me the same day.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

You said you went to the bay the night. No one was with you when you spoke to me. It was in my yard you said it. It was Thursday morning.

Thomas Gibson.

I live at Spring Garden. I am road contractor. Catherine Rankine, the last witness, told me something on Thursday (the day after the rebellion), something Benjamin Bingling had said to her. I saw Benjamin Bingling afterwards, and said to him, "Well, Benjamin, Catherine Rankine told me thar "you told her that you had killed the Baron." He then asked me to go and beg those persons who had told me pardon for him. The day of the rebellion Bingling and I were working together on the road to Gage Island. We knocked off at four o'clock, and went together on our way to Spring Garden as far as the river, where we met a woman who told us Court-house at bay catch fire, and big row there. Then Bingling said, "Come let us go down, see the fire." He made a jump off, and I came with him as far as the church and saw the fire, and then into Brown's Gut Bridge, where there was such a concourse of people surrounding the bridge. Benjamin went into the crowd.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

We never eat dinner first.

John M. Gray.

On Friday, 13th October last, prisoner John Astwith and four others came to my house; he and two others had volunteer guns with sword bayonets. The leader, Burnett, has been hung. They demanded my gun and powder; I told them that a party had taken my gun the day before: that was the third party that had been to me. Prisoner brought the rifle to the present and aimed at my head, when Burnett took his stick and pressed it down, and said, "Stop a little." They then asked for refreshments, which they got: after they had eaten, prisoner showed me how he fought at Morant-bay, and how he killed the buckras; they then went away.

Isaac Taylor.

I was at White Hall, the residence of Mr. William Smith (since dead). The night after the rebellion at Morant-bay plenty of Rebels came there; they had sticks and cutlasses. Mr. Smith, who was in the house at the time, made his escape. The Rebels attempted to burn down the house. I prevented

them; after they left and went down to Mr. Gray's. One of the Rebels, John Thompson, remained: he would not go away. I told him to follow the rest. He said he would do as he liked, as the country now belonged to them. He remained in the house all night. I was lying on the floor in the house, and the three Miss Smiths were lying close to me. Thompson, after we went to bed, left the bench on which he was sitting, and laid down close to Miss Smith. He commenced feeling her up all her breast and all parts of her body. I spoke to him, and told him he ought not to go on in that way; he got vexed, and wanted to burn the house. Miss Smith had to get up and go and sit on the bench; he followed her, and commenced feeling her up; he continued to do so until daylight in the morning. I then left and went to Golden Valley; on my return the same day I found them all right. I saw John Asthwith (a prisoner here) come with a gang to Golden Valley on Friday in the rebellion week; he pointed his gun at Mr. Gray as if to shoot. John Burnett, who they called captain, stopped him. They asked for something to eat and drink; they had it, and went away.

HENRY SEYMOUR KENNEDY.

I live at Rural Vale Estate, Manchioneal, distance from Morant Bay 40 miles. On Friday the 13th October, about half-past five in the evening, having heard that people were coming to murder me, and hearing a horn blowing, I got upon a horse and saw eight or ten men rush into the house armed with cutlasses; as I got out of the back gate I went off to Port Antonio. My house was plundered, and I returned home two weeks after. On Saturday Maroons, and on Sunday troops arrived at Port Antonio, and the troops went to Long Bay; no disturbance took place beyond Long Bay.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

I am a policeman for the parish. On 7th October last I was at petty sessions at Morant Bay. One James Geogehan made a disturbance in court, when Justice Walton ordered him in custody; he rushed out of the Court House, and policeman Jacobs took him on the Court House steps. Immediately Paul Bogle and a lot of others with sticks rescued him. The police tried to take him; I amongst them, when I got my finger broken by a blow from a stick by James Geogehan; we could not retake him. I was at the Court House on 11th October when the Rebels entered the Parade. I was chased by Bowie with a cutlass; I hid in the bush by the wharf all night, and the spot was surrounded by about 200 people. I heard them killing Mr. Walton, and the cheers when the Baron was killed.

CATHERINE FRANCES.

I am servant to Mr. Duffus. I remember Friday the 13th October last, the Friday after the rebellion at Morant Bay; I saw prisoner Jane Anderson on that day at Bowden; she came with a gang of Rebels who had cutlasses and sticks. Mrs. Duffus had a large green bowl in the house, and prisoner take it. She carried it out into the yard after the Rebels had finished breaking up the house; they then broke into the store. Prisoner went into the store and brought out some china cups and saucers, the same as the one produced; her brother helped her up with the bowl, and she carried the things away. She took away plenty of cups and saucers.

GABRIEL DOWNS.

I reside at Bowden in this parish. On Friday after the Wednesday of the rebellion at Morant Bay the prisoner Richard Daly, along with a number of persons consisting of 500 or more, came to Bowden Wharf; prisoner was armed with a cutlass. Mr. Duffus's buggy was under the wharf shed; saw prisoner go direct to the buggy; commenced chopping it up. When he had finished chopping up the buggy, he then destroyed the top; he then made a fire inside the buggy and burnt it. I spoke to him; he said, "What, Sir!" He then went away with the mob.

Examined by Richard Daly,—Mr. Duffus, you had been flogged at Golden Grove.

JAMES GORDON.

I am a carpenter, and live at Port Morant. On Thursday, 12th October last, I saw George Gunter with a lot of Rebels, and with cutlasses and sticks, at Port Morant Bay; they said they were going down to Morant Bay to meet Samuel Shortridge; that they would take off his head. If they don't kill him this war will never done. They went on towards Morant Bay, when, seeing the gunboat, some of them turned back; a great many, with whom I saw Gunter, have been hung. On same day another gang of about 300, armed with cutlasses and sticks, broke and plundered Mr. Marchalleck's shop; they were led by a man whom they called Captain Fleming. He has since been hung.

Examined by George Gunter.

MARIA GORDON.

I am housewoman and live at Pera. On Friday in the rebellion week a gang came to Pera and destroyed the house. I saw Dorothy Barclay with bottles and a rope at the store door.

Examined by Dorothy Barclay.

ANNA MARIA COOKE.

I am wife of Stephen Cooke, Clerk of the Peace for this parish. On Wednesday, 11th October, during the disturbances at the Court House I was at my residence Belle View, which is on the hill overlooking the Parade. I saw a man standing on something on the west side of the school-room strike a match and light something in his hand, which he applied to three distinct rows of the school-room

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CHARLOTTE CARTER.

I am a sewer at Mr. Marchalleck's shop. On Wednesday, 11th October last, I was on the Bay and saw the disturbance. I saw Rosanna Finlayson (a prisoner here) before the Court House burn. She was standing in Mr. Bennett's piazza. I heard her say to go for a fire-stick and trash, to set fire to the school-room; that as the white men would not come out to let them kill them to set the school-room on fire, and the Court House would catch and burn them all up alive; as she said it she walked off to the Parade, and five minutes after the school-room was on fire. I saw Elizabeth Faulkner (a prisoner here) beating Mr. Bennett's door, and saying, White men in here, come take them out and kill them. She had a stick in her hand. Mr. Bennett and others were in the store.

Examined by Rosanna Finlayson.—I did hear you say to go for a fire-stick.

Examined by Elizabeth Faulkner.—I said the same thing about you before Mr. Ewart.

JAMES DUFFUS.

I am proprietor of Bowden. On Thursday 12th October, about 10 miles from Morant Bay, I saw upwards of 100 people plundering Mr. Levy's store at Port Morant; they were there the whole day. On Friday my people told me they were ordered not to work. Hearing I was to be murdered I embarked myself, wife and children, and clerk in a boat from the wharf. We had left about half an hour when it was attacked by about 500 Rebels; they had cutlasses and sticks. We met the "Onyx" at the entrance of the harbour and boarded her. She fired three shots at the Rebels. She steamed up to the wharf and landed me, and I saw all my property plundered and destroyed. I have lost about 500*l*. I know Richard Daly (a prisoner here). I believe he was flogged by order of court-martial, at Golden Grove.

ALEXANDER KORE.

I am a carpenter, and live at Golden Valley, I know John Asthwith (a prisoner here). On 13th October, about 9 o'clock in the morning, I saw him at Golden Valley. He and John Burnett, who they call captain, and three others. Prisoner and two others had volunteer guns. Burnett demanded Mr. Gray's gun, powder, and caps, and he asked if there was any cash. Ashwith pointed the gun at Mr. Gray, and said he was going to make no fun, he would shoot; but Captain Burnett said he must wait for orders. Then they asked for something to eat and drink; Mr. Gray gave them a quarter of roast mutton and some bitters, and they went on to Whitehall.

JAMES CRESSER.

I am overseer of Blue Mountain estate. On the morning of 11th October I heard drumming and shell about Chigofoot Market. Next morning, about 7 o'clock, Mr. Fitz Herbert, the son of the proprietor, and myself were taking a ride, we saw seven or eight people grinding their cutlasses on the grinding stone; this is unusual. One of them threatened me because I said I would not allow it. We returned to the house, and about 9 o'clock I saw 40 or 50 people armed with guns, cutlasses, and sticks come to the works, and they chased John Cochrane, the book-keeper, from the barracks to the Great House. One man followed him into the house and gave him two most awful cuts on the face. This man's name was Eward Stewart, he has been executed. They demanded guns and powder, and said if I did not give them they would cut off our heads. They entered and searched the house, and took away a few silver spoons. Cochrane died from his wounds 16 days after, he was a white man. They held Mr. Fitz Herbert, and said they would cut off his head. I begged them to kill me and my children rather, as Mr. Fitz Herbert was a stranger, and had done them nothing. They said, Very well, we will pardon him and you and your children. They took away Mr. Fitz Herbert's travelling bag with some money. They demanded rum, and left. They seemed to be under the command of Alexander Wilson, who they addressed as captain.

THEODORE TESTARD.

I am shopkeeper, and live at the White Horses; it is four miles from Morant Bay, on the post road to Kingston. On Thursday, 12th October, about 9 o'clock at night, Thomas Sterling, Paul MacPherson, James MacPherson, and John O'Hagan (prisoners here), with about 50 others (some of whom have been executed), came to my shop at the White Horses. Thomas Sterling had a cutlass and was blowing a shell, the rest had sticks; many had cutlasses. Thomas Sterling asked me what colour I was for, white or black. I said for the whites. He said he was just from Bogle, burying a dead; that Bogle had sworn him, and sent him down to my shop, and your head shall be taken off to-night. That to-day 12 o'clock they had killed Mr. Douglas, and they came down to kill me now, and after to go Rozelle to kill Mr. Whiteman. That every white man shall be killed, and every brown man and black man who agreed with the white man. They threatened to murder me until I said I am for the black. I made my escape, and left them there. I returned on Saturday with the troops, and found my shop had been plundered to the extent of (30*l*.) thirty pounds.

Examined by Thomas Sterling.—You were taken during martial law and flogged; you were never tried. I was never examined before a court-martial.

Examined by Paul MacPherson.—You had a stick; you were flogged; but were never tried.

Examined by John O'Hagan.

Examined by James MacPherson.—You were brought to the Bay and flogged, but not tried.

JAMES BATES.

I am a tailor, and live at White Horses. On the night of the 12th October I was at Testard's shop; I saw Thomas Sterling, Paul MacPherson, James MacPherson (prisoners here). I did not see John O'Hagan. They came there with a great crowd; they had nothing in their hands. Thomas Sterling was blowing the shell: he said that he went up to Stoney Gut, that Paul Bogle swore me on that I must come and blow this shell, and come particularly to Testard's shop; and Sterling said to Mr. Testard, Whose side you for. Testard said, I am for the white side. They said they come to destroy the brown and the white, and went on in a boisterous manner; they all live at the White Horses; and after about three-quarters of an hour they separated, and went home.

Examined by Thomas Sterling.—I saw you buy 1½ candles and send to Testard. You must pay him in the morning.

Examined by Paul MacPherson.—You drank rum, and refused to pay for it.

WILLIAM ECCLES WARD.

I am an accountant, I live at Morant Bay. On the 11th October I saw Ennis Napier (a prisoner here), I saw him acting with the Rebels at Morant Bay; he was between the prison and the Baptist chapel. I was taken prisoner by a band. He had a stick and a cutlass; he struck me several blows with the stick, and told the others to take me on; they said they would take me to Stoney Gut. Joseph Hardie Williams, a volunteer, was a prisoner also, and Napier also struck him. I saw the attack on the station, and saw the people enter the Parade afterwards. I was severely beaten by several persons; they afterwards let me go. On the 15th August, there was a meeting held at Mr. Geo. W. Gordon's house on the Bay. At night, I and several others went there. McIntosh, Cowell, and McLaren (since hung) were there. McIntosh asked what we wanted there. We said, What is the intent of the meeting. McIntosh said, You will know by and bye. Henry Clive was chairman. Fearing ill-treatment, we went away. McLaren who I saw at this meeting was acting as a sort of captain with the people on the 11th October, and was one also beat me.

JOSEPH HARDIE WILLIAMS.

I am an accountant, and reside at Morant Bay. I was a volunteer on duty on the 11th October 1865, and saw the Rebels enter the Parade. I escaped from the Parade and got as far as the bridge at Brown's Gut. I was then taken by the Rebels and beaten severely; both hands broken. I was then carried on with William Eccles Ward beyond the prison, and there I met Ennis Napier, a prisoner here, at the head of a band. He beat me, and afterwards they let me go. I saw James McLaren (since hung) at the head of another gang. Cowell (since hung) was with him. On the 15th August last, I went, with others, to a meeting at Mr. Geo. W. Gordon's house, to see what was being done. Henry Clive was chairman, James McLaren was secretary. William Chisholm, senior, was there, also McIntosh and Cowell and Bogle (since hung). We asked what the meeting was about. McIntosh said we would know hereafter. McIntosh and others said we should not remain, the sooner we got out the better, as they had sticks; we feared violence, and so came away.

Examined by Ennis Napier.—I saw you opposite McLaren's gate; I did not see you with a cutlass, but you had a stick.

COLIN HAMILTON.

I am a cooper, and live at Dumfries. On the 11th October I was on duty with the volunteers as fifer on the Parade at Morant Bay. I saw the people enter the Parade. Captain Paul Bogle, James McLean, James, Thomas, and Stephen Cameron headed the Rebels' company, and gave orders to close at once before the volunteers fired. I saw John Gough (a prisoner here) with them, one of the foremost man with a stick, licking the volunteers and police. I escaped to the Wharf road, and there I saw John Gough again chasing a policeman. He licked down a volunteer, I think it was Mr. Breone. Next morning at Dumfries, I saw John Gough again, with Captain James Thomas (hung) who had a gun, and about 18 others gathering up to come back to the Bay. Gough had a stick, and was covered with blood. Gough said, This is one of the volunteers. I said, No. He said, Better not let us see you have on that stripe again. They saw the "Wolverine" coming in, and they flee to the woods.

Examined by John Gough.—You did not live at the Bay. Some time you work in pilot boat.

OBADIAH STEWART.

On his oath says as follows:—I am shopkeeper, and live at York. On Thursday 12th October, I saw Edward Reid at York, he had nothing in his hand; he was with a gang; they had volunteer guns, bayonets, and swords. John Astwith (a prisoner here) was with them, he had a volunteer gun. They ordered me to open my shop, and demanded rum. I had to give it, as they threatened to kill me if I did not. They told me they come from Stoney Gut, and were fighting the whites, and all the black people the join buckra, they would cut off their heads. Three other gang had come in the morning, another gang came after Astwith's and Reid's gang. I reckoned one gang there were 100 and the other gangs were larger. York is about three miles from Morant Bay, between Stoney Gut and Morant Bay.

Examined by Edward Reid.—You live between York and Morant line.

Examined by John Astwith.—You came in the shop and drank the rum.

ALEXANDER BOTHWELL, on his oath saith as follows:—

I am a carpenter and live at Spring Garden. In the month of September last, about two weeks before the outbreak at Morant Bay, I was at a meeting held at old Bailey's meeting house at Spring

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Garden, where he always preached. Joseph Kelly (since hung) asked me to attend the meeting, it was held about 8 or 9 o'clock at night. Joseph Kelly had the control of the meeting. He said, if anybody wanted to know the opening of the meeting must first take the oath. He asked me to take the oath, I refused. They ordered me away. I went with the police to Stony Gut on October last. I saw them assaulted and beaten, and I escaped. I saw Joshua Gordon (a prisoner here) there, he had a stick. He told Paul Bogle that I was the one who had given information. One William Grant, who they called Captain Grant, said, Men get out your arms, upon which Joshua Gordon with many others went into the chapel, which they called the fort, and they came out with lances, swords, and cutlasses. Joshua Gordon had a cutlass. I captured Benjamin Bingling (a prisoner here) early in December. I had been looking for him for some time ; he had left his district. Sarah Johnson (a prisoner here) on 11th October, about 12 o'clock, told me that every white and coloured person was to be killed, and if even her daughter was a mulatto she would give her up to be killed. This was at Spring Garden, the people were gathering to come to the Bay. She said it openly.

Examined by Joshua Gordon.—I know you well.

Examined by Sarah Johnson.—You had a stick in your hand.

GEORGE DAVIS.

I am a planter, and live at Middleton, of which I am joint lessee with James Williams. On the 10th October last I saw a lot of people going to Stony Gut during the day, about 100. They had guns, cutlasses, and sticks. On the 11th, about half-past five in the evening, I saw Thomas Low (a prisoner here) running, coming from the Bay with a horn hanging on his left arm. David Ferguson (another prisoner here) was with him ; he had a walking stick. This was at Middleton at my gate. I stopped then and asked what was the matter. Low said the volunteers were killing the blacks, and the blacks were killing the volunteers and the whites at the Bay. Then he went on.

JOHN SPENCE.

I am a labourer and live at Cottage Penn when I was employed by the late Mr. MacPherson. I remember the day of the rebellion. Saw prisoner William Donaldson on that day return from Morant Bay with a dray, he dropped the dray just a little above the Cottage Penn where I reside ; he was in company with one Robert Barclay (who has been hung); he went into his house and came out with a cutlass and a stick, and returned to Morant Bay with Robert Barclay. I never saw him after. He lived in the same yard with Moses Bogle, but not in the same house. On the night of the rebellion I went from the cottage where Mr. Duncan MacPherson resided to Morant Bay to look for him ; when I got to Morant Bay I saw John Taylor, of Cottage, sitting down at the fort yard, he had a cutlass and stick in his hand. I asked him if he saw Mr. Duncan MacPherson, he said, Mr. Duncan dead already. I asked him which part? he said, Back of the fort yard ; prisoner Alexander Taylor, of Cottage, then came up, he had a torch in his hand. On my return home, prisoner Alexander Taylor overtook me and showed me a knife, which he said belonged to Mr. Walton. He said he had got Mr. Walton's watch chain, he showed it to me, and if he had been a little smarter he would have got the watch ; the rest of the Rebels took away the watch. He said he got the knife and watch chain from Mr. Walton about three weeks before. Joseph Robinson (since hung), prisoner Alexander Taylor, of Cottage, James McLaren (since hung), prisoner Edward Gordon, and prisoner Thomas Graham asked me to come to a meeting they were going to have at Church Corner at McLean's meeting house. I went, James MacLaren was chairman, Moses Bogle (since hung) was there. Plenty were at the meeting, some from Dumfries. I stood outside; Alexander Taylor came out and I asked him what meeting, he said, they wanted back lands to work with nothing. He also said, they were going to kill buckras. I saw McLaren give the Bible to several persons, who kissed it. Alexander Taylor also told me they were not to tell their father nor mother. I left the meeting about 10 o'clock. I saw Thomas Graham the night of the 11th October trying to break the magazine door ; this was after the Court-house burn, when I was looking for Mr. Duncan.

Examined by William Donaldson.—I was driving the cart when you run up and took it from me and drove it home. You did take me before Mr. Ewart on a charge of trespass; Mr. Ewart discharged me.

Examined by Alexander Taylor (Cottage).—I did not come and call you.

Examined by Thomas Graham.—You never charged me with stealing plantains.

JAMES ASHER.

I am policeman for this parish. On 11th of October last I was at Morant Bay on duty on the Parade. I saw the Rebels enter the Parade. I made my escape to the bushes at the seabeach, and afterwards to a house at Church Corner, where the Rebels came about 1 o'clock in the morning and took me to Stony Gut in company with the prisoners from the district prison. Moses Bogle and James McLaren took me. They carried me to Paul Bogle's house. Moses Bogle said not to kill any more white men, but as fast as they catch them to work them in the cane fields. One Smith gave me a book to swear that I must leave the police and join the blacks, and I swore. Moses Bogle said, they were going down to Bath, and if they see me at the police station at Bath they would kill me. Among those I saw at Stoney Gut were Francis Gillespie, John Gillespie, and a great many others, who had been hung. John Gillespie said to me, You are the very fellow that took me up to Bath. He and his mother were singing and praying among the penitentiary people. They kept me there two or three hours. I begged them to let me go, telling them I was a descendant of the Maroons, and they let me go.

Examined by Moses Gillespie.

Re-examined.—I know James Ford (a prisoner here); on 18th November I took a jacket from him at Manchioneal. Esther Walker identified it as belonging to Mr. Harrison, the volunteer, who is dead.

PETER MACDOWELL.

I am book-keeper, and live at Coley Estate. On Tuesday, 10th October, I saw about a dozen men with a drum beating and a fife, marching past the estate towards Monklands. Afterwards, about 2 o'clock, I saw about 100 of them coming towards Morant Bay way with a drum and fife. On Wednesday night I heard people passing through, going up Monklands way, blowing shell, and saying they would cut off every mulatto and buckra head next day. The next day by daylight I saw about 200 people with shell blowing, coming on towards Morant Bay. About 11 o'clock about 36 came up from Morant Bay and chased us out of barracks, and captured myself and my brother book-keeper, Alexander Francis. The people I saw on Thursday had cutlasses, guns, and volunteer rifles, and sword bayonets. They said we must go with them to Stoney Gut or they would take off our heads; we said we were sick and unable to go; then they said we must take the oath. James Dacres, one of the Rebels, produced an old Bible which he had brought with him; he handed it to me and I took it. Spence then swore me to join them and I kissed the book; they then went to Monklands.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

I am a rural constable for this parish. On 12th October 12 men came to me at Spring Garden; they had guns, some police and some volunteer. They carried me to Bogle Hall at Stoney Gut, before Paul Bogle and old James Bouie. Bouie asked me what my intention be this morning. I asked him what it mean to ask me such question; he said, What party you join; I said, I could join no other party but white man as I grow up under white man. Bouie said if I joined them they would give me Spring Garden which belonged to Mr. Baron to myself and my generation, and if I don't they would take my head. James McLaren said, We are going now to Serge Island, Coley, Blue Mountain, and Monklands, to look after Mr. Miller, Mr. Cresser, Mr. Bowen, and Mr. Paterson, and when we come back we can find old Williams. Half left, and the rest remained and kept guard; they said no more, and I went away. Tobias Wilson, a prisoner here, was one of the 12 who took me that morning. Wilson had a volunteer gun loaded; he went with the Valley party from Stoney Gut. When they were carrying me to Stoney Gut I saw David Ferguson (prisoner) here keeping guard on the high road near Spring Garden; he had a volunteer gun. I took Bouie prisoner; I took him in the bush at Spring Garden about the 22nd October. I asked him what they meant to do; he said he did not think the thing would turn out so bad. They began it for the sake of the back lands because the lands was give up to the black people from time and they did not know it, but thank God Mr. Gordon find it out and make them be sensible of it; if, therefore, they don't get it in good will they must take it by force; that Mr. Gordon told them so. Bouie asked me if I had any money for the Baron; I told him, No; he said if I had any I must keep it for myself, not to give it to the Baron. This was at Stoney Gut. When I made him prisoner and told him he had done very wrong, he said he was sorry and did not know it was going to turn out so bad, because Mr. Gordon had told them the back lands belonged to them from time. Bouie told me the same thing at Stoney Gut. I asked him if Mr. Gordon say I must take the Baron's land why not set a good example and give up his own land; he said he did not mind if Mr. Gordon did not give up his land as he was their friend.

THOMAS STEWART.

I reside at Morant Bay. I was employed by Mr. Barnett the baker. On the 11th October last on that night Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, and William Donaldson, with about four other rebels, came to the baker's shop and took me and my employer out and said we must go down to the wharf and give up the canoe as the white people were trying to make their escape by that way. They forced us to go down; we were obliged to do so, and deliver up the canoe. We were marched up by the same party and ordered to go into our rooms, and if we came out again as we were for the white people we would be dead men. This was said by Paul Bogle in the presence of William Donaldson (a prisoner here). William Donaldson had a large stick in his hand. When they first came to us the court house was burnt, and I heard the rebels say they had killed several of the white gentlemen.

Examined by William Donaldson.—A blow of the stick you had would kill a man. I had nothing in my hand.

JOHN TOBIAS WALKER.

I am a planter and live at Duhaney Penn. I saw Ennis Napier (a prisoner here) the day after the rebellion at Duhaney Penn; he had blood on his clothes. Prisoner said they had shot Noble and he lifted him up, and that was how he got blood.

SLIGO CAMPBELL.

I am a policeman for this parish. I know Ennis Napier (a prisoner here). I saw the afternoon of the 11th October opposite the district prison with a stick in his hand. I said, Where you going; he said to the Bay. I said to him better return back; he said, You are a public officer, if you speak to me I lick you. I again say, You had better turn back; he said he was not looking for anybody but Mr. MacPherson the coroner, not to kill him but only to switch him. And just then Williams the volunteer and Mr. Ward were brought up by Matthew Ford (a prisoner here) and others. As they came up Napier said to take them on. Matthew Ford was beating Ward with a stick. At this time I was boatswain at the gaol. On same night at 12 o'clock I saw about 200 men come to prison; they had volunteer rifles, cutlasses, and sticks. Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle were leading them. At the gate Paul Bogle gave the word "Order arms," and Bouie gave orders to fire. Simmons (since hung) said No, let us call first see if anybody is in. Bouie called out, Who is here? I replied, Me. William Osborn, Nathaniel Richards, Alexander White (prisoners here) were with them. Bouie said, Come out to us. I went out. They formed two deep and marched into the prison. Osborn, Richards, and White were with them. They wanted to back the lock of the main gate, but I gave him the key. They opened the

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WILLIAM CUTHBERT.

I am a policeman for this parish. On 11th October last I was a boatswain at the district prison. About 12 o'clock of that night I saw William Osborn, Nathaniel Richards, Alexander White (prisoners here), and others, about 200, came to the district prison. Nathaniel Richards had on two volunteers' cross belts, White had a stick, Osborn had nothing. Most of the 200 were armed with volunteer rifles, police muskets, cutlasses, bayonets, and sticks, and swords besides. At the gate they said, Let us fire, another said No, let us call out first. They called out, Campbell, a boatswain, answered them, and Campbell went to them. They asked were we willing to deliver the prisoners to them or not, we said we could not. Paul Bogle said he could not suffer the whole of his men to go in, as he was not sure whether we were armed or not. He said, Break off one company, I will go with them, and he did so, and ordered me to open the gate. I did so, and they went in, and released the prisoners (51). They said, We are not against the Queen, so we won't take the prison clothes as that's the Queen's goods. They wrenched open the clothes room door, and gave the prisoners their own clothes. They put a sentry over me whilst I was delivering the clothes. Then they asked me for a Bible, and made me fetch it out of the office. Craddock swore me that I should not be any more public officer. Osborn inquired for the superintendent, Richards said I ought to know where he is. Then they went away.

ROBERT EVAN JONES.

I am a boatswain at the district prison here, and was a policeman on the 11th October last. On that day I saw Francis Cowell (a prisoner here). Before the Rebels came in he was passing the station, and said, What are you looking at, it is me same fellow. I asked him what he meant, he said, "You will "soon smell hell." He passed on towards Stanton way, this was about 3 o'clock. About half an hour afterwards about 500 men broke into the police station. Francis Cowell was with them. They plundered the guns and bayonets, and beat me and policeman Good severely. I was stabbed in the arm with a bayonet. Alexander Taylor of Mount Stewart, William Ford, and Robert Grant (prisoners here) were with them. Alexander Taylor had a cutlass in a sheath by his side, and a stick in his hand, Robert Grant had a stick and a bugle. They asked for the inspector, searched the house, and broke all the sashes. I made my escape up to Mr. Cook's house, "Belle Vue." There I saw Mrs. Cooke, and we could see what was going on the Parade. I heard women running up and down the street crying out, Put fire to the Court House. I saw three men catching fire in a shell in the ground side of the schoolhouse wall. They rolled a large stone against the wall, and a man named Brown (since hung), a short stout Sambo man, got on the stone, and set to fire to three rows of the shingles.

CECILIA GORDON.

I live by the Cotton Tree at the east end of the Bay. I am a cake maker. On Wednesday the 11th October, I saw Stephen Smith, John Gough, Sarah Johnston, Nathaniel Richards, Robert Pinnock, and Robert Grant (prisoners here) at my gate. Stephen Smith had a stick in his hand, John Gough had a cutlass and a stick, Sarah Johnston had a stick, Nathaniel Richards had a police gun with fixed bayonet, a cutlass and a stick, Robert Grant was blowing a horn before the crowd. I saw 400 or 500 people enter the Bay from Stanton Road. Some went the main street, some went the wharf road; they had sticks and cutlasses, and guns, Duncan Stewart (since hung), and William Grant were the headmen for them. Then, shortly after they passed me, I heard firing. Stephen Smith went into the Bay shortly after the rest by the main street after the firing, he alone. John Gough came with the rest, sharpened his cutlass, and said, "This day Parson Herschell must be killed, and he "must be a dead man;" this was after the firing, when the Rebels had retreated back to my gate. At this time Sarah Johnston at the head of a gang of men came up the wharf road to them, and said, "Is this what you told us at the Mountain, you told us you were coming to the Bay to do so and so, and "now you run away, and leave it to us women;" then Duncan Stewart said, "Shure the gang go down "to the wharf road, and stop up the road from the Court House to the Wharf, and half go the "main street," and they did so. At this time Nathaniel Richards was with them with a police gun and bayonet. James Dacres took him aside, and they whispered together, and Richards returned to the Bay with the party by the main street. Robert Pinnock entered the Bay with the Rebels. Robert Grant came in with the Rebels at the head of them blowing a horn. I saw Caroline Grant (a prisoner here) with the women who came up the wharf road with Sarah Johnston. She and all the women said the same as Sarah Johnston to the men. At night the people cheered passing my place, and I heard, "We are going to Lyssons to see Wallace, and then return to the Bay." Next morning, Thursday, I saw Sarah Johnston on the road by the late Mr. Price's brick yard with three men, one of whom was Alexander Murray, a prisoner here, and the other two strange men had blood on their clothes. I spoke to Johnston and Murray, and told them I was going to Mr. Duncan MacPherson's house to tell them he was not dead yet. One of the strange men, who had a police sword in his hand, said "If I "catch him now, I will take the last breath out of him with this sword." I passed on. I attended Mr. Duncan MacPherson until he died; he was stabbed all over, and a bayonet had been run up his fundament.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.—Before I saw you with the gun I saw you with a cutlass run into Mr. Robertson's yard after Mr. Cooke's boy.

Examined by Robert Pinnock.—I have known you a long time.

WILLIAM ALVARENGA.

I am a druggist, and reside at the extreme east end of the bay. On Wednesday, the 11th October, I saw upwards of 300 Rebels, all armed, enter the bay opposite my door. Some of them knelt down, took dirt off the ground, tasted it, and said, "This day we will kill every white and mulatto man, and when "we finish we will go to the estates." They turned and shook their heads at me, and said, "We will "return for you." They went on to the station and took out the guns, and went on to the Parade. I shut up shop shortly after. Robert Hugh Gray, a vestryman, came in dreadfully cut up. I ran away to the bush.

FRANCIS MCKAY.

I am an accountant, and employed at Mr. Kirkland's store in the Bay. I saw when the people came to the Bay on Wednesday the 11th, fully 300; they attacked the police station the first, and took away the arms, then went round to the Parade. I closed the doors and went upstairs. I recognized Alexander Taylor, of Mount Stewart (a prisoner here) as one who came in with them, and entered the station with a cutlass. I saw him come out, he brandished the cutlass at me, and said, "You may go "upstairs now, but I will come back for you." Saw the attack on the volunteers at night, between 9 and 10 o'clock. I saw by the light of the burning court-house, a prisoner here, William Donaldson, throw a large stone against the door immediately under the clock; part of the door gave away, and he and others broke it in and entered; they came out after, and Donaldson asked them, "Were they going "to allow their dead bodies to get burned?" There were two or three Rebel corpses by where he stood; he caught hold of one and drew it away across the parade, and left it in front of Miss Christie's place. The Rebels said they were going to kill all the white and coloured people in the place. I heard Donaldson's voice telling the people not to harm Dr. Gerrard, as he was a doctor, and a good man. Next morning, after the military came, I met Donaldson, who said to me, he was very much surprised to see me alive, and he would advise me to make myself scarce for the day, as he knew they were planning against me.

FRANCIS SCOTT.

I am a labourer, and live at Cottage Penn. I remember the night of the rebellion. I saw Alexander Taylor, of Cottage Penn, a prisoner here, in the fort yard, he had a torch in his hand, he was looking at the different dead bodies. I went there with John Spence to look for Mr. Duncan McPherson. On my return home with Spence prisoner overtook us. Prisoner showed us a knife and a watch chain, he said they belonged to Mr. Walton. He said if he had been a little smarter he would have got his watch too, the rest of the Rebels took it away from him.

JOHN BRANDS.

I am a carpenter, and live at the Cottage Penn. On Thursday morning, the day after the rebellion, I saw Alexander Taylor, of Cottage (a prisoner here), going pass the Cottage Penn, where I live, and heard him say to two boys who were with him, that all he got belonging to the white man was Mr. Walton's penknife (he was then on his way from Morant Bay), and if he was a little smarter he would have got the watch. On same morning, between seven and eight, I saw Edward Gordon, a prisoner here, passing with a volunteer sword and belt across his shoulder, going towards the valley; there were two or three other persons with him.

URSELLA FITZGERALD.

I live with my mother, Cecilia Gordon, at the entrance of the Bay. On Wednesday, 11th October, I saw John Gough (a prisoner here) sharpening his cutlass in front of my gate amongst the Rebels, after the firing. He held it up and said, "This night I must kill Parson Herschell, and go away to "Bath." I also saw Robert Grant (a prisoner here) blowing a horn amongst the Rebels surrounding Arthur Cooke. Grant said to "kill him." Arthur Cooke galloped away, he was afterwards killed. That same evening after Duncan Stewart said, "to share the gang," some went the wharf road, some the main road to the Bay, and some towards the rectory. When Stewart said this, I heard Sarah Johnson (a prisoner here) say, "I wonder whether Captain Grant's gang is strong enough." She and a plenty other women had come up to the men from the wharf road, and said to them, "O-onoo men, "you leave all the work on we women. I see volunteers killing all our men when you up at mountain. "You tell us you coming to the Bay to do so, and so when you come you leave all the work on the "women."

RICHARD DANIEL MARZINK.

I am a shopkeeper, and reside at Port Morant. I was on duty with the volunteers at Morant Bay on the 11th October, and saw the Rebels enter the parade. I hid myself in the penguins at the back of the port until about three o'clock in the morning. I saw Alexander Taylor, of Mount Stewart (a prisoner here) before we fired advancing on us with the Rebels with a long lance and a cutlass, Moses Bogle was with him. Taylor thrust at a volunteer (Graham) from Bath, and knocked his rifle out of his hand between six and seven. Whilst I was in the late Mr. Price's house I saw Taylor running towards the fort, and saying, "That fellow Baron's head shall be off this night." A great crowd was with him. I saw Edward Gordon (a prisoner here) amongst the Rebels, who held me about nine o'clock behind the fort yard.

CHARLES MUNROE ROBERTSON.

I am a tailor, and live at Morant Bay. On Wednesday 11th October, at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw Nathaniel Richards (a prisoner here), in full chase after Mr. Stephen Cooke's servant; he

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had a cutlass and a stick in his hand. I heard prisoner say, "Stop that fellow, he has been carrying "powder for the volunteers." He followed the boy up to my door, and said, if he had caught the boy he would have taken off his head. I insisted that the boy had gone down the hill. A woman named Sarah Pointer, went up to him and hugging him up, said, "Richards, my son, you ought to be ashamed." He then went down the hill. I followed him and met Henry Theophilus Bogle (a prisoner here), with a cutlass and a stick, leading about 30 Rebels. He had a streak of blood on his shirt. I spoke to him and said, "Bogle you ought to be ashamed of yourself." He said, "For what? there is only one of "your color on the Parade, and there is five of mine." Those behind him heuled out "Lick that "fellow, he is a volunteer." Bogle waved his cutlass and said, "The sooner you clear out of this the "better." I went off to my house.

Mary Ann Thomas.

I am a baker, and live in Morant Bay. On Wednesday 11th October last, I saw Caroline Grant, Nancy Murray, Elizabeth Faulkner, Jane Grant, Robert Grant, and Alexr. Murray (prisoners here). I saw Nancy Murray, middle night, after Court House burnt; her clothes were all over blood. She asked James Bonner Barnett (with whom I live) at his baker shop's door, to let her bring her brother in for the volunteer shot him. Barnett refused, but two men behind her said, You must take him in. Then Barnett said, "Very well, before you burn down the shop see it there." Then Nancy Murray left, and returned, bringing George Thomas (a prisoner here), wounded. Two other women helped her. George Thomas had a chase apron over him. She sat down and said, "A person have hard ears "pickninny never dead from their bed." I asked her, What's the matter, and she said, "We kill Sonny Brown (he was a volunteer killed named Alexander Brown, but went by the name of Sonny Brown) and we kill the Baron;" and I asked her who, again. She said, "the Baron and Sonny Brown roll down the "hill, them two is together at the wharf road." I asked her who else, and she said, "Plenty of the "volunteers killed, and some burn up in the Court House, and we kill Parson Herschell and Mr. "Alberga; one party take Mr. Price and make him a prisoner, and another party meet him up going "in to Mr. Grant, and he could not get in, and they murdered him, and I left him bleeding, and don't "know if he will live." George Thomas was groaning, and she said to him, "Brother, don't mind, in "the morning Doctor Major will come and see you on account of 'onoor.' Sick ones make me save Dr. "Major life, if not he would have been dead the same." When George Thomas was brought in, Barnett asked him who shot him. He said to Barnett, I was going pass and hear a great noise, and as he was "coming one of the people from the Court House shot him." Nancy Murray said, "It is not one of "our people shot you, it is that Lipman stand in the Fort yard and shoot you." I saw Caroline Grant in the main street about the time the Court House was on fire. As two men were about to take a drink at Barnett's shop door, which they had asked for, she came up and said, "What you doing there, "for its that man (James Barnett) said it is we or the country going to poison the waters, instead of "your going to do what you have to do. You drinking rum with that man, and you hear what they "do with the rum in this town since Monday—kill the man!" She had a volunteer sword in her hand, and kicking and prancing. Her daughter Jane Grant (a prisoner) was present, and told me to take in Barnett because they knew he always making fun, and then Caroline and Jane Grant, with a whole fleet, went on the Parade. Jane Grant had a small stick. Early in the evening I saw Elizabeth Faulkner come front of Mr. Bennett's store door. A crowd of men was with her, and said, "Take that "man Bennett out of the store, for him in there, for him say him blind, but him no more blind than "me, for I buy 6 yards cloth from him the other day, and when I measured it, it only 5½ yards." Afterwards she went back of the store and filled her lap with stones, and she went with the rest of them to the Parade. I saw Robert Grant at the baker's shop door; later in the evening he had a gun and a cutlass; he came up with a gang. Richard Grant, his brother, made a chop at Barnett; the bottle caught the chop. Robert Grant said, "Come away brother, we will catch him again." In the evening I saw prisoner with a volunteer gun and bayonet fixed on it. He said, "Come on, let "us go that fellow Chevannes, he put me in prison for sake of logwood; if I catch him I will take his life."

Examined by Nancy Murray.—You had on a volunteer cap, and your sister had on a black hat.

Robert Milne.

On Wednesday, 11th October, I was at Mr. Cooke's house and saw a white handkerchief waving from the Court House window; this was after the volunteers fired and before the Court House was on fire. Mrs. Cooke asked me to go down to see if Mr. Cooke wanted any thing. I went into the Court House, and not finding Mr. Cooke there, the Baron and the Inspector gave me letters to carry express to Spanish Town. I put one in my boots and the other in my pocket, and went back to Mr. Cooke's house, when I found I had dropped the one out of my pocket and returned to look for it. At the corner turning to the Parade, Nathaniel Richards (prisoner here) stopped me. He had a cutlass, and was with many others who had cutlasses and sticks; he said, "This is Stephen Cooke's servant "carrying powder to the volunteers, stop and let us see what you have." I ran and he ran after me, the others calling out, "Chop him, it is Stephen Cooke's servant." I ran through Mrs. Robertson's yard. Charles Robertson was at the gate. I am servant to Mr. Cooke, and live on the Bay.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.—I did not know you before.

Margaret Davis.

I am a domestic servant, and live in Morant Bay. On Wednesday, 11th October, I saw Elizabeth Faulkner (prisoner here), with a stick and her cap full of stones, facing Mr. Bennett's shop door; plenty others with her. She said, "Come and let us smash down Bennett's house." I said, "Poor "man, he is blind." She said, "His damned eye blind, but his damned mouth not blind." I went away.

CAROLINE MILNE.

I am a domestic, and live at Morant Bay. On Wednesday, the 11th October, I saw Matthew Ford (a prisoner here) passing my yard near the church corner, lots of them together; he had a stick, and was beating volunteer Williams, who they had made prisoner, as also another volunteer named Todd, and Mr. Ward. Ford had a volunteer belt and bayonet and Williams's shoes. I also saw Elizabeth Taylor (a prisoner here) with a stick in her hand beating Mr. Williams; at the same time she said to Williams, "Don't, your mother is a black, why did you join the volunteers; why didn't you come "up to the Mountain and join us." This was between three and four before the Court House was burned.

JOHN HILLBERRY.

I am a shoemaker, and live in Morant Bay. I was on the Court House steps at Morant Bay on Wednesday the 11th October when the Rebels entered the Parade; some entered from the main street and some from the side from my shop; I ran into my shop. Alexander Taylor of Mount Stewart (a prisoner here) about five o'clock, whilst the Court House was on fire, attacked me close my own door; he had a cutlass, and was with the Rebels. He held his cutlass over me, and said, "Now, sir, what do "you say for yourself; is it the white people or the black people set fire to that Court House; is "n't it the white people?" I was afraid, and said, Yes; ah! my boy, when the Maroons at Hayfield come to hear that some of their sons are dead, then you will see what will be done here to-morrow. I saw Isaac Joseph (a prisoner here) at night on the Parade; he had a cutlass just before. I saw Inspector Alberga, holding his child by the hand, come from the Fort yard, when a body of men rushed upon him, and he cried "Mercy, my child!" He was struck on the forehead with a stick; he staggered, and his hat dropped. They struck him again, and held him by the neck, and dragged him across the Parade towards the new church. They struck him twice again with sticks and he fell; they took off his pantaloon and boots; then I saw Isaac Joseph come from the spot where he fell to where Alberga's hat was and took it up. I heard Richard Daly (now in prison under sentence by court-martial) say that the Queen had sent out a proclamation and gave them the land, but the white people is robbing it from them, and as they begin this affair, it shall not come to an end until they get it.

ROMEO WILLIAM DRYSDALE.

I am junior serjeant of police. On the 11th October last, after I escaped from the Rebels, I hid myself in a house at Duhaney Pen. During the night prisoner came to the door, and called out; he said to the parties residing in the house, "We kill buckra." Mrs. Uniack said to him, "Boy, what "you saying?" He said to her, "What you saying; you see my cutlass here; I am going back to the "Bay." Mrs. Uniack said, "You kill all the buckras what we going to do? come out of my yard." He then commenced to state who had been killed. He said, "Arthur Cooke dead, Walton Baron dead, "Parson Herschell dead, and we have just finished the inspector, and I am going back to the "Bay again."

JOHN CODRINGTON.

I am boatswain at the district prison. On Wednesday night, 11th October, I escaped over to Duhaney Pen; while in a house there I heard a singing; shortly after the prisoner came up to the house, and said, "What, have you gone to bed? I want a light." Mrs. Uniack, who was in the house, said, "Where are you from?" Prisoner said, "From the Bay; go to the Bay, and you will see how "the buckra them lay down; they kill Alick Cooke, Stephen Cooke, Arthur Cooke, the Baron, "Parson Herschell, and that fellow Walton, and we just finish the inspector." Mrs. Uniack then drove prisoner out of the yard. Prisoner said he had seen that fellow Codrington (meaning me) and that fellow MacPherson; they cut, but will take them to-morrow. On the following morning, on my way to the Bay, I met prisoner with a cutlass. I said "Good morning." I asked him how far he was going. He said, "As far as Church Corner to Mr. Bogle; I think he must be waiting upon me now, "for we have to go up to Lyssens to seek for that fellow Wallace. Georges we don't see; he has gone "in the boat. After we leave Lyssens we are to go to Port Morant, and from Port Morant to Golden "Grove." I begged him not to kill any more buckras. He said "Buckras do them too much." He then went on.

ELEANOR UNIACK.

I am a washerwoman, and reside at Duhaney Pen. On the night of Wednesday, the 11th October last, Serjeants Mackenzie and Drysdale and John Codrington took refuge in my house. During the night William Osborne (a prisoner here) came and called at my gate twice; he called to a person living in my yard "Cousin West." My sister answered him, where he was from this hour; he said, "From the Bay." I asked him what was he doing at the Bay at this hour? He gave no answer. I asked him "Where is that singing?" He said, "From the prison; they let go the prisoners; they "kill all the buckras on the Bay." I asked him, "Who dead?" He said, "Mr. Cooke, the inspector, "Mr. Georges, and the Parson." I said, "Come out of my yard, boy, you is mad; after all the buckra "dead, what we is to go?" and I pushed him out.

WILLIAM WALKER.

I am a volunteer, No. 2 Company. On 11th October prisoner came to my shop on Morant Bay at 11 o'clock A.M., and said, "Is it you alone here?" I said, "Yes." Gray asked me for Messenger. I said I had not seen him. He then asked me where the volunteers were going: he heard they were going to Stoney Gut, and the same sword I was cleaning would serve to run through my own guts; and if the volunteers are going to Stoney Gut, he will join the Stoney Gut people. He then left.

Jamaica. About an hour before the rebellion commenced I met Gray on the Parade; he had a stick in his hand. He said to me, "Did I not tell you not come out, and you will just take what you get."

Joseph Messenger.

On the day of the rebellion prisoner Gray came to me and asked me where the volunteers were going; if they knew what was good for themselves they would stay at home. That there was no Governor in the Island. Governor Eyre was no Governor.

Richard Brooks.

On Thursday after the Wednesday of the rebellion I saw him come from the parade with a long long sword, an officer's sword, it was bent in the middle, and a stick in his hand. When he heard that Mr. Stephen Cooke was not dead, he said he must have Mr. Cooke before the week was out; he must kill; he shant left. Immediately a woman bawled out, The steamer is coming, and they all ran away. Taffe Williams was with the prisoner at the time; he has been since hung.

Letitia Arma.

I am a domestic servant of Mrs. Lundy's, and live in Morant Bay. On Wednesday night, the day of the rebellion, the Rebels came into Mrs. Lundy's store about 11 o'clock, a lot of them; they insisted on the store being opened. Prisoner Ann Thompson was one. They plundered the store, and Ann Thompson threw out iron pots and cutlasses to those outside. The people were armed with guns and bayonets, and swords and cutlasses. On the same afternoon about 4 o'clock plenty of the people came into the store demanding gunpowder from Mrs. Lundy. She was compelled to give it to them. They were armed with guns, cutlasses, and swords. Henry Theophilus Bogle, a prisoner here, was one among them; he had a sword and a stick. John Asthwith, another prisoner here, was also with them; he had a gun. Paul Bogle was with them.

Examined by John Astwith.—I saw you loading a gun in Mrs. Lundy's yard.

Eliza Gregory.

I am a domestic servant, and live at Morant Bay. On 11th October last, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw William McGregor (a prisoner here) at the Brown's Gutbridge, he had a macheat; he was with about 20 others, who were armed with guns, macheats, and sticks; they were keeping guard. James McLaren was their leader, and he told them to keep guard, and wait for Mr. Georges. They were there until late, when the shell blew and called them into the Bay. On the same night, when the Court House was burnt, I saw Henry Mitchell (prisoner here) down at the same bridge; he had a stick; he was with a lot of others, who had volunteer guns, bayonets, swords, and cutlasses. I heard McLaren, who was with them, say, they were going to the prison to let out the prisoners. I heard Henry Mitchell say, "That broke-hip volunteer, he escaped from the parade, but if we catch him "to-night we will kill him." A volunteer, named Mr. Britt, walks lame.

Ann Aitchison.

Remember the Wednesday night, the night of the rebellion; heard prisoner say on her way from the Bay about 11 o'clock that night, that Parson Cooke is to be killed, for he is not fit for anyone to bow under again; he was a bad man. Prisoner went into Moses Bogle's house after this.

Fable Taylor.

I was at the cottage opposite to where Moses Bogle lives, I heard a crowd of persons coming up. I went out to look; I heard prisoner say that Parson Cooke don't fit for a parson; the beating you have given him is not enough, his head ought to have been taken off, for he love Court House too much.

Robert MacPherson.

I am superintendent of the district prison, Morant Bay. Joshua Gordon (a prisoner here) surrendered himself to me at the district prison here, saying "I am tired of stopping in the woods, and have come to surrender myself."

Elizabeth McBeth.

I am a midwife, and live on the road leading to the Valley. On Wednesday, the 11th October last, I saw Joshua Gordon (a prisoner here) coming along the road, he had blood on his face. I asked him what was the matter. His sweetheart, Joanna Williams, who was with him, said "he had just "taken a walk into the Bay, and they shot him." This was just a little after the firing at Morant Bay.

Sarah Knowles.

I am a domestic servant, and live at Morant Bay. On Wednesday, 11th October, I saw Peter O'Hagan (a prisoner here) at Hilberry's shop-door, with a cutlass and stick in his hand. I was hiding in Hilberry's house at the time, and came out to him. I asked him, "Don't you know me, Peter, are "you going to kill me?" He said "Don't call my name, or I will take off your head. I did not come "to kill no woman, nor anybody, but I see all my colour laying in the Parade. I will kill all the white "people before I go away to-night." I told him I am working with Mr. Price, and my child is in his house, will you allow me to take her out. He said "Go and take her, but if I know you are taking

"any powder to the volunteers I will take off your head this night." I then went into Mr. Price's house and remained there until the fire drove us out. I returned to Mr. Hilberry's house when the Court House and Price's house were on fire. I saw Mr. Price coming across the parade, when the people took him hold, and said that it was Price, kill him. They took him to Kirkland's shop-door and commenced beating him there. I followed when they were beating him. Moses Bogle came and said, Don't kill him, save him, let us take him as a prisoner; he will tell us all about it. They then left off beating him. Price said, Take whatever I have got, but save my life. Two men took him in charge, when the crowd followed, when Bogle ordered them not to touch him. Then they returned to the Parade, and the two men took Price up to Grant's gate and asked him "Don't, you are a black?" Price said "Yes," and what you is to do with the whites? Price said "I have nothing to do with the whites, except I live by them, and what I earn I assist my color." They asked him "if he was not a member of the House of Assembly?" Price said "No." "Don't you is a magistrate?" Price said "No." Not for Morant Bay, but for Port Royal. Price then said "Take all I have, but save my life." A man said "I am going to take whatever you got, and kill you presently too." They commenced beating him, when he ran to Dr. Alvarenga's fence; then to Grant's shop on the opposite side. They all then began to beat him. I heard Price cry out "Lord have mercy, I will bleed to death now." A woman named Mary Ward (hung) said "Kill him, it is on his account we could not the rest to kill, for they were all hiding in his house." I then ran away. The next morning at 5 o'clock I found Price's dead body in front of Grant's door.

George Pinnock.

I am a headman, and live at Pera. On Friday, the 13th October last, I saw a lot of people, some in the house, and some in the yard plundering. Henry Smith (a prisoner here), he had a sword, he was standing at the store door while the people were inside stealing.

George Lindsay Bolton.

I am a labourer, and live at Spring Bank. I know Charles Francis (a prisoner here). On Friday, the 13th, Matilda Allwood sent to call me at Bachelor's Hall. I went there, and saw Charles Francis chopping up pots and bowls, and was trying to take liberties with Matilda, and had a cutlass over her, and said if she did not let him have something to do with her he would kill her. He said to set the house on fire three times. I said, You ought to protect the ladies instead of destroying their things. He said, If the damn mulattos were here I would have off all their heads. I told him must not talk about killing. He said, I have just killed a man at chemist. He was beastly drunk.

Examined by Charles Francis.—You were employed at Bachelor's Hall. You did milk cow Friday morning. I went away and left you at the house.

Matilda Allwood.

I live at Bachelor's Hall. On Friday, the week of the rebellion, some people came to Bachelor's Hall, broke open the store, asked for guns, and carried away liquor; after this Charles Francis came, he was very drunk, pointing his macheat at me, and wanted to have something to do with me. He mashed up pots in the kitchen, mashed up a sash and blind, chopped up a box, nearly run me through with his macheat, mashed up everything of mine. He said he had killed a man at Plantain Garden River, the man's blood was haunting him, and he wanted to put me alongside of him.

Abram Harvey.

I am a carpenter, and live at Plantain Garden River estate. I know Charles Francis (one of the prisoners). On Friday, the 13th October, the Rebels broke up the great house at Plantain Garden River, over 100 of them. Charles Francis came to Mrs. Rowley's shop and struck the window with a stick, and asked for drink; he had a knife in his hand. He entered the house and took a Bible off the shelf, he returned it to Mrs. Rowley, and put the knife on my belly, saying, if I said much he would rip me. Did not see him among the crowd.

Thomas Scott.

I am drummer of the No. 1 company of Volunteers. I was at Morant Bay on the 11th October on duty. When the Court House was on fire, Captain Hitchins told me to try and make my escape. I ran towards the wharf, when I got there I met prisoner, he had a cutlass and stick in his hand, he licked me down. He then called out for the rest of the people, the mob. I laid down, I would not move, he hauled me, I did not move, they said I was dead, and left me, and went away.

Romeo William Drysdale.

I am junior serjeant of police. On Wednesday, the 11th October last, I made my escape from the parade. I went down to the sea side (I was in uniform), Serjeant McKenzie and two other policemen were with me on the wharf road. We met about 20 or 30 men all armed. Prisoner, James Fairly, pursued me and caught me, he had a cutlass, a sword, and a bayonet fixed on a stick. When prisoner held me, he asked me if I was Charles Williams' brother, I said Yes, he then said, "This day you are a "dead man." I then begged him to save my life, he raised a bayonet to push it into me, a man ran up and prevented him, a woman bawled out to have mercy, I then had an opportunity of laying hold of Serjeant McKenzie. Prisoner gave the order to tie me, but I was not tied. Prisoner marched myself and Serjeant McKenzie as far as the workhouse, where they gave us in charge of four men, stating that he was going to Captain Bogle for orders. As soon as prisoner left the men advised us to make our escape, and not to be seen in the Bay, we accordingly made our escape.

Re-sworn, 27th January 1866.—When the prisoner, Francis Cowell, was taken in charge by private Jones, he said to me, "That he was on the Bay on the 11th October last purchasing medicines, and left "for his home, and did not interfere with the Rebels."

GILBERT LINDSAY.

I am a labourer, and live at Bath. I know a man named Alexander Tayler of Mount Stewart (prisoner here). I saw him on the 11th October on the Parade, Morant Bay, before the firing, he was among the Rebels attacking the volunteers; afterwards at dark as I lay aside at the Fort yard, I saw him again pass by, he had a volunteer rifle and a sword fixed on it. I heard him say, that "All the "buckras and volunteers, whether black or brown, to kill them all because they shoot the black "people."

EDWARD HOUSE.

I live at Friendship Pen. On the 11th October last I was deputy collector, petty debts. On that day I went to Stoney Gut, to serve a summons on William Ford (a prisoner here). I got there about 12 o'clock mid-day. I saw about 400 men with cutlasses and sticks, and two Maroon men had guns. They stopped me and asked me what I wanted. I told them I came there to serve a summons. They said, "Oh, you are on the buckra side, we must carry you to Captain Bogle." They handed me from one captain to another lieutenant, until they handed me to Spring Garden road, before Paul and Moses Bogle and James MacLaren. They asked me what I wanted. I said again, "I came to serve a summons "on William Ford." They took it out of my pocket and said to tear it. I asked them if they knew what they were doing; they said, "Yes," and that I had only come to take their secrets to the white people. I told them I was on no side, I only came to do my duty, and I asked them, Where are you going. Paul Bogle said, "They sent for me yesterday, and I am going down to deliver myself." I said, "What, in this manner, with stick and cutlass? and if you take my advice you better not go." They said, "I was quite right, but they must march me down to the Bay." Bogle said to the people, "March on to the Bay by Stanton road way." They moved off by files, four abreast; a drum was with them but not played. When we got to Spring Garden line, a man on horseback stopped them and said, "The volunteers are coming." They returned back to Paul Bogle's house; orders were given to hide in the bush. Then I said, can you show the man William Ford. They called him, and William Ford (prisoner here) came to me; a man named Thomas came up and said, "Captain Bogle, you "taking advice from white man side, since yesterday we should have taken the Bay, but you still "backing us." Bogle said, "Let us start, or all the men will be going away." Then they marched again, took me with them at Spring Garden road. Moses Bogle said that Paul Bogle had left orders that they were to divide, and some walk Church Corner way and some by Stanton road; they divided, I walked with those Church Corner way. Sarah Johnson (prisoner here) just as we were leaving the house said, "If you allow that man Edward House to me, I will know what to do with him. Don't "you see he is in favour of white people." As soon as we got to Church Corner we heard reports of guns on the Bay, when they ran towards the Bay; I followed as far as the Cotton Tree.

JAMES MOYSTEN.

I am a druggist, and live at Morant Bay. On the 11th October, I was on the Court House steps when they entered the Bay. I escaped whilst the Court House was on fire to my house; about an hour after, Nancy Murray (a prisoner here) and another woman brought George Thomas (a prisoner here) to me wounded. I asked Nancy Murray who shot him, and she said, the volunteers. She demanded me to dress him. I did so. I said to Nancy Murray, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself to be out at this time of night with these people murdering." She said "Ah! you will see what we do in "the morning; you will see how them all lie down on the Parade. We done kill them all. Walton "is the first one I helped to kill by the sea beach, and I jammed a stick in his mouth; you will find his "mouth open in the morning. Wallace struck him; get way; but we will have him in the morning." They left and returned to two men; Nancy Murray had two gentlemen's hats and clothes. The woman with her had volunteer's clothes, and the men were all in blood; they took away George Thomas and carried him away.

ALEXANDER CAMERON.

I am a labourer, and live at Font Hill. On Monday night, before the rebellion, William Anderson, the son of Abraham Anderson, who has been shot, came and called me and others, and we went to a meeting at Abraham Anderson's yard at Font Hill; there were plenty of people there. Abraham Anderson gave me a Bible and made me kiss it, and told me he wanted men to go to the Bay Wednesday; but he would not tell me what for until he got there. Thomas Stewart wrote my name on a paper; they swore, and wrote down the names of plenty of people. I did not go to the Bay on Wednesday. John Moodie was with me and was sworn.

JOHN DUBUISSON.

I am a tinsmith, and live at Morant Bay, at the Cotton Tree at the eastern entrance to the Bay. I saw 500 or 600 Rebels enter the Bay armed; Robert Grant (prisoner here) was with them blowing a horn. I followed them and saw them attack the station, Caroline Grant (prisoner here) was with them. I saw them enter the Parade. I escaped to the wharf road. I saw Mr. Walton and Mr. Bowen attacked. I saw Mr. Walton beaten to death, and plundered by men and women. Allick Taylor, of the Cottage, was one: he took his watch chain and knife. Between five and six in the evening I saw John Gough (prisoner here) near my shop; he had a boy, Alexander White (prisoner here), in custody, beating him.

THOMAS DONALDSON.

On Saturday 14th October, I saw Julius Hibbert; he passed me at Comfort Castle on his way to Mount Libanus; he had a volunteer gun in his hand, and had a horn with powder in it slung over his shoulder, also a bag with shot in it. He asked me if I was not going to where Paul Bogle's party was. I told him I was not going, as I had not got a gun, and stick would not fight against gun. He told me that he took a pan and served the people rum out of Monksland's shop; also that he had plenty of gunpowder to serve the people, that had guns, which he said he had taken out of Monksland's office.

ROBERT MARSHALL WHITTLE, the younger, of the Parish of Saint Thomas in the East, being sworn, saith:

I am about 15 years of age, and was in the employment of the late Captain E. W. Hitchins of the volunteers who was killed at Morant Bay. Mr. Hitchins was deputy clerk of peace at Bath in Saint Thomas in the East, and I wrote for him in his office. I used to fill up summonses. I was also in the brass band attached to the volunteers; I played the cornet à piston. On the night of the 10th of October a despatch came to Captain Hitchins and the volunteer bugle and drum sounded the alarm. The next morning we all started for Morant Bay. There were about 18 volunteers all in uniform and with their arms. They were mounted except Captain Hitchins, first Lieutenant Hall, second Lieutenant Reid, and Private Gilfoy, who were in buggies; the members of the drum corps were walking. When we came to the river (Nutts River) about 12 miles from Bath, the Volunteers alighted and marched into the Bay; this was about 1 o'clock on the 11th October. They went to Mr. Gough's tavern, and then some eight or ten more volunteers joined them. I went up to Corporal Mark's shop and residence, about half a mile from the Bay and put up Captain Hitchins' buggy, and then returned to the tavern about 2 o'clock. I was then asked by private Jacobs to go and get him something at Mark's shop, and on my way there with a young man named Robert Grant, also employed by Mr. Hitchins, saw a few men sitting by the side of the road, who asked us what we were going to do with the guns we had just passed with on our way down from Mark's to the tavern. We gave them no answer. They had big sticks. I and Grant then returned to the tavern. The volunteers had some refreshments and then formed on parade; drilled, and afterwards broke off and sauntered about, many of them going into the school room near the Court House which is in the parade. Shortly after, between 3 and 4 o'clock, but nearer three, Mr. Arthur Cooke galloped into the parade and called out "Gentlemen, they are "coming, about 5,000 men, armed with cutlasses and sticks. The volunteer bugle was immediately sounded and the volunteers fell in in front of court house. Captain Hitchins gave the order to fix swords and to load, and they did so; and Captain Hitchins asked the custos to read the Riot Act. At this time the people who had followed after Mr. Arthur Cooke were all in front of the Court House. I should say that there were about 300 armed with cutlasses and sticks which they were flourishing, at same time making a great noise, but I could not hear what they were saying. They were then about 100 yards from the Court House. The Baron (custos) tried to read the Riot Act, but he was so excited he could hardly do it. Captain Hitchins was in the act of going up the steps of the Court House to do it when a glass bottle full of water struck him on the forehead and cut him severely; he wiped off the blood from his forehead as you would sweat from your brow, and tied up his head with his handkerchief and went upstairs to carry out his intention of reading the Riot Act. In meanwhile the custos had held out a white handkerchief and was waving it to the crowd. Heard some of the crowd call out "What's that?" and immediately there was a great shout of "War," and they continued to press on the volunteers from the front. As Captain Hitchins saw them coming too close on the volunteers he said "God save the Queen," and ordered his men to fire, and many of them did, but not all. A good many of the crowd fell, can't say how many. They then fell back, sounded a horn, and there was a shout from the crowd "Don't allow them "to load." Immediately two other bodies of men on each side of the volunteers closed upon them and commenced striking them with their sticks and cutlasses. Those in front closed too, and I ran away to hide at Mr. Marshalleck's house near by. At this time the Bay was covered with men and women to the number, I should say, of several thousands. While I was hid at Marshalleck I was told by a boy named Thomas that the Rebels were looking for me and another boy who came with Mr. Hitchins, and I was afraid to go out. I then saw the Rebels beating a volunteer named James Anderson, and he was brought in speechless, and I heard a great shout by the Rebels for Captain Symons, a man who had formerly lived near Bath, and had lately gone to Thornton in same parish; he was butcher by trade, and has been hanged. I and Grant then tried to escape this Mr. Lundie's grass piece next to Marshalleck, but we were obliged to turn back. While there heard some one call three or four times "General Bogle," "General Bogle," and I saw a person not very tall but stout with a small-pox face, who answered "Yes," and went away following the person who had called him into the crowd. I never saw him again. I and Grant remained at Marshalleck until about midnight. There was then a great row at the gate, and a call for Marshalleck, and I heard the Rebels tell him that if he did not give them what they wanted they would kill the dogs, and play hell with his place. He gave them salt fish, ham, candles, and many other things. I had forgotten to mention that the man Symons brought Dr. Major to Marshalleck, and told the latter he must take care of him, and deliver him back to them in the morning. At daylight I went to the Parade to see who was dead and who alive, saw Captain Hitchins, Parson Herschell, Inspector Alberga, 2nd Lieutenant Reid, and two of the Messrs. Cooke's, old McCormack (a lame old white man), the Baron, a volunteer named Brown, C. A. Price, and Private Gilfoy lying dead, and Private Rutty and McGowan lying severely wounded, but not quite dead. Grant was still with me. We tried to get Captain Hitchin's body into the buggy, but could not, and so we started with the buggy for Bath to fetch a cart. About seven miles from the Bay met four black men with sticks and knives. One laid hold of the horse's head and asked whose buggy it was. We said Mr. Hitchins. He said "Where is he?" we answered that he was killed, he replied "He ought to dead and gone to hell long time." "Who tell him to go and join the volunteers?" At Port Morant, about a mile farther on, about 12 men stopped us again, and asked whose buggy it was,

JAMAICA. On our saying it was Mr. Hitchins', one of them said "Let us stone it," but the others dissuaded him. and we passed on. We got to Bath and told Mrs. Hitchins what had happened. Shortly after a woman went into Mark's shop, and said to his brother that if he did not pay her seven shillings for her umbrella she would fetch in the Rebels; five minutes after they came in, about 300 from the direction of Thornton; they had sticks and cutlasses. I saw them go into Mr. Hitchins' yard, and then ran into the bush, and was away hiding from that day until Saturday. I then returned to Bath, and found all the stores sacked of everything. Bath is about 14 miles from Morant Bay.

ROBERT M. WHITTLE, Junr.

Sworn before me at the city and parish of Kingston, in the county of Surrey, this 3rd day of January 1866.

JOSEPH FRANCIS, J. P.
Kingston.

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

I was living at Font Hill on St. Thomas-in-the-East before the outbreak at Morant Bay. I knew Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, and James McLaren before this, and William Bowie and William Bailey, Thomas Dally; also knew the late George W. Gordon; remember the great meeting in August last at Morant Bay under the Genipp tree. I was there. Long before that meeting, particularly one Friday afternoon, I was at the chapel at Stony Gut, one Warren, a black man, preached there. It is the same man I saw taken at Spring by Col. Hobbs. The meeting was just over and I heard James McLaren reading out the names of men out of a book, and said the men was come out at two o'clock to parade to be drilled. There was another man whom I did not know and McLaren said that he was to drill them. The men had wooden about twenty of them. I saw them fall into line two and two but I didn't stop to see them drilled. William Bogle was one who fell into line; this was the only meeting I knew of before the public meeting in August. At that meeting some persons came with Mr. Gordon, but I didn't know them; Paul Bogle, William Bogle, Moses Bogle, Samuel Clarke, William Bowie, and plenty of others were there from Stony Gut, Font Hill, some few from Mount Lebanon, and many others. Mr. Walton and some other white people were standing on steps of the Court House; there was a very large number of black people. Mr. Gordon said, We have sued a long time for assistance, but no assistance has come to the poor black, and the poor people been suffering a long time; their father and mother were slaves and they like slaves themselves by the white and colored people want to turn the poor people back into slaves; they go out to work and they can't get pay, and when they speak they take them to court and have them punish, and when they work for a 1*s.* a day they have to go home with a sixpence. And the poor people in St. Ann send in to the Governor about starvation, and they send out again by the Queen advice they must work, and that them lazy and won't work, and that when the planter call them out to work for wages they won't come out. "Is it true you don't want money and am lazy, the people said No; we want money but we can't get it." Mr. Gordon asked if they gave them good wages they would work, they said Yes; and asked whether a man working for a 1*s.* a day with a house full of children if that 1*s.* a day able to provide for his children and pay the ground rent. They said they had to work five days in the cane piece and when Friday come they have to go home with two shillings, but if the white people would give them the "outside lands" they would know if they could work or not. Gordon said they must have patience, and take the thing in time. He asked them from since they knew St. Thomas-in-the-East, if they ever knew of a hospital? they said No. He asked them if they saw poor house in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and they said No. He answered "All that come through my hand." I have myself seen poor people lying down begging bread. and I take money out of my pocket and give them, and when the vestry meet I propose that to them. It is a shame a big parish like this has neither poor house nor hospital. The outside land was given out long time to the poor people, but the planter kept that to himself for seven years after freedom; poor people should get some outside land to be worked, and the land given to them. In this year they would see something better from the Queen. If the people will have patience I will pay my own passage and go to England and let the Queen know how Jamaica is going on; for with all these papers and oppressment of the poor people the Queen not getting none, for all the planters in the House of Assembly stop it but this meeting; I won't send it to the House of Assembly but I will go to England myself; I will still dead for my colour, for the House of Assembly man don't like me because of my colour; for many things that take up in the House of Assembly I kick against it. When he had done Paul Bogle "claimed the chair," and said, I am the second speaker after Mr. Gordon, and the first movement we should make in the meeting "we ought to crown Mr. Gordon" for St. Thomas-in-the-East; we darkness long time ago, and Mr. Gordon expect to put St. Thomas in light, "three cheers for Mr. Gordon." Gentleman, I myself was a bond slave but I buy two acres of land and I cultivate it with cane and make ten barrel of sugar. I think if I got more than that I able to do better, and gentlemen, I can't bear no more; the burthen upon me too heavy; I don't want the white planter cane or cocoanut. If they give me the land I think I can grow cocoanut and cane same as them, and I can't bear no more longer, and if I can't get the land by freely, I must take it by force. The people cried out, Yes, we punish a long time by the colour; why don't rest of the Island suffer like St. Thomas; the people said because in other parishes white people live there and deal just to the people; but our parish the brown man deal unjust. In fact of the matter all the brown people that set in the Court House to try the people, all must turn out, for all of them is planter; and all those that come from other place must go back; the people told him to name them; and Bogle said Name them from top, come down and he named Mr. Bowen, and said that Mr. Paterson was the only white man in the parish, and that Bowen was a mulatto man; he must go back to St. Mary's where he came from, for he was the one selling in the Court House with all this bad law, and when the people speak about their money, he sit down and try them. That Shortridge was a white man, and came out as a plougher, and now he come to be a rich man; he don't care about the black people, he treat them like dog; he must go back to his country. And look at Smith, he came out as a "German" (witnesses say

he meant white labourer), and now he is able to drive two horses in carriage, and they sit down in the Court House and make away all the Queen money, and after all to charge the poor black that heavy taxes. Gentlemen, I have no more to say, but without I see all these Germans go back to their country my heart won't rest. James McLaren then said, Gentlemen, I have not much to say, but I second Mr. Bogle's motion, for I myself work for Mr. Bowen's estate cutting thirty chains of cane a day for 1*s.* and when I got to go home to my family I go bare hand, and gentlemen, is that not more than feeling; they also said, Yes, it is more than feeling. He then said, Gentlemen, without a civil war in the Island it is no use; and if the white folks will give us the outside land, it will be peace, but without this land give, no peace at all! Gentlemen, myself was at Morant Bay, a piece of land at Red Hill Penn belongs to the Crown and Mr. Cooke keep it to himself; but now the land must belong to the poor people, and Mr. Cooke must spend money out of his own pocket to buy land. Gentlemen, I have nothing more to say, but without all these coloured men move off in Jamaica it is no use. Samuel Clarke then spoke and the meeting separated after singing a hymn. After the meeting we went home, and I heard that there were meetings frequently held about, but I was not present at any of them except one in September held by McLaren at my father's (Abraham Anderson's) place at Font Hill. My father was shot. At this meeting an old man, named Thomas Gordon, was first put in the chair, but he afterwards gave it up to my father, who said, We hold this meeting by order of Mr. Gordon to gather up voters for him that we may have him up. Gentlemen, I can't keep two horses because of the taxes, and I can't wear a good shirt because of the ground rent. Some time back we had toll gate round the Island; now Mr. Gordon and other gentlemen kick against it, and we can drive to Kingston without toll gate. Thomas Stewart was secretary, and seconded the movement. He was carpenter at Coley; he said he was a mulatto man; had to ply his plain heavily, and take damn and blast from Mr. Bowden because I want my bread, but if I had as much land as Mr. Bowen I wouldn't take it from him. Gentlemen, I hope we will not let Mr. Gordon's meeting tumble down. If I don't live to enjoy what coming I hope my child will. About 30 people were at this meeting; it took place about five o'clock on 12th September. Thomas Stewart was shot. On 20th September McLaren returned to my father's and told him he must ring the bell and call up the people; my father was a leader; my father asked him what he was to call them, for as it was no meeting night and they wouldn't come. McLaren he wanted take down their names to swear them in as volunteers to stand their own country. My father was a Baptist. McLaren said he saw all the people coming down from the hill top; about 20 came, and then McLaren said he wanted them to agree to have the outside land and to go down to the custos to ask it, and if they got it it would be good, but if not then would be war. The people asked when they should go down; he said the fittest time was Wednesday at the vestry. McLaren took down the names of all those volunteers (he could write) and carried it away to Stoney Gut. As their names were taken down each man was sworn on the Bible by McLaren. The oath was, "So help me God I will fight for my country." After this there was no more meetings then, but McLaren used to go backwards and forwards to a place called Somerset, about six miles from my father's, where he had family, and he told me that he had plenty of the Somerset people on his list and that the Font Hill people were a coward people. He also said that he was at Stoney Gut where the strength of the people was, and he would let them know when to come down, and that the people from Torrington to Golden Grove all down the river side were all ready to meet at the vestry. On the Tuesday before the Wednesday of the outbreak, McLaren came to his father's at Font Hill. On his way back he told me that he had been to say good bye, for that there was going to be war, and he didn't know if he would be alive, and he bid his friends and family good bye. On Wednesday, 11th October, I left Font Hill about six o'clock in the morning to go to Morant Bay. My father cautioned me to buy my things and come home and not to allow stick or stone to catch me. I reached Morant Bay at eight o'clock, the road was quiet as usual. I heard from my cousin, Jane Newick, a coloured girl, who lives near the market, that Paul Bogle was going to raise a row at Morant Bay. On Saturday I had been at Morant Bay. On Monday McLaren told me that they had the policeman at Stoney Gut. After 11 o'clock on the Wednesday I saw the volunteers from Bath coming out of the Court House, walking about. I bathed, and as I came out of the water I heard the clock strike 12, and within half an hour I heard a drum and heard Bogle was coming, everybody ran to see; there were two drums. As the volunteers heard the drums they were near the front of the Court House, and formed a rank. There was a great multitude of people, so many I couldn't count them. Moses and William Bogle were in front, and the drums at the side of them. Paul Bogle was in the middle. James McLaren behind Moses Bogle. Bowie was there but can't remember whereabouts he was. I didn't notice him until I saw him running into station; he came out again with an old gun: some of the multitude of people had guns; most of them sticks, some cutlasses, some lances; they went straight to the police station and came out with the guns and went direct to the market. I was then at a considerable distance from them. I saw them advance on the volunteers with their guns down; they had lances over their shoulders. I then changed my position, and as I did so, I heard gun shots, but don't know who fired first. Shortly after I heard three volleys, and I ran away, passed the new church, and went home crying out Murder! The people asked me as I went along what I was bawling that way for; I said that the white people and black people were killing one another at Morant Bay; some said, Well done; what is going to be done in Jamaica; others, well they thought that there would soon be a war between the black people and white people. I remained at home until Friday evening. Several people came up on Thursday. One, James Gordon, belonging to Font Hill, was wounded in the side; said ball catch him. Gordon was afterwards shot. On Friday I went up to Coley. Paul Bogle came there with his party, about a 100: every one with guns, belt, and cartouche box, the belts covered with blood; they were the volunteer guns. I saw the sight you raise up and a strap like the soldiers' guns; they stopped there for about half an hour at shop kept by Nicol, but it belongs to Coley Estate; they were beating drum and blowing shell. I saw James and Lawrence McLaren with them. James Kelby, Joe McFarlane were then at Coley; they did not come with the party. Paul Bogle said to the Coley people, he wanted the whole of them to join him. They said they were not able; he said they were compelled to join him by the Queen's name; and they must come out and fight for their country, which I understood to mean to fight for the black people. The people asked

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how they could go to war without gun, to which he replied by asking if they (his party) had not gone to Morant Bay without gun, and if they had not got gun now. About 10, including myself, were then handcuffed and carried off. He, McFarlane, of Coley, James Kelly of Barracks, James Moore of Barracks, Jonny McFarlane, of Coley, Richard Devaney, and James Moodie, and Allick Cameron, of Font Hill were of the number. Bogle took us with his party to Mount Lebanus, where there was a Baptist chapel. The people themselves preached there. Bogle then told the people he had got a message that there was troops at Mahogany Vale, and that he must keep his people together as the white troops were coming after them, and he said that was the reason he had come up there to get more men to strengthen Stoney Gut. The people at Mount Lebanus gave consent and joined him. Bogle and his party slept at Mount Lebanus in the chapel; a guard, regular sentry, was placed all night. We started next morning (Saturday) for Monklands. Altogether about 200 persons went to the shop at Monklands. Bogle went in and asked for Mr. James Paterson; the shopkeeper, Evelina Williams, said Mr. Patterson had gone to Kington. Bogle said he, Patterson, should not have run away as he was the only white man in our parish, and that he had come there to protect him. He then asked for the key of the shop which was locked, for that as Mr. Patterson had gone away he must go in and get something for his men. She gave him the key and stood by until everything was taken out of the shop, rum, cloth, rice, salt, provisions, ale, porter, and tobacco; he then locked the shop and gave Evelina Williams back the key. We then marched back to Mount Lebanus. I heard that a party had been up to Monkland Great House on the Thursday or Friday before looking for Mr. Paterson to kill him. A man named Hamilton, who Bogle had let out of prison at Morant Bay, was the person. Evelina Williams told this to Colonel Hobbs, who had him shot. We took all the plunder back to Mount Lebanus. Bogle at Mount Lebanus said that they must fight for their own colour, and that if any of their relations come out of black and stand on white people side, they won't care, they will harm them same as white people. All the time I was at Monklands I was still handcuffed, but on returning to Mount Lebanus they asked me if I agreed to join them, and I and the others said Yes, and they then left us loose. I heard James McLaren say that they must not let their best friend know about the oath unless he consent to join them. I ran away on that Saturday night and reached home at Font Hill at daylight on Sunday morning. On Tuesday I was on my way to a property called "Maillie" to see my cousin; a man named Campbell took me up and carried me to Monklands, where I was delivered up to Colonel Hobbs, who offered me my life if I would show them Stoney Gut. I was sent with some soldiers, and General Jackson; the latter said if I didn't take him to Stoney Gut he would blow my brains out. Half way there General Jackson left me with Serjeant Neale, and went on to Morant Bay. I and the serjeant went on to Chigoefoot market, where I met Colonel Hobbs, who had just come on from Monklands. We then marched to Stoney Gut, found that the sailors had been there before. We slept at Chigoefoot market, and next morning, Friday, we went back to Monklands, thence to New Castle, where I had been ever since in service of the Colonel. I was never tied to Col. Hobbs' stirrup leather but to General Jackson's at Mount Lebanus. I heard the Stoney Gut people call Paul Bogle captain, Moses Bogle general, and McLaren secretary. I saw printed papers nailed on cocoa nut trees at Coley, Font Hill, and Chigoefoot market; a man named Josephs, a schoolmaster, was serving out the papers. I can't read, but Joseph read it to me. It was the Queen's advice. Joseph's is still at Coley. I also heard some one read another paper stuck up about "starving people of St. Ann."

Depositions against Austin Stewart and James Gordon.

Douglas Johnson sworn.

I live at Monklands, Mr. Patterson's property. I am the cattle man; I know Austin Stewart; he lives at Mount Lebanus adjoining Monklands; I know James Gordon too; he lives at Monklands. On Thursday, the day after the Baron was murdered, the whole of the Rebels came upon Monklands in the evening. They had guns, and swords, and cutlasses, and were blowing shells. I was in the kitchen and I had to run. On Friday morning I saw Gordon at six o'clock at Monklands; he came with all the other Rebels. They had guns, and cutlasses, and swords. Gordon had no arms. He acted as clerk for the Rebels. He had a pencil and a piece of paper. Whenever the Rebels compelled anybody to join them he set down their names on the paper. He put down Charles Kelly's name, but Kelly did not join. He also put down Job Robinson, Louis Cubbison, Charles Williams, Charles Wheeler, and Alexander Thomas. These joined them and they have been caught and shot, except Robinson, who is hiding. He put down every name he knew and told the people to join. The men were compelled to join by Gordon. They were tried and shot. The Rebels compelled Mrs. Patterson to open the store, and they took out wine, porter, and whatever they wanted. Gordon was amongst them. The Rebels left at 1 o'clock that day and returned on Saturday at 4 o'clock. I did not see James Gordon there on Saturday. Gordon is my son-in-law. I married his mother. I don't know anything about Austin Stewart. I can't say if he was among the Rebels.

Examined by James Gordon.

Gordon was at his work at the Barbecue on Thursday when the Rebels came up. Mr. Patterson employed him. I think the Rebels compelled him to join them. I told him on Thursday not to join them, and he said he would not join them. I did not ask Gordon to beg Paul Bogle to let me go as they had him already.

Richard O'Gilvie sworn.

I was at Ross-side during the rebellion. Ross-side is adjoining Monklands. On the Thursday, the day after the murders at Morant Bay, I was hiding in my ground. The soldiers came down on Sunday, and on that day I came out to feed my fowls, and two of the Rebels tied me and carried me before Paul Bogle, at the chapel at Mount Lebanus. Fegan Carr and Samuel Beckett were the two who

carried me. Paul Bogle had a court there; they put handcuffs on me. This was about 7 o'clock in the morning. Bogle sent two men to Monklands, and they came back and said the soldiers were there. He then blew his horn and called up his men to fight the soldiers. I saw Austin Stewart among them. He had a volunteer musket in his hand loaded. Bogle told the men that those whose guns were not loaded must go to Austin Stewart's house and load them, as the powder was kept there, and they did so. Austin Stewart ran away with Paul Bogle and his gang to Stoney Gut; I did not see James Gordon among the Rebels. Austin Stewart has his own land at Mount Lebanus, and is doing well with coffee on it.

Examined.

I knew Stewart before this; he was a well-conducted man.

EVELINA WILLIAMS sworn.

I live at Monklands. I was there when the Rebels came there on the Thursday. I know Austin Stewart and James Gordon. Gordon was at his work on the Barbicue. He joined the Rebels about 5 o'clock. They did not compel him to join. He was working with O'Gilvie. O'Gilvie told him not to go where they were, and he said he would go. He went to them and returned with them. I did not see him do anything particular. He returned with the Rebels the next morning. He compelled those to join the Rebels who did not wish, and as he knew their names he set them down. He put down Charles Kelly's name and James Russell's too. He drank some of what the Rebels took out of the shop. He told the Rebels that Mr. Patterson had a gun, and they must look for it. They got the gun out of the coffee store. I did not see Gordon return on the Saturday. The Rebels returned, but he was not among them. I saw Austin Stewart among the Rebels on Thursday evening. He had a firestick in front of the house. Job Robinson asked for the master and mistress, and I said I did not know where they were. Robinson said, "Burn the house," and Austin Stewart was about to set fire to the house, when I said, "Don't burn it, but break into the house." I don't know what became of Stewart afterwards.

Examined.

Gordon had a paper and pencil setting down the names.

ELIZA FORD sworn.

I am living at Monklands. I am employed by Mr. Patterson. I know Stewart and Gordon. On the Thursday I was hiding in the bush with Mrs. Patterson. On Thursday night we returned. The next morning the Rebels came and called for the store keys and we gave them. They asked Mrs. Patterson if her husband had guns or powder; Mrs. Patterson gave them a little powder that was in the house. Gordon was among them, and when the Rebels asked for the gun, Mrs. Patterson told them there was no gun. Gordon said that while he was working in the Barbecue the evening before he had seen Mr. Patterson hide a gun in the coffee store. I said there was none there, and Gordon told them to break open the store. They did so and found a double-barrel gun. They cried out hurrah! and threatened to shoot me for having told a lie. Lawrence McLaren told Mrs. Patterson that Gordon had told him that Mr. Patterson and a man named Miller had been busy the whole day before in cutting slugs to meet the Rebels. Gordon was present. Mrs. Patterson knelt down and swore that it was not true. Gordon said nothing. Gordon caught a boy named James Russell and asked him if he joined white or black, for if he joined white his head would come off, but if he joined the blacks he was all right. He had a paper and a pencil, setting down the names of all those who they made join them. He compelled many men to join by threatening to take off their heads if they did not join the Rebels. I don't know anything about Austin Stewart.

Serjeant Johnson produces forged passes taken from the prisoners.

DEPOSITIONS AGAINST WILLIAM GRANT.

WILLIAM FULLER.

Private of St. Thomas-in-the-East police force. I was in the police force on 10th October. On that day I was sent to Stoney Gut to execute a warrant against Paul Bogle and others. I went in company with five other policemen and two constables. I saw William Grant, Paul Bogle, his wife, and another woman there. I said "Good morning" to Grant and Bogle. Private Osborne told Bogle that he had come to take him in custody. Bogle called for help, and prisoner called out with a loud voice, "Turn "out, men," and about 300 or more men immediately turned out from the chapel and cane fields. I was captured with the other policeman, and Bogle administered the oath to me. Grant was standing by at the time Bogle gave me a Bible to kiss, and they said if I did not kiss it they would kill me. Bogle administered an oath that I must cleave from the whites and cleave to the blacks. At first I refused to take the oath, but they threatened to take off my head if I did not. Prisoner acted as captain of a party, and I heard Bogle call him Captain Grant. Grant was drilling the men and gave words of command. I heard him ordering them to play on and to march backwards and forwards. Grant's name was in the warrant. One of the men had a double-barrel gun.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

I live at Spring Garden, Baron Kettlehodt's property. I am a rural constable. I know prisoner. On 12th October I was at Spring Garden and I saw 21 men keeping guard by the road. I was made a prisoner, and 12 of them took me to Paul Bogle's yard. I saw prisoner there with a double-barrel

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gun. Bowie tried me. He said they would take off my head if I did not join their side. Grant was present. I refused, and said they might kill me if they liked. Bowie told me that if I joined them he would make me a present for myself and all my generation of all the lands I leased from the Baron. A man named McLaren told him to leave me alone for the present, as they were going to the Blue Mountain Valley and could get me when they wanted me, as I was near by. I heard Grant give orders to get powder out of William Ford's house, and gave orders to divide it—some to go to Thornton, some to the Valley, and some to remain at Stoney Gut. He made everybody call him Captain Grant, or he would cut off their heads. I was obliged to call him Captain Grant. There were a lot of men there. They had guns, and cutlasses, and lances. Some of them had the volunteers' guns.

Examined.

Grant gave orders that some were to go to the Valley, some to Thornton, and the rest to remain at Stoney Gut, and he shared the powder among them.

CECILIA GORDON.

I live at Morant Bay. I have known prisoner over four or five years. On 11th October I was at my yard. When the guns were firing at the parade all the men (the rest of the Rebels) ran from the parade to opposite my gate. Prisoner was among them. He had a sword at his side, and a sharp cutlass run through a handkerchief at his side, and a short stick in his hand. I heard Duncan Stewart give orders to divide the gang, one to go to the main street, and one to go to the wharf road, and stop up the road from the court-house to the wharf, and not allow a man to pass. Prisoner went with the wharf road gang. When they were gone Stewart remained there. I did not see Grant again. It was after they went back that the gentlemen were murdered at the court-house.

JAMES BRETT.

Private No. 2 Company, St. Thomas-in-the-East Volunteers. On 11th October I was at the parade in Morant Bay on duty. I was present at the attack on the court-house. I was wounded on my head with a stick and on my knee with a machette. I saw prisoner come on the parade just before the attack. He was among the crowd holding up a stick. On 7th October, after the row at the court-house, I saw prisoner pass my shop with a company of men armed with sticks. They had a drum playing. Prisoner ordered them halt, right counter march, and they obeyed him, and returned towards the Bay.

STEPHEN COOKE.

I am clerk of the peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was at Morant Bay on 11th October when the attack was made on the court-house. I knew Mr. Charles Anthony Price. He was killed that night. I was secreted under the flooring of Dr. Gerard's dispensary, between 9 or 10 o'clock on the night of the 11th October. The dispensary is built between two and three feet high, and projected a little on the street, so that I could see down the street. The Rebels brought Mr. Price near by where I was lying, and some said, "Kill him," and others said, "Spare his life." It was ultimately determined that Captain Grant should be sent for, and I saw a boy run down the street with a torch, and he returned with a man. I heard a voice say, "What colour is your mother?" and Mr. Price replied, "A black woman." The same voice asked him, "What was your father?" and Mr. Price replied, "A black man." The same voice said, "That makes it worse; kill him, kill him," and immediately I heard blows and Mr. Price's appeals for mercy, which became indistinct by degrees, as if he was being led away.

JOHN DUBISSON.

I am a tinsmith; I live at Morant Bay; I was there on 11th October at my shop door; I have known prisoner for years; we were school-fellows; I saw him with a crowd of 400 or 500, coming into the Bay along the Stanton road. Grant was armed with a sword; I heard him call himself Captain Grant. He had on a red sash and a cocked hat. He was among the crowd that entered the station, and he took one of the guns. I saw prisoner enter the parade with a crowd.

ALEXANDER BOTHWELL.

I am a carpenter and special constable of St. Thomas-in-the-East; I live at Spring Garden. On the 10th October I went to Stoney Gut with the policeman, and was one of those made prisoners. I saw William Grant coming out of Paul Bogle's house with a double-barrel gun. As he got near Bogle's chapel, he said, Men, get into the fort and get out your guns. Bogle's chapel was called the fort; over 300 men went into the chapel and got out guns, cutlasses, lances, and sticks. When they came out I saw prisoner place them in rank, and give them orders to the right face and so on. They were blowing shells and playing drums. I heard the Rebels call him Captain Grant.

Examined.

I did not tell you Mr. Cooke sent to tell Bogle he must get up all his men as he had got up all the volunteers from Bath and was coming up to Stoney Gut.

CHARLOTTE E. FRIEND.

I reside at Amity Hall estate in this parish; I am a married woman; my husband's name is William Friend; I know the prisoner, William Parke; on Thursday evening, the 12th of October,

between 4 and 5, I saw him going from his work to Mancheoneal; there was another boy, George Wood, who, I was informed, was shot by the soldiers. As prisoner was going along the road, he said, Come, come on, we will kill all them white man in Mancheoneal, and afterwards we will set to and kill all the Mulattos and Sambos this night. I never saw him after until now.

CATHERINE MCPHERSON.

I reside at Holland estate in this parish; I am a single woman; I know the prisoner William Park; saw him Friday morning, the morning after Mr. Hire was murdered; he was coming down the hill from Mr. Hire's house with a number of Rebels; this was about 9 o'clock in the morning; never saw him after until to-day.

Examined.

Saw you coming from Amity Hall top house; there was such a crowd of people with you I could not see what you had in your hands.

WILLIAM H. SHERWOOD.

I reside at Mancheoneal Bay in this parish. I am a store-keeper. I know prisoner, John Stewart. I saw him on the 14th October last, also William Russell and Richard Knowles; they were with a large mob, about 60 or 70 persons armed with cutlasses and sticks. They entered my shop the previous evening and robbed a portion of my stock; the same parties returned the next morning and demanded the rest of my property which I had to give them; they were armed with cutlasses and sticks. I saw John Stewart; I saw him with a hat on which I identified as the property of Mr. Hinshelwood. Mr. Hinshelwood's house was burnt down the previous night. I asked him how he came by Mr. Hinshelwood's hat. He replied, You see too much, keep your eyes home; moreover, I don't steal it, I pick it up this morning. He also said, On Monday we intend giving that fellow James and Orgill a turn. On the Saturday, on my return from the woods where I was hiding, I met Russell, who said he was coming for me, and that I must allow them to take what they wanted out of my shop; that I must have no fears, they would not harm me, and that they had taken out what they wanted on the previous night and left the balance. Mr. Bunting's house and Mr. Hinchelwood's were burnt down, and all the shops in Mancheoneal plundered.

ISAAC CORNWALL.

I am a shopkeeper and reside at Amity Hall estate in this parish. On the morning of the 13th October among other Rebels I saw with stolen property, was the prisoner Knowles. They all had large bundles on their heads. They were coming from the direction of Mr. Hire's. I know the prisoner, Thomas Wilson. I saw him along with the mob, about 200 persons, coming from Mr. Hire's house on the Friday, the 13th October. It was just before daylight. Prisoner came up to the window of my shop; he was much in liquor. He said, "I am just from the top house," meaning Mr. Hire's house. "As he was going into the house he mashed a person; he drew back and he looked and he "found it was Mr. Hire. He was dead and was lying down in the house;" he then went away.

CHARLES WILLIAM KENTON.

I am a planter and reside at Manchioneal in this parish. I know the prisoner, John Stewart. On Saturday, 14th October, I was going to Darlingford estate to my work. I saw prisoner and another man, since shot; he had a cutlass in his hand and a hat on his head, which I identified as the property of Mr. John Hinshelwood, whose house was burnt. The previous night he said, "He would make the "buckra jump, for he can't walk the public road without they carry him to court to pay his money, "and buckra bother him too much for ground-rent; he will see, now, if he don't get ground to work "for nothing."

WILLIAM MCPHERSON.

I am deputy collector of petty debts and reside at Manchioneal. I know the prisoner, Richard Wilson. I remember Friday, the 13th October. I went to my sister's house. I saw prisoner sitting on the steps. I asked him "When he returned from the river district?" He said, "This morning." I asked him "If it was true that they had killed Mr. Hire?" He said "Yes." I asked him "When?" He said "About 9 o'clock Thursday night." I asked him "If he was there?" He said, "No." I asked him "How he knew they killed Mr. Hire?" He said, "He heard a shell blow, and the people "cry hip, hip, hurrah; he said he was at Holland at the time." On Saturday morning I saw prisoner at the wharf store with about 50 persons; he had a stick in his hand; the others had cutlasses and sticks. Prisoner demanded the keys of the wharf; said "He was determined to break down the store;" the door was subsequently opened by order of Mr. Naylor, the postmaster. The mob rushed in and took out everything. Dick Wilson was among them. Prisoner also said "He had gone to Golden "Grove with the Rebels the Thursday night."

WILLIAM MIDDLETON.

I am a watchman at Holland estate; remember Thursday, the day of the rebellion. Plenty of Rebels came to Holland on that day. Prisoner, Richard Wilson, joined them. They all went into Holland great house. They commenced destroying up the house. Prisoner said "He would mash "the house, because money was in there," and he work and could not get pay. I got frightened and ran away. It was about dark when the Rebels came to Holland.

THOMAS BROWN.

I am a watchman at Holland estate; know prisoner, Richard Wilson ; saw him at Holland on the Thursday of the rebellion ; heard him say he wished the Rebels would make haste come ; heard him say this twice; saw the Rebels come to Holland shortly after ; saw prisoner join them ; saw prisoner go into the house with the Rebels; he had a stick in his hand ; they broke up the house; heard prisoner say he would break up the house for he work in the place and could not get his money.

JAMES MARSHALL.

I am a tailor by trade, and reside at Golden Grove in this parish. On Friday, the 13th October last, I saw the prisoner, Robert Nicholas, at Golden Grove ; he had on an oznaburgh shirt mingled with blood; he was relating in my presence, to one Thos. Forbes, that "we kill Mr. Hire last night." I said, Kill him dead ; prisoner said, "See his blood daub me ;" this was about 10 o'clock in the morning ; I never saw prisoner after until this morning on my way to Morant Bay ; I saw prisoner on the road and took him up ; I said to prisoner, What, are you not dead? he said he had to escape to the woods, otherwise he would be dead. This morning, when Charles N. Robinson and myself attempted to capture him, he nearly killed us with his cutlass.

MARGARET HAMILTON.

I reside at Golden Grove in this parish. I am a single woman. I was attending at Dr. Crowdy when he was sick. He went up on Thursday, the day after the rebellion at Morant Bay, to Amity Hall, the residence of Mr. Hire, for change of air. I went with him. I remember the Rebels coming to Amity Hall that night. While sitting in the room attending on Dr. Crowdy, I heard the Rebels at the works breaking up everything, and shouting out ; they were making a great noise. Shortly after they came up to Mr. Hire, an immense crowd, the Rebels, entered the house. I heard Mr. Jackson say, My people, I am the Queen's magistrate. They said, We know no Queen to-night; the custos is killed, and there is no law. The Rebels broke down the wall of the room in which myself and Dr. Crowdy were, and said, There are some more of them here ; let us kill them. They then set the net of the bed on fire, and I ran out of the room into the hall, and then into another room. Prisoner Robert Nicholas, with lots of people, Rebels, were standing alongside the bed on which Dr. Crowdy and Mr. Jackson were lying. Mr. Jackson was severely wounded. The Rebels said, No distinction ; kill them all. I have not seen the prisoner since until this morning. They gave three cheers, and said, "Sebastapool is taken;" we are going to James Harrison now. After this I got a light, and searched for Mr. Hire. I found him lying on the ground, bleeding. He died about 7 o'clock in the morning. I remained with him until he died.

CATHERINE MCPHERSON.

I know the prisoner, Richard Wilson. Saw him on Friday morning during the rebellion coming down the steps of the barracks at Holland estate. He had a large bundle in his hand. The Rebels had come and gone away at this time. There were several other persons with him carrying bundles also. He was on his way to Mancheoneal when I saw him.

THOMAS FORBES.

I am a labourer, and reside at Golden Grove estate in this parish. I know the prisoner, Robert Nicholas. On the Friday before the soldiers arrived at Golden Grove I was standing by Mr. Kirkland's shop door at Golden Grove, I and James Marshall. I saw prisoner coming from the direction of Hordley with a large bundle on his back. I called him to me. He came to me. I knew him before. I asked him where he was from. He said he was just coming away from Hordley side. I saw blood, plenty blood on his shirt and pantaloons. I said to him, What is the matter with you? You have any cut? Prisoner said, No. I said, How you come by this blood? He said, "We have killed the fellow." I asked him, Who is it? He said, That fellow Hire. James Marshall was standing by, and said to me, Forbes, don't you talk to that fellow ; he is a murderer. Prisoner then said to Marshall, What you say? If you say another word we will know what to do with you. I then said, Go about your business, and he went away.

Examined by Prisoner.

Can't say what was in the sheet.

To his Excellency E. J. EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica.

WE, the petitioners of St. Thomas-in-the-East, do send to inform your Excellency of the mean advantages that have been taken of us from time to time, and more especially at this present time, when on Saturday, 7th of this month, an outrageous assault was committed upon us by the policemen of this parish, by order of the justices, which occasions an outbreaking, for which warrants have been issued against innocent parties, which we were compelled to resist. We therefore call upon your Excellency for protection, seeing we are Her Majesty's loyal subjects, which protection, if refused, we will be compelled to put our shoulders to the wheels, as we have been imposed upon for a period of

"27" years, with due obeisance to the laws of our Queen and country, and as we can no longer endure the same, therefore is our object of calling upon your Excellency, as Governor-in-Chief and Captain of our Island. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

JAMES DACRES.	WM. BOWIE.
—— SMITH.	JAMES M'LAREN.
JAMES BOWIE.	STEPHEN CAMERON.
PAUL BOGLE.	CHAS. MAINE.
JOSEPH KELLY.	ALEXR. BADSON.
MOSES BOGLE.	WM. GRANT.
WM. FORBES.	RICHD. HOWELL.
ARCHIBALD BAILEY.	GEORGE GORDON.
THOMAS GRAHAM.	BRISCOE PATERSON.
WILLIAM BOGLE.	ABM. ANDERSON.

Mr. GRAHAM and other Gentlemen, Morant Bay, 17th October 1865.

IT is now time for us to help ourselves—skin for skin. The iron bar is now broken in this parish. The white people send a proclamation to the Governor to make war, against which we all must put our shoulders to the wheels and pull together. The Maroons sent their proclamation to us to meet them at Hayfield at once without delay; that they will put us in the way how to act. Every one of you must leave your house. Takes your guns; who don't have guns take your cutlasses down at once. Come over to Stony Gut, that we might march over to meet the Maroons at once without delay. Blow your shells, roal your drums house to house to house. Take out every man, march them to Stony Gut, and that you find in the way takes them up, takes them down with their arms. War is at us, my black skin. War is at hand from day to day, to-morrow. Every black man must turn out at once, for the oppression is too great. The white people are now cleaning up their guns for us, which we must prepare to meet them too. Chear, men, chear. In least we looking for you a part of the night or before daybreak.

We are, your truly,
PAUL BOGLE.
J. G. MCLAREN.
B. CLARKE.
P. CAMERON.

Get a bearer to send us an answer to this, for they determined to made us slaves again. When you do come to Stoney Gut or Hayfield, blow your shells, and tell what place you is from first before entered.

E. K. BAILEY.

JOSEPH ROSE.—STATEMENT.

I was employed at Hordley, in St. Thomas-in-the-East. Has been there since childhood. I remember the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East. About a month before that Charles Palmer, who belongs to Haining estate, in that parish, was working in my ground near Hordley. We were talking about running the lines between Hordley and Rilandsfield. Palmer said that Hordley would never get the land. I asked him why. He said that we people were too afraid of buckra. That a week before that, from blood being sprinkle in the chapel at Bellscastle, he know there was going to be a row. I asked him what he meant by blood being sprinkled. He said there was to be a war. He said that God sprinkled the blood. I asked him, Why none of the other members or the minister had seen the blood. He said that Hanes, the person at Bellcastle, but that he was no preacher. He said that Palmer would make a better preacher. I asked him what he meant by war. He said that Queen had said it was quite time for black people to look out for themselves. Palmer was shot at Manchioneal. About three weeks before the outbreak a man named Mitchell told me that Gordon had said to them at a meeting at Airey Castle, at a place called the Tile, but that if he had but a sensible man, he did not care if he were black, brown, or white, to back him, he would do wonders for the black people. After the outbreak I was lying hiding in the bush. I heard a man named Afflick, from Haining, passing with others on their way to Manchioneal. He said it was a good thing that the rebellion did break out at Morant Bay, as, if it had not, it would have broken out at Bath the day of the circuit court, which was the best place, as they would have had all the buckras from Port Antonio, Then Bay, and everywhere like that day; that they would have put guard round the court-house. I heard Afflick and others say that they were going straight on to Manchioneal and to Parson Jones. They were then leaving Mr. Hire's house. I heard Abraham Hans, who has been hanged, say that they must go straight to Parson Jones, as he had lots of money.

ALEXANDER MCCOUTIE.

I am a carpenter by trade, and was residing in Bath, and a member No. 1 Company, commanded by Captain Hitchins. On Tuesday, 10th of October, I was summoned by Captain Hitchins to make myself ready to go to Morant Bay the next morning. I did so. We all started early in the morning, fell in with a number of persons going in the same direction as ourselves with stick and cutlass; at Nuts River there were about 20. When we got to the bay about 11 o'clock, men rode on horseback. Captain Hitchins drove. The bay was then quite quiet. Between 3 and 4 o'clock all the volunteers were in the school-room near court-house sitting down. A son of Rector Cooke galloped into the bay and said, "They are coming down." The bugle sounded immediately, and we fell in in front of court-house. I then saw a large body of people, not far from a thousand, coming on with drums beating; they had sticks, cutlasses, guns, harpoons with two prongs, lances like the Maroon kill hog with, and guns: the latter I afterwards found they had got from the police station, which they had to pass in getting to the parade. They were flourishing their weapons and making a great noise. They came

JAMAICA.

direct upon us volunteers as close as four or five yards from us showering bricks and stones. I received a blow in my stomach from a large brick. Captain Hitchins was struck in the face, and I saw the blood streaming down. I did not see who threw these missiles. Captain Hitchins called out to the custos, "Good God, sir, why don't you read the Riot Act? you are allowing all my men to be killed." Before I and Captain Hitchins had been struck the custos held out a white handkerchief from the window of the court-house, and called out, "Peace, people," "Peace, black people." Many voices answered from the advancing crowd, "We want no peace to-day," and continued their onward movement. The custos was reading the Riot Act and the people continued to shower stones upon us; many were hit that I did not see, but a man named Cowie, a coloured man, was hit on the arm, and was afterwards so injured as to be sent to the hospital. I then heard the word "fire" given by the captain, and we all fired. At first fire four or five persons fell. The rear rank fired twice, the front rank once. I cannot say if the whole of the men in each rank fired. Captain Hitchins then gave the word to retreat into the court-house. Some ran upstairs, some underneath. I was leaning against court-house wall. I was attacked by about a dozen rebels with stick and cutlass. They got me down, beat me with sticks and chopped on the head and forehead and a thrust in my hand; the wound in the head was so severe that the army Dr. Goodman told me the least bit more would have cost me my life. I feigned death and they left me. A servant girl of Parson Cook's, a fair girl, assisted me afterwards on night. I saw nothing more. I had not before the morning of the 11th October heard anything from the people to induce me to expect such an outbreak.

J. W. RUTTIE.—STATEMENT.

I was a private in the body of volunteers who were at Morant Bay on the 11th October last; the corps reached the court-house and were drawn up there in the afternoon. I cannot say at what time. We remained there about two hours before anyone interrupted us, and after that time we went into the school-house. The bugle was sounded and we rushed out, I mean those that were in the school-room, and fell in front of the court-house. Immediately after a large mob rounded the turning and came opposite to us. We cried, "Halt." They did not come in any system or order. When we cried "halt," they stopped. They were armed with cutlasses, sticks, and pistols. They stopped for a few moments and then came on to us again, when one of our bandsmen advanced towards them, extending his arms apparently with the object of making peace, but I did not hear what he said. It was, however, of no avail, as they continued advancing. They pressed forward with drumming and fifing, firing stones. The custos cried, "Peace." They replied, "H–ll peace." The custos was then on the steps. We were not many feet from the court-house. We retreated as the mob advanced, and came with our backs to the wall of the court-house. I was rear rank centre man. At that time stones were fired at us; the mob was very near; my sword-bayonet was knocked off my rifle by a missile; stones were fired at us again, and the order was given to fire; I think by the custos; I did not fire immediately, but on retreating I fired by section; we retreated in one of the rooms in the court-house; that is, the bandsman, Serjeant Harrison, myself, and others; I do not know the size of the room; Lieutenant Hall ordered us to be quiet, and we remained so at the back of one of the jalousie windows; stones were thrown through; we remained till the fire drove us out; about an hour afterwards, while in the room, Lieutenant Hall went to the door and peeped out, when turned round he got a ball through his neck and died immediately; after that several shots were fired; I was not wounded then; Lieutenant Hall was shot in a room in Price's house, near where we were; I don't know how he passed and got there; I fired at a man running after Baron Alfred Kettlehodt; I do not know the effect of the shot as they were all congregated together; I offered my sword to Mr. Hershell, but he refused it; we went to the fort after, and remained there for some time in a little house near the court-house; I was hit with a stone; went into another room where Dr. Gerrard was; the Rebels called out, "Doctor, come out," and I managed to escape; two other volunteers were there; the Rebels asked me who I was, I said, "The doctor's assistant;" they next inquired my name, I told them I was Parson Murray's brother-in-law; they commenced battering me; I called to Dr. Gerrard to save me, but it was of no use; some got behind me, and whilst others were stripping, tripped me down; this was done on the grass between the court-house and the hospital; I fell on my back, with my right hand hanging powerless, and my left over my neck; they commenced pulling my boots off, which was difficult; I thought they would draw off my leg with the boot; I said, They are new boots and will come off, take time; I then assisted them with my left hand to get off the boots; everything else was taken from me; I became insensible, and when I came to myself next morning I saw a body near me, I drew myself on my belly towards it, and on placing my hand on the body I fainted; some time after found myself taking sun; a girl passing said, "Da Mister Ruttie, dis?" I said, Yes, get me some water, I am dying of thirst; I also asked her to give me a few leaves to cover myself from the sun; she went to get the water, when one of the Rebels said, "You eber dare to gib him water or bush;" he dashed the water out of her hands; she, however, passed me and threw me the leaves; they were plenty of Rebels then talking; I do not recollect anything which occurred after until I was picked up, put in a mule cart, and carried to the almshouse, where I remained for six weeks.

GEORGE JAMES ARMSTRONG.

I am a planter, and now reside at Lloyd's estate, in the parish of Saint John. On the 11th day of October 1865, and about a week previously, I was stopping at the house of Mr. Francis Bowen at Coley estate, in the parish of Saint Thomas-in-the-East. On the night of the same day I heard a servant of Mr. Bowen giving an account of the massacre at Morant Bay. On the day following, Thursday, a Mr. Miller, of Serge Island, and a Mr. Drummond, formerly of Serge Island, rode through the yard. I went out, spoke to them; they advised me to take care of myself, and they rode quickly on. After they left, Mr. Bowen's servant removed his clothes and other valuables from the estate in order to secure them. Shortly after I saw a mob of not less than 200 black people, men and women, but principally

men; they came from the Stoney Gut direction. Seeing all this I left the house and went among the cottages of the black people, and a black man named Willis concealed me in his house; whilst there, a few of the Rebels came in, and I heard them describing the atrocities they had committed and the plunder they had made. They passed on. I remained concealed. Another band came in. The man Willis, fearful of their searching his house for me, led me out to the back of his house, and told me to get away. I climbed on the top of some planks that were at the back of the house overhung by the thatch. I heard their voices passing by. The old man Willis came back for me, and I followed him back to the house and remained there until daylight. At daybreak Mr. Bowen's servant sent me a mule, with a guide to show me over the swamps to St. David's. I started the instant he came, but after passing two or three cultivated provision grounds, the guide turned back, alleging that if they saw him assisting me to escape they would take his life. I went back to Willis' house, but he refused to take me in as he would not be safe, whereupon I returned to Mr. Bowen's cottage, and at about 8 o'clock in the morning I saw the Rebels assembled at Coley in great force, sounding bugles, beating drums; most of them had cutlasses. A short time after a few came up to the yard; I heard them jesting, laughing, and making fun. I was then concealed in a bed-room. The few left the yard. A short time after one of Mr. Bowen's servants came and advised me to leave the place as they were coming after me. I left the house and went in the garden and concealed myself behind the plantain suckers. I had not been there five minutes, when I heard a yelling and a shouting down the hill. Not seeing where I could go with any safety, I advanced to meet them; one of them was armed with a rifle, he levelled it at my head, threatening to shoot me if I attempted to move. Two others, one with a new officer's regulation sword and the other with a cutlass, rushed on me and seized me by the arms and called me their prisoner. I then bade them treat me as a prisoner. They took me up to a cottage, placed a guard over me whilst they robbed Mr. Bowen's store. They desired me to go on with them, and on my refusing to walk, they got a mule and placed me on it, and carried me to a place called Font Hill, the property of a black man named Brydon, where they had three other prisoners. The captain of the gang, Stuart, desired me to join them and I would be safe. He said I was to cut my arm and he would cut his, and we were to taste each other's blood as a pledge. I refused to do it, and the band left me in custody of the three prisoners and some Rebels around them. On the Sunday after the leaders of the rebellion came, and one of them, named Dacres, after some conversation with me, told me I was at liberty to go, but as I got no person to show me the way, and as the whole place was supposed to have been surrounded with the Rebels, I could not take advantage of his generosity. The day after, Monday, Cowell, one of the Rebel leaders came, and told me the white troops were coming over the Monkland's Hills, burning down right and left; that Bogle was in advance with an armed band to offer battle, but he had persuaded him against it. On the Tuesday Mr. Bowen wrote to one of his book-keepers, he was one of the three prisoners, and I took the advantage of going out with him to Coley, and from there I got to Morant Bay. Whilst I was at Brydon's house I swore in the three prisoners and several other black people as special constables. I am a justice of the peace for Saint Mary. I got to Morant Bay, and on Friday I went with Mr. Bowen to Coley; we armed ourselves as best we could; we passed the market where the 6th Royals had halted, and we saw a great number of prisoners, amongst them was Stewart; I pointed him out to the officers, and gave evidence against him, and I since heard that he had been shot and hanged, and his house burnt down. I witnessed several executions and floggings. When Dacres released me he told me he had ordered my capture, as they thought it was Mr. Elfwick, from Belvidere, to protect me from the Maroons, who they expected momently to join them; that they would spare nobody who was not of their gang; he also told me that Bogle had given orders that no more lives should be taken.

Baron ALFRED VON KETELHODT.

I was son-in-law of the late Baron; was at Morant Bay on the 11th October last; was there with the rest of the magistrates; was not myself a magistrate; went with my father-in-law. About half-past 3 o'clock I heard of the people coming. I do not know exactly how many were there. The volunteers were drawn up outside the building. I heard horns at about half-past 3 o'clock. The people came against the court-house. I was standing on the steps outside the court-house. My father-in-law read the Riot Act. In the beginning he paused. They came on so fast it was impossible to speak much. The stones came directly. I do not recollect well, but think the Baron did speak to the people. Some minutes elapsed from the time they made their appearance till they came up. The Baron would not allow them to fire, but they had to fire. I heard them fired, for we were forced back and had to retire into the court-house. We were besieged. Stones came through the windows. Shots were fired. I jumped out of the window and tried my best to get out of the way of the Rebels. I went out to get to Oxford. I several times had to change my road. I ran. They could not catch me. I got away as early as a quarter past 4 o'clock. I tried to get on to Oxford, but I found I could not get on, when I saw a negro, and he saved my life. He was Rector Cooke's servant. He was going to the court-house, and he met me. He took me into the buggy, and turned back and took me to the rectory. I was there about half an hour. Several ladies were there. We left at half-past 5 o'clock, and went to the Rev. Mr. Parnther's house. It was not very far from the rectory. Mr. Georges and Rector Cooke were there. We remained there all night. Mr. Cooke's servant went to Morant Bay for Mr. Cooke. We left at about 11 o'clock next day. Mr. Parnther's house is about 20 minutes' walk from the court-house. I saw about 20 people at one time with cutlasses. They occupied the width of the road, so that I could not pass. I did not see any other arms besides cutlasses. I passed the four men at the bridge. They did not interrupt me. I saw about 20 people on the road to Oxford, and I thought it was impossible to get on, and the buggy came up, and I got in and was saved. I saw the body of one of the Cooke's. He was brought up to Mr. Parnther's, and in about quarter of an hour he died. I arrived at the rectory at about half-past 4 o'clock, and left at half-past 5. I don't know what became of the man who rescued me. I don't know if he is alive.

Mrs. Shortridge's Statement.

I live at Plantain Garden River. I was there on the 11th October last. I left on the next day. No people had come up to the house, but I heard that people were coming there. I saw the estates, people hoisting flags on bamboos. The people had left their work, and there was great violence. We were all in consternation and fear; they left us between 11 and 12 o'clock. Mr. Harrison sent Mr. Chisholm for us. He ordered the horses to be harnessed and put to the carriage, and he told us the Rebels were coming, and we left, the governess, the nurse, myself, and six children. I left the house with two women servants, black girls. I went to Hardley, about two miles away. As we passed the negroes said, "Where you are going to? it is bush you want run to?" We remained at Hardley till that night, when the Rebels came. Mr. Harrison, Mr. Chisholm, and all the young men from the adjoining estates were there. We were taken out of the house into the bush. There were a large party of us, and about 10 children. We remained in the bush from between 11 and 12 o'clock that night till daybreak. We heard them say, "Blood we want, we want blood." I heard them chopping, and some said, "Let us go to "Holland." Some said, "Let us go to Plantain Garden River." A man had brought a piece of yam in his basket, and gave us, but we could not eat. We got to a river, and saw a well-dressed man, and we were frightened, but made bold, and asked him to cross us over to Golden Grove. He said, "Missis, "to cross you over to Golden Grove I may as well put you in the hands of the Rebels." We asked him to allow us to stay in his shop, but he said we would not be safe there. Got to a hut, and asked the old man if he would save us from the Rebels; he said, "My buckra, save you, yes, come in;" and he made his wife sweep away the ashes; and she put us on her bed. I got to the Rhine, and was one of the party escorted by Captain Luke to the "Wolverine." There were two cottages in which I took refuge that night. The old woman's name is Ciron; the man's name is John Mew. The man who went for us to Mr. Hordley, his name is Wood. He is a dark brown man. From Thursday night to Friday evening we had had nothing till we got this bread-fruit, and we got nothing till we got to the Rhine, neither us nor the children.

W. P. Georges.

I am custos of St. David, and a member of assembly for the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and a magistrate of the same parish. In consequence of some information I received on the 10th of October, I went to Morant Bay on the following day. The St. David's police were sent, but were not in attendance. The vestry assembled, and several times during our sittings we were interrupted by noises, but at last a report was given that a mob was coming to the Bay. At half-past 3 or a quarter to 4 o'clock, we heard horns and shells, and a great noise. I was sitting beside the Baron at the time. I jumped up and ran out, and I saw a large mob approaching the court-house. I returned and told the Baron he had better stop the business; I saw about 500 or 600 people, armed with cutlasses, muskets, guns, and bludgeons. They were scattered, and came in through the three different entrances to the square. They approached, and the Baron read the Riot Act. The Baron kept approaching to them, and said, If they had any grievances to let him know, and they should be remedied. When they reached to nearly 25 yards from the court-house, they commenced to throw missiles, and the Baron and several others were struck. Captain Hitchins turned round and said, "Baron, shall I fire?" The Baron said, "Yes!" They fired, and some staggered and fell. The volunteers were then overpowered, and were driven into the court-house, and the volunteers returned the fire. I saw it getting desperate, and I escaped and got into the committee-room. We were surrounded on all sides. At a quarter past 5 the school-room was set on fire. It was a still, quiet day, and it burned for an hour and a half. Then the court-house was set on fire. The Baron, Mr. Herschell, Mr. Hitchins, the rector, &c., were in the court-house. We remained as long as we could, then left. The first person who left was Mr. Walton. Shortly after that we heard that he had been captured and killed. I saw Baron Alfred and a man following him with a musket. I said to a volunteer, "Can't you fire on that man?" he has fired at the Baron. Others came to where we were. They followed us, and fired into the building where we were. The volunteers had one or two rounds and kept them off. They then set fire to the building. We were about 17 in number. I found it was no use remaining there. Mr. Herschell proposed that we should have prayer, but the shots came pouring in. We then proposed to leave. As we left, the Baron and I were struck at the same time. I received a gun-shot wound in the thigh, and a little boy of Mr. Alberga's was also shot. The Baron and I then shook hands and we parted. As we proceeded I got a second and a third shot; I then got under some penguins; then I moved on somewhere else. I then saw Mr. Price going into a kitchen, and I asked him to open the door. We got in, and they began to fire through some loop-holes. I said, "Well, Price, you are a nigger, and there is some chance of your escaping" and he said "Well, Georges, the chances are I may escape." I shook hands, gave him my watch to give to Mrs. Georges for my youngest boy now at college, and ran from the window to a large bed of penguins. This was about half-past 9 o'clock. I remained there till 1 o'clock. On the following morning I saw the bodies of the rector's two sons, Arthur and Alexander Cooke, and Mr. Herschell's; they had been chopped to pieces; I mean they had received a great number of wounds, about 25. Mr. Herschell's throat was cut from ear to ear; his mouth was wrenched open with a stick, and it appeared as if his tongue was out. Where I laid I heard many things. They brought Price within three yards of where I was. One said, "Chop the d——d nigger down." One said "No, we have orders to "chop only white and brown;" and another said, "No, we may get into trouble." They tied him and took him away. I heard shrieks, but I could see nothing. I remained there for about five hours, and I escaped and got to the rectory, where I hoped to find my wife and child. When I got near the rectory I was surrounded by 11 people. They said, "Who is that?" I said, "Friend." They said, "No friend at all; he is a white man; chop him down," when a man approached me. I took out a pistol that I had got from Mr. Price. I fired the contents of the pistol in his face. They ran and I ran up the hill. This was about 20 yards from the rectory. I expected to find my wife there, but I did not find anyone, so I shut the door and remained there for the night. I received three wounds, one from a bullet, one from a pebble, and one from piece of a pipe.

GEORGE FULLER OSBORNE.

I am one of the police force of Morant Bay. Was in October last. On Tuesday the 10th went from Morant Bay to Stoney Gut. Five policemen and myself, with two rural constables went with a warrant, signed by Justice McPherson, for the apprehension of Paul Bogle and 25 others. The distance is miles; took us three hours to go there; it is mostly up-hill. We met people all the way, and they advised us not to go, as the people were determined. I did go. I was in charge of the force. I went to Paul Bogle's yard, and one of the policemen pointed him out to me. I said, Good morning, Mr. Bogle. He said, Good morning, what do you want? I said, You are perfectly right when a man enters your premises to ask what you want. I have a warrant against 26 of you. We are all subject to the laws of the country, and I think you will speak to the others, and I will give you any indulgence. He said, Read it. It was read and he would not go. I said, I am surprized at you, Mr. Bogle, to refuse to obey a warrant signed by a Justice of the Peace. He said he would not go. Some of the policemen said, Let us go, and I put my hand upon him and called for the assistance of the other policemen, and he threw my hand off and cried out, "Help, men," and suddenly he was surrounded by 500 men. There was a cane piece and a meeting house there. They came from the meeting house. They had sticks, and cutlasses, and one gun. Then they commenced to beat drums and blow shells. The rest of the men ran away, and when I attempted to move off, he said "Hold that man," and they held me and Jacobs. But he asked me if I was a Maroon? I said yes; and he said "Don't hurt that man, he is a Maroon," and he slung me on one side and his wife on the other side. They then brought up another policeman and they told us to take an oath to join our colour. They then gave us a Bible. Paul Bogle did and said, "You swear to join your colour, so help you God." They took away our handcuffs and caps and took off the P's. They then said "We won't kill our colour, we would be brutes, but let Walton come." They let us go about two or three o'clock. I was examined by the Baron the same evening. We had no arms but our staves. We had handcuffs, but they did not use them. When I held Bogle I said, Put on the handcuffs here, but none was produced. Mr. Walton sat as a magistrate on the Saturday, when Geohagen was arrested. I was at Morant Bay on the Wednesday. I was in the station. The same people that were at Stoney Gut entered Morant Bay with drums and cutlasses; I recognized several of them. I saw Paul Bogle. I was in the station. They commenced to mash down the sashes. They took down the arms and handcuffs. We had 11 guns and some pistols and bayonets. There was no ammunition. I saw Paul Bogle outside; and as I got through the window he got hold of me, but I got away into the bush. I could see the court-house. I heard the guns firing, and I saw the volunteers and the people together. I saw about five people put fire to the school-house. They put fire upon a stick, and put it to the roof. There were not less than 400 or 500 people. On Thursday morning I came out the bushes. At about three o'clock on Thursday morning the noise was over; I did not see when they left. From the spot where I stood it was about five minutes' walk. I came out of the bush, and stood in Mr. Cooke's yard where I could see anything. I am senior serjeant of police.

MRS. PATERSON'S STATEMENT.

On Thursday, 12th October last, we heard that the Negroes had murdered all the white and coloured people who were at Morant Bay attending vestry the previous day, but did not believe it; however after that, the same morning, Mr. Paterson, my husband, received three messages from different persons, saying, a large number of men and women were at barracks four miles from Monklands, on their way up to Monkland, to cut off Mr. Paterson's head, and telling him to leave the place. I then begged him to leave Monklands, but he did not till the Rebels were about a mile from the house. I went with him, but a heavy rain came on, and I returned, but had not been in the house more than 20 minutes when the Rebels came in sight. I got so alarmed at their yelling I left the house with seven of our own people. They took me into the bush, and remained with me till about 10 o'clock at night, when the Rebels left. One of my servants came to where we were hiding, and told me they had all gone, leaving a message they would be back over night for Mr. Paterson. They also told this woman that I should not have left the house, as they would not harm me; it was my husband they wanted. I then returned to the house with the people, and found all the doors forced open, both at Top House and cottage, all the stores and shops plundered, viz., dry goods, ironmongery, salt provisions, and liquors. On Friday morning, 13th, a great many of the Rebels, armed with guns, cutlasses, pistols, bayonets fixed upon sticks, &c., came up to the house. I was standing at the kitchen door when a man named Lawrence M'Laren, one of the Rebels, ran past me with a gun in his hand, saying, I'll do it myself; I'll have him; he went to the front door. I then went into the house. I asked him what he wanted. He said, I want Mr. Paterson. I replied, Mr. Paterson left this yesterday. He did not believe me. I said, will you believe me if I swear to you that this is true? to which he made no answer. I then went through all the rooms in the house with him, and he seemed satisfied that Mr. Paterson was not there. Just as he went out the house Job Robertson and Gibbert Williams, both carrying guns, came asking the same question as M'Laren, viz., for Mr. Paterson, and they received the same answer. These three men were much excited, but not from drink. They said, I must give them Mr. Paterson's gun and all the powder he had. They made me march for the latter, and I found a small quantity with some shot, which they took away. They insisted on having a gun, and said there was one in the coffee store. I went to the works with them, and asked them not to break the door, as I could not get it repaired, and as there was coffee in the store it would be taken away. I told them to try and get in by the window, which they did by breaking it, and after a long march they found the gun. They then hurrahed for some time. I returned to the shop with them, and they took out what they wanted. They remained about the shop till 2 o'clock, leaving a guard to prevent anything being taken away but by their own party. Saturday morning, the 14th, hearing the troops were at Arntully, I went there, to be under their protection. I remained there all night. On Friday, 13th October last, when the Rebels were at Monklands, I asked two or three of them what it was they wanted? One of them said, I want, I want, I do not know what I want. I said, Is it land you want, and is it at New Monklands you want it? He said, Yes. I then told him that any land there not in coffee I would give it to them, but any

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with coffee I could not. They made no reply. I also offered them Sherly Castle, with a large house and 300 acres of land attached to it, and get the title made out and sign it for Mr. Paterson and myself. They seemed to be thinking about it. I said, You had better go outside and consult with the parties out there, and after being away for about 10 minutes they returned, and told me they could not take it without consulting their captain, who was at Morant Bay.

Henry Good.

I am a policeman. Was at Morant Bay on the 11th October last. I was in the police station. The distance from the court-house is about 50 yards. A large body of men entered it about two or three o'clock in the afternoon. I was on duty on the main street. One man, Lake, was on station guard. I was outside, not far. When the people came Mr. Arthur Cooke galloped in, and said, The rebels are coming with cutlasses. As they came they knocked me down with a stick. As I stepped from the station guard they knocked me down inside the station. I took my gun, and they knocked me down, and took away my gun, and chopped me, and wanted to cut off my head, and two women asked them not to cut off my head, and they left me, and I lost my senses, and afterwards the women took me away. I heard them taking the pins off the racks, and stoning the station. I was hid in the privy of Mr. Grant's premises. I recovered myself about six o'clock. I remained there, and the woman said they were coming to look for me; and the woman dragged me away to the fence side. I heard Duncan Stewart say to Mr. Price, "Charles Price, don't, you are a nigger." He said, "Yes; but don't you "know that because you get into the House and into the vestry you don't count niggers? Do you ever "take a looking-glass and look into your face? We will keep a guard over you till before day." Then a woman said "We work for him, and he won't pay us; and we burn bricks for him, and he "don't pay us; don't keep him till before day." Then they commenced to beat him, and he to cry for mercy. Next morning I saw his head battered. Thursday, I was taken to the hospital. After they had killed Mr. Price they came back with carts, and commenced to break Mr. Mark's shop, and then said they are going to Bath. I was about 20 feet from them. They said, "We will go to Bath to-"morrow morning, and kill every white man we meet, and Mr. Hire." That was all I heard. I remained in hospital for about five days.

Junius Hibbert's Statement.

I reside at Comfort Castle, near Somerset, in this parish. In the month of August last I saw Francis Graham send one of his grandsons with a mule to Stoney Gut to bring George Clarke to Somerset. George Clarke came. When he came he went into the meeting house at Somerset, Baptist meeting house. I was passing by and heard singing. I went in after they had finished singing. George Clarke said, "I come here this night to tell you the secret of the white men them." He said, "Mr. "Cooke, the rector, and his son, the clerk of the peace, had all the money for the small pox; and "Mr. Cooke gave 5*l.* to Mr. Bowen, and 5*l.* to Mr. Miller, and 5*l.* to Mr. Paterson; and we must try "and get some of the money too." There were plenty of people at the chapel. Daniel McLaren, who was chairman, got up out of his chair, and said, "I am going to Mr. Bowen for a part of it." Clarke said, "If you don't get it you must use my name," and if any thing took place he would second it. McLaren said, "Mr. Downey, my overseer, stop me from working my ground, by this and Christmas "we will make some of the white fellows take off their shoes and walk barefooted." Mr. Bailey said, "I won't say anything against the white man, for the black man oppress me, and the white man I never "feel any oppression from any of them." Clarke said he must go out of the meeting, for he was speaking against his own colour. Bailey still sat down, and Clarke said, "The secret I have to purge to you "this night I won't purge it, for there is too much people in the meeting don't like to hear it." He called up a collection. They all threw up money. Clarke took the money. Can't say what the collection was, for James McLaren took down all their names. I then went away to Island Head. The next day I went to Mr. Downie, my overseer, and told him that last night I had attended a meeting at Somerset, and that the black spoke badly of the white men. On a Monday in the month of October, two days before the rebellion at Morant Bay, there was another meeting at Somerset in the chapel. I did not attend the meeting, but heard the singing. On Tuesday morning I met one of the young men who had attended the meeting; and I asked what kind of meeting they had last night. He said the secret they told him at the meeting he could not tell even his mother. His name is Thomas Reid. He told me that James McLaren was there. On Tuesday night when I returned home from my work my wife told me that she heard a drum sound at the cross road, near to Somerset, and shells blowing, and that all the young men from Somerset had gone on to Stoney Gut; and I asked her what for, she said she did not know. Wednesday following, about 11 o'clock at night, I heard people making a great noise, and blowing shells. I jumped out of my house immediately, and saw before my door about 20 men. I asked them what was the matter, and they told me that they had had a fight at Morant Bay, and killed all the buckras. Among those men I saw a boy named Thomas Prince. He had a watch in his hand, he said to his mother, See I have the watch of that fellow Price. Amelia McLaren with whom I live told me that Archibald Graham, his cousin, is a captain to command the men to go to Stoney Gut. She told me this the Tuesday before the rebellion. On Saturday after the rebellion Archibald Graham and a lot of the fighting men from Morant Bay came to me at Somerset, and took me as their prisoner. They carried me to the Baptist chapel at Mount Lebanus before Paul Bogle. He was surrounded by a lot of men with rifles. Graham said, "This is "one of the fellows who joined the white men." Bogle then said, "After we kill all the white men "we shall kill down to the Sambo; they will be the last we will kill." He called out, "Well, Captain "Graham, I want you to go up to Monklands with some of your soldiers." Graham said, "I have "had a pain in my knee since I came from Morant Bay; but take that fellow, Junius Hibbert, with "the rest of the men to Monklands." They compelled me to take a gun, and I went on with them to Monklands.

BROOKS COOKE'S STATEMENT.

On the 11th day of October 1865, between the hours of three and four o'clock he was at the court-house at Morant-bay, when his brother, Mr. A. D. Cooke (since murdered) came galloping into the Parade and informed all there in the court-house that a large body of negroes were coming into the bay from the Stanton Road. In less than 15 minutes afterwards the police station was entered into by them, and all the arms taken out and the police put to flight; they then came into the Parade dancing, shouting, and holding up the rifles they had taken possession of. The custos, Baron Von Kettelholdt, on seeing them entering the Parade called to the Clerk of the Peace to bring him the Riot Act, which he immediately read to the advancing crowd, numbering some 500 or 600 persons, and who were slowly advancing to where the volunteers were drawn up, and from their continued shouting were evidently bent on mischief. When the crowd was about midway into the Parade the custos desired a man by the name of George McIntosh to go out to them and ascertain what they wanted, but they still persisted in coming up, and when about five or six yards distant from the volunteers they poured in a volley of stones and brickbats, wounding several of the volunteers. The order was then given to "fire," and several among the rioters were shot and wounded; this checked them for a moment, when they again renewed their attack on the volunteers, trying to take their rifles from them. The volunteers then, finding that the pressure of the crowd was so great, and that they had no power to use their rifles, were obliged to retire into the court-house, when another volley of brickbats were showered at them. Immediately on their entering the court-house the doors were closed to prevent the rioters from entering. On finding that the rioters were bent on murder I immediately jumped through one of the windows of court-house; on alighting on the ground I found that I had sprained both my ankles. I was then attacked by a black man, who had a rifle with a sword bayonet attached in his left-hand, and a stout pimento stick in his right; he then commenced beating me most unmercifully, but on his looking up towards the court-house windows he saw a rifle levelled at him; he then left me and went round the fort, and again attacked me as I was endeavouring to make my escape down the hill leading to the wharf. He continued to beat me until I got in the road, when, on regaining my legs, I saw standing close to me a black man, to whom I appealed for protection, and which he immediately rendered me; had it not been for this man, who proved to be a Maroon, I must in all human probability have been murdered. He then, at the risk of his life, assisted me to the wharf and had me placed on board the sloop "Eleanor," then lying at anchor in the harbour, and from which place I witnessed the brutal murder of Mr. John Walton, by at least about a dozen ruffians who continued beating him for at least about a quarter of an hour; I saw also when the court-house and school rooms were burning, and heard the rioters shouting during the night.

Reverend STEPHEN HOPE COOKE'S Statement.

On the 11th of October the vestry met at the usual hour, about 11 o'clock, a.m. Everything went on quiet enough till about four o'clock, when information was received that there were fully 300 of these people concealed in the Baptist chapel on the road leading to the Blue Mountain valley. Soon after we heard they had, on learning the volunteers had come down from Bath, left; it was supposed for re-enforcements, which proved to be the fact In about half an hour afterwards, having already told what I had heard to the custos, I urged him to close the proceedings, but he made light of it. In about ten minutes after this I heard the sound of a drum and fife, when I said "Baron they are coming," and on rising from my seat and looking out on the square I saw the head of the columns, consisting of at least five or six hundred persons, men and women, armed with guns, sticks, cutlasses, and stones, the latter brought from Stoney Gut; known to be so, as there are not any stones of the kind to be found either in the town or neighbourhood of Morant-bay, and it being a fact that the majority of these persons came from Stoney Gut. When the custos called upon the inspector to get the police armed he stated the Rebels had got into the station and possessed themselves of the arms. I believe a man named Good can give fuller details of the disarming of the station previously to their coming to the court-house. It must be borne in mind that this army of Rebels was not composed only of persons residing at Stoney Gut, numbers came from John's Town, Dumfries, Bon Hill, Nutts River, Stanton, Wood Hall, Thornton, York, Spring Garden, and other places, settlements. This proves combination. Parties of from one to two hundred from John's Town and Dumfries marched in a body nightly months before to Stoney Gut. I was standing on the steps of the court-house close to the custos, who called upon the people to know what they wanted. This was answered by a volley of stones and broken bottles, and it was only then that the custos, having commanded them to keep the peace, commenced reading the Riot Act. At this moment one of my sons, Alexander, drew me by force into the court-house lest I should be killed. Some of the volunteers being wounded the order to fire was given, but before this there was a man of the name of McIntosh in the court-house standing near the custos who called upon him to go to the people and ask them what they wanted, and it was not till the custos ordered him to go that he left; but he did not go to the people as a peacemaker, he in fact joined them and was subsequently proved to be one of the head ringleaders with whom Gordon had kept up a constant correspondence for months past. He was afterwards tried as a Rebel and executed. The volunteers having fired a volley the mob made a rush at them, and they having no time to reload took shelter in some of the rooms under the court-house; then the building was regularly besieged. Volley after volley of stones soon destroyed all the windows. This continued some time, when the rebels left the square to obtain more stones and ammunition. The former I believe they obtained from the district prison, from which they liberated about 50 prisoners, and the latter from the store of Mrs. Lundy under fear of death. It was during this lull the volunteers that had taken shelter under the court-house came up stairs that I left it to go to the rectory. When I had gone about half way down the hill on the Wharf Road I was attacked by six or eight men and some women. It was here my younger son Arthur who had followed me was brutally murdered within a few yards of where I was standing. I defended myself with a stout stick I had in my hand for some time, but I must have been murdered had not a man rushed up at the moment, and throwing his arms over my head, my hat

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having been knocked off, declaring they should not strike me. He then carried me forward with his body covering mine and fairly lifted me into my carriage, which my faithful groom had brought down in awaiting for me should I try to escape by that road. I may observe this same servant had a short time before been the means of saving the young Baron Alfred Von Kettleholdt by calling him just as he was about throwing himself over a precipice into the sea, to jump into my carriage, and driving him to the rectory and then returning in the hope of saving myself. The court-house was not fired for I should think for more than two hours after. But of this I cannot speak with accuracy or be expected to do so in the state of mind I was then in. I may observe that the day before we had a meeting of the building committee, and it is a remarkable fact that from these meetings and those of the vestry Mr. Gordon never before was known to absent himself until on this occasion, nor can I remember any vestry ever since Bogle's son-in-law George Clarke was ever absent until that day.

IN THE COURT HELD UNDER SPECIAL COMMISSION, KINGSTON, JANUARY 1866.

THE QUEEN AGAINST BOGLE AND OTHERS.—FOR FELONIOUS RIOTS.

Copy of Evidence.

HON. EDWARD JORDON.

I am Government Secretary, and was so under Governor Eyre. This letter was brought to the Secretary's office; it was handed to me; I sent it to Governor Eyre; I think it was on the 11th October I received it; it was about 12 o'clock; I got it back from Governor Eyre the same day, with minutes. I answered it next day, post day, according to the Governor's instructions; it was the first post; that was Thursday; the letter was addressed to James Dacres; I have some recollection of a receipt of a letter from the Baron, but not on what day.

JONATHAN THOMAS.

I am orderly at King's House, Spa. Town. I was stationed in Spa. Town in October last, I remember being there on Wednesday, 11th October. I saw a person coming to King's House. I received a letter from a man; I gave it to Mr. Jordon. (Francis Gordon identified as the man who gave the letter.)

FRANCIS GORDON.

I remember taking a letter to the Government House, Spa. Town; it was a Wednesday, 11th October. I went to Stony Gut on Tuesday; Paul Bogle gave it to Onslow, Onslow asked me to walk with him. It was the Tuesday before the rebellion. I saw plenty of people in Bogle's yard; I heard the shell blowing in Bogle's yard. I saw Fuller, a policeman, there, and other policemen; I saw them in Bogle's house sitting down; their hands were free; there was no guard; they were not handcuffed; Foster the constable was there also. I am not well qualified with the people up there. I see plenty of people there, but I don't know them. I know William Grant; I did not see him there. I did not see William McGregor, nor Henry Theophilus Bogle, there. I heard the shell and thought it was fire burn, and I went there. I know Henry T. Bogle; he lives at Church Corner. I did not get pay to take the letter to Spanish Town. I saw Moses Bogle there; I was not near by when Bogle gave Onslow the letter. I don't know how long the policemen were kept there; I saw Fuller outside; I saw nothing upon their hands when I went there. I did not stop there long; I did not see them tied. I had never been at Bogle's before; I have met him in the road; I was living at Church corner. I know Henry Bogle, Thomas Graham, Alexander Murray, Wm. McGregor, Joshua Gordon, Edw. Gordon. I did not see any of them at Stoney Gut. They live at Church Corner; Church Corner is about 1½ miles from Stoney Gut. I never said what Mr. Lindo read in the paper. They were eating breakfast in the house. I never saw any handcuffs. I live at Stanton; it is about a mile from Stoney Gut.

WM. ONSLOW.

I remember the day of the trouble at Morant-bay; it was on the 11th October. The day before, the 10th, I went to Stoney Gut; it was in consequence of bearing a shell blow. I saw lots of people; I don't notice the people; I saw William Fuller, a policeman, and another one, Osborne Fuller. The police were into Paul Bogle's house; there is a chapel there. I saw William Fuller and another policeman handcuffed. Francis Gordon was in the Mill house. The handcuffs were police handcuffs. I saw Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle. I did not see James Dacres. Paul Bogle gave me a letter; he said I must take it to Spa. Town to the Governor. I and Francis Gordon took it to Spa. Town; when I got to Spa. Town I got fever; I gave the letter to Mr. Gordon; he delivered it. I was not at Morant-bay on the 11th. I know Wm. Grant. I have been to Stoney Gut before, but never went to Bogle's house before. Paul Bogle gave me 4*s.* 6*d.* to take the letter; he gave me the letter in the yard before all the people. There was no fire at Stoney Gut. It was about after 2 o'clock, I left Stoney Gut.

WM. FULLER.

I am a policeman of St. Thomas-in-the-East; I was so on 10th October last. I and five policemen, went to Stoney Gut; Robt. McKay, Wm. Lake, Andrew Miles, Geo. Fuller Osborne, Geo. Jacobs, and one rural constable. I had a warrant against Paul Bogle and others, Lewis Miller, Wm. Grant, Henry Theophilus Bogle, James Geohegan, and other prisoners not here. I went to Paul Bogle's yard; I saw him; I read the warrant; I saw William Grant there. I know Mr. Ford; he came up after I went there. Robert McKay read the warrant: Paul Bogle said to read the warrant; Bogle refused to go. Serjeant Osborne clapped him on the shoulder and said, Mr. Bogle, you are my prisoner. Wm. Grant bawled out in a loud voice, Turn out men from cane fields. About 300 men turned out of the cane piece and Bogle's chapel. Bogle said "Help here, men." We were trying to make our escape, when Wm. Ford caught me back of the neck. About 20 of them beat me with sticks; they carried me into Bogle's house; they handcuffed me; it was our own handcuffs. Bogle gave me a Bible; he said I must swear; I must take the oath; he said if I don't kiss it, he will take off my head. Bogle said to-day is late, but to-morrow is a vestry at the bay, I expect coming down on them. Wm. Grant was the one giving orders; he had a double barrel gun; they had a drum beating and marching up and down; they were drilling; they called him Captain Grant. Wm. Ford was there until I came away; he was the first man that held me. I saw Wm. Onslow there; I was in the house when I saw him. I was a prisoner there the whole day; from about 7 in the morning to 4 in the evening. I saw him get the letter from Bogle; I did not know where he was going with it. I saw Francis Gordon. When he saw me I had handcuffs on; he saw the handcuffs on me.

Examined by Henry Theophilus Bogle.

I saw you at Stoney Gut; I saw you and William Bogle drinking gunpowder in a glass. I recognized you drinking gunpowder in Bogle's house on 10th October. When I fetched you down you were already pardoned. I might not have been in place when Mr. Ramsay asked for witness against you. It was slipped out of my remembrance.

Examined by William Ford.

I saw your hand on me at Stoney Gut. You ran from Bogle's yard. You caught me back of my neck. I had to beg you to save my life. Robert Pinnock said, If you kill Fuller to-day you will have to kill me and him together. You were the one caught me back of my neck. I never went into your yard. I never asked you for breakfast.

Examined by William Grant.

You had on a little cap and a jacket like that you have on now. You and Bogle were the only two in Bogle's yard when I went there.

By the Court.

I don't know Thomas Graham.

The 10th October, put in evidence and read.

JAMES FOSTER.

I am a rural constable. I was so on the 10th October last. I went to Stoney Gut on that day with some policemen. I went to Paul Bogle's house. A warrant was read. Paul Bogle said he would not go. He then sang out, Men, turn out. I saw no one there at that time but P. Bogle. As soon as the shell blow, drums roll, the men turned out from all sides of the house and the chapel; over 300 men, with cutlasses and sticks. I then saw H. T. Bogle, Ennis Napier, Benjamin Bingling. I hear Capt. Grant's name called there; he was called Capt. Grant. I don't know him. I was a prisoner inside the house. I was tied. I was offered a drink of gunpowder and rum. Paul Bogle ordered it to be given to me. I refused it. I was sworn. I saw drilling going on. I saw Colonel Bowie and Captain Dacres. I saw H. T. Bogle with a double barrel gun in his hand. I also saw him take a drink. He said he had a great mind to put the gun into me. I asked them what I must kiss the Bible for? They said to join them. P. Bogle said the day he came down to the bay if he saw me there among the white people, so help him God he will kill him. Colonel Bowie and Capt. Dacres drilled them. I was kept there the whole day. They said they would take my head off if I did not kiss the book. After I kissed the book I was let go. The whole of us took the oath and were released. I was at Morant Bay on the 11th October. He said, So help me God, and kissed the book. About seven of them were in the house, speaking in a lingo I do not understand. Seven other men kissed the book before me. They drank a dram of rum and gunpowder. I was told the oath was to join them against the white people. My handcuffs and staff were taken away from me.

Examined by H. T. Bogle.

I saw you bring a double barrel gun into the house where I was at Stoney Gut. The gun was loaded; it had on caps. It was taken away from you by your uncle. I was put into a back room; there are two rooms in the house. I don't know where you got the gun from. I was at home at Duhaney Penn during martial law. I was sick during that time.

Examined by B. Bingling.

I saw you at Stoney Gut part of the day.

By the Court.

I was loose then.

ALEXANDER BOTHWELL.

I am a constable; I was so on the 10th October last. I live at Spring Garden; it is near Stoney Gut. I know old Bailey's meeting house at Spring Garden. I was asked to take an oath there. I went

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with the police to Stoney Gut on 10th October. I went with five policemen and two rural constables They had a warrent for Paul Bogle. Bogle said he would not go. I saw Henry T. Bogle, Sampson Champney, Wm. Grant, Joshua Gordon, Wm. Ford, Peter O'Hagan, Robert Pinnock, and Sarah Johnson. I did not see Benjamin Bingling there. Policeman Osborne put his hand on Bogle's shoulder and said You are my prisoner. Bogle call out "Men." A lot of men ran out of the cane pieces and chapel with sticks and lances. Lances were made of long sticks with pieces of old iron sharpened and put on the end. I saw Fuller made a prisoner. I was also made a prisoner by Moses Bogle, who handed me to another man to be kept in charge. Some women told the men to let me go; I got away. The cane pieces were Paul Bogle's. Some of the people were in Bogle's chapel; they had been hiding in the fields. On the 11th I saw Sarah Johnson standing up in front of my gate at Spring Garden. I did not speak to her. She said, Every mulatto is to be killed as well as the whites. She was about 2½ miles from Morant-bay. I know William Grant well. I saw him drilling the people at Stoney Gut on the 10th. He said "Men, go into the fort and take out your arms." They went into Bogle's chapel. They called him Captain Grant. I heard of Colonel Bowie, Captain Cameron, Captain Gen. Paul Bogle.

Examined by H. T. Bogle.

I saw you at your uncle's yard with a stick in your hand.

Examined by Sampson Champney.

I know you. I saw you flourishing a stick at Stoney Gut. You were among William Grant's party. I don't recollect seeing you at Morant Bay.

Examined by Sarah Johnson.

I saw you at Stoney Gut on Tuesday. I saw you at Spring Garden on Wednesday with a stick in your hand.

Examined by Joshua Gordon.

You reside at Church Corner. It is about two miles to Stoney Gut. I saw you at Stoney Gut on Tuesday. I was a constable before that day. I saw you with a stick in your hand, also a cutlass. I know James Reid.

George Fuller Osborne.

I was a policeman on the 10th October. I went to Stoney Gut on that day. I saw Henry T. Bogle and William Grant there. They were playing drum and marching from the chapel to Bogle's house. There was a body of 500 men. I heard Paul Bogle and Bowie giving orders. They had cutlasses, bayonets fixed on sticks, and sticks. I was taken in custody. I remained in custody from morning to three or four in the evening. I was sworn and let go. I was compelled to swear. I got down to the bay that evening. Mr. John Walton sat as a magistrate on the previous Saturday at Morant-bay. I was at Morant-bay on the Wednesday, 11th October. I was at the police station. It is in the main street. It is on your left hand. Mr. Alveranga's shop is farther on, as you turn the corner, at the east end of the main road in the town. The one opposite the station is Dr. Gerrard's; Mr. Alveranga's is near the cotton tree. When I was at the police station between three and four I heard a crowd coming from Stanton. I heard some one hail out the people coming down. I afterwards heard drumming. They came from the direction of Stoney Gut. They entered the bay from Alveranga's side. They went into the police station. They had cutlasses; same as I saw at Stoney Gut. They were playing drum and blowing shells; had a red flag. One man had a gun. I saw William Grant among them at Morant Bay; at the east end. They took all the arms out of the station. We had 11 guns in the station. They began to stone the station and beat it with sticks. I ran away up into Mr. Stephen Cooke's yard; it looks down upon the court-house. I saw volunteers at the court-house. I heard firing and great noise and shouting. After they took the arms out of the station they went down the main street and into the Parade. This was before I heard the firing. The school house was very near the court-house; it is on the left hand of the court-house. There is a market in front of the court-house. After I heard firing I saw about five men with long sticks with fire, and set the school-room on fire, which caught the court-house, and burnt it down. The court-house afterwards caught, and was burnt. There were not less than 400 or 500 people in the mob that came to the bay (men and women). It was about half an hour after they came that the school-house was set on fire. I know Stoney Gut. There is a wharf road before you come to Alveranga that leads to the wharf. It comes back to the court-house. It leads to a bridge. Branch roads lead up from the wharf road to the court-house. I was handcuffed. This bridge is called the Brown Gut Bridge. There is a road past the church which takes you to the Valley and Stoney Gut.

Examined by Henry T. Bogle.

I saw you at Stoney Gut. I did not see you with any gun. I did not see you drink any gunpowder.

Edward House.

I am deputy collector of petty debts. I live at Friendship Penn; I went to Stoney Gut on the 11th October; I got there about 12 and 1 o'clock. I went to serve a summons on Mr. Ford. I was stopped by Bogle's men at Spring Garden; they were about 400 men; they had cutlasses, sticks, two guns and lances; the two guns were had by two Maroons. I told them I came to serve a summons. They said, You come and take our secrets to the white people as you are on their side. They took me to Captain Bogle to Spring Garden road, I was taken to Moses Bogle and Paul Bogle. I recognized H. T. Bogle, Sarah Johnson, Henry Mitchell and William Ford. I met Annis Napier in the way coming down. I heard the name of Captain Grant called out, but did not see the person. This crowd was coming towards Morant-bay. They said I must go with them to the bay. I asked them if they knew what they were doing, Bogle said, Yes. They were marching four deep like soldiers. They said

You come to take our secrets as the policemen did yesterday. I asked them where they were going; Bogle said I am going to the bay, he was with the other men. He said I am going to deliver myself, as they sent for me yesterday. I said What! in this manner, with guns, sticks, and cutlasses! If you take my advice don't go at all. Theophilus Bogle was present and heard this. Bogle said, Your advice is very good, but we must take you along with us to the bay. Bogle said must march. When we got between Spring Garden and Stanton Road, they were ordered by Bogle to go that way. They had drum with them but not playing. A man came after them riding and reported that the volunteers were coming up. Paul Bogle ordered the men to turn back and hide themselves in the canes and thickets. They did so. I went to Bogle's house at Stoney Gut. I asked him to show me William Ford. I was determined to serve the summons. He called the man and I served the summons. At same time a man named Thomas came up and said to Bogle, You are taking advice of buckras' side. From yesterday we would go and take the bay but you are backing us, and if you do not come I'll take away the men. Bogle said I have written to the Governor already. Bogle said, Before the men go away they must go into the bay. The men marched quickly out and left me. They divided; one body went Stanton way and the other Church Corner way. The road to Church Corner way would take them to Port Morant and the one to Stanton would take them direct into Morant-bay. I went with those by the Church Corner way. I met Ennis Napier in front of Mr. McPherson's house (Cottage Penn). He said I was waiting for you in the bay, Mr. Bogle. I must go back with you. He turned back with Bogle. There are two roads at the Brown's Gut bridge, one leads to the wharf road and the other through the town. I saw Sarah Johnson with the crowd at Stoney Gut. When we got to Church Corner we heard reports of guns in the bay. The men who had me in charge ran and left me. I then made my way to Duhaney Penn. The body that I went with had cutlasses and sticks.

By the Court.

I never went into the town again until after martial law.

Examined by H. T. Bogle.

I know William Bogle. I believe he is dead. I knew you before. I have served summons for you. You gave me a shilling to serve a summons. I told you I would sue you for a shilling that you owed me. I saw you with the rest of the men at Stoney Gut coming down to the bay. I was never asked by Mr. Bicknell if I knew any of the prisoners at Morant-bay. During the examination was only called to point out two people.

Examined by Henry Mitchell.

I know you. I have served summons on you. I think I have seen you dance "John Konie." You have other brothers.

Examined by Ennis Napier.

I met you at Mr. McPherson's Penn between three and four o'clock with Moses Bogle's party. You were standing up. It was on the 11th October. You never go back to Morant. You went to the direction of the bay.

Examined by William Ford.

I served you a summons in Bogle's house. I don't know where you live. You never gave me a job to collect 1*l.* 10*s.* I never went to your yard. I can't swear that you went to the bay, you said you were not going to the bay until Saturday. In coming from the Church Corner way you came on to the district prison and McLaren's meeting house.

William Alveranga.

I am a druggist. I reside at Morant-bay near the station. I remember the 11th October. I was at the vestry; I left the vestry at a little before 3 o'clock; about five minutes after I attempted to return when I saw a crowd of people about 300 men and women, coming into the bay. They came from the Stanton Road. They stopped in front of my shop. They were all armed with sticks, cutlasses, bayonets upon sticks and about six guns. A few of the men in front knelt on the ground and took up some dirt and tasted and swore that this day they will kill every white and mulatto man in the bay, and when they finished they will go to the estates. They looked round upon me and said, We will come back for you. They moved on to the station. About 100 of them went into the station and took out the guns. They commenced breaking the sashes and pelting the station with stones. Nobody troubled them. I saw a policeman jumped through the window while they were pelting him. They went on to the road leading to the court-house. A little after I heard like the sound of stones being thrown upon some building. About five minutes after I heard the reports of guns. A little after I saw Robert Hugh Gray a vestryman coming in covered with blood. I am at the eastward of the bay. I was so frightened that I could not exactly recognize them.

James Beard.

I live at Morant-bay. I was a policeman at Morant-bay on the 11th October. I was on duty at the district prison. I know where Mr. Alveranga lives. Where I was is the opposite part of Mr. Alveranga. Between 3 and 4 o'clock I saw a number of persons coming from the valley district. They were going towards Morant-bay. They were all armed with sticks and cutlasses. I saw Alex. Murray with them. He had a stick in his hand. He was coming with the people. They came pass the district prison. They went towards Morant-bay. They went by the wharf road over Brown's Gut bridge, the lower road. That would lead to the court-house. I did not see anything more of Alex. Murray that day. I saw him next day, the 12th, walking quite fast and looking behind, going towards the Valley way. It was when it was reported that the gun boat was coming. I was in the bushes on the night of the 11th and next day I found the prisoners had gone.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

I saw you passing the prison. I knew you before, you and a lot of rioters were walking going in the direction of Morant-bay. You and I several times discourse together. We are no friends. We

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have had no quarrels. I never see anybody favour you. You live in the Valley district. I am quite sure I saw you. You are not living in Morant-bay. I don't know what part of the Valley you live. I live about 300 or 400 yards from the court-house.

STEPHEN COOKE.

I am Clerk of the Peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I remember Saturday the 7th of October. There was a petty session on that day. Justices Walton and Bowen presided. There was a disturbance in the court-house. I saw Paul Bogle outside on the steps. There was the usual number of persons in the court-house when the case was being tried. There was a disturbance in court, for which the magistrates ordered the parties to be taken into custody. Alex. White was being tried for assault at the time. The person who made the disturbance ran out of the court-house, when he was taken in custody by the police, when Paul Bogle and others rescued him. A warrant was issued on the Monday for Paul Bogle, Moses Bogle, and several others—28 persons. There was a vestry at Morant-bay on 11th October. The late Baron, the custos, was there. The Hon. Mr. Georges, the late Mr. Walton, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Warmington, thh Rector, Mr. Herschell, Alexander Barnes Cooke, Mr. Robert Hugh Gray, Mr. Alberga. I know the late Captain Hitchins. He was there with the volunteers. It was unusual for the volunteers to be there. They were sent for by the custos in consequence of information received from the police who had gone to Stoney Gut the day before. I just gave information to the custos of the people coming. I had gone down stairs at his request, and while there I heard a blowing of shells and beating of drums. This was between ½ past 3 and 4 o'clock. I drew Captain Hitchins' attention to it and he ordered the Volunteers to fall in. The room used as a vestry room is upstairs. There are back steps on each side and a landing at the entrance into the room. There is a space between the steps downstairs. The volunteers were stationed between them a little in advance of the steps. That looks out upon the Parade. It forms a sort of square. A crowd came from the main street down the street leading into the Parade. They came from the police station aside. Another gang came up from the Wharf road at the east side and met the other gang as they came into the Parade. They were acting in unison. They must have divided off, some at Alverangas, and come up one in front and the other in the east. They advanced with guns, with fixed bayonets, sticks, cutlasses, and lances on sticks. The bayonets were on the police guns. They are different from volunteer guns. They were between 600 and 700 when the gangs met together. There were no shouts at that time. They came steadily along advancing to the volunteers. They seemed determined in the manner they came along. They came up about 20 or 30 yards in front of the volunteers, who retired until they could go no farther. They retired up against the wall. The rebels then threw a volley of stones at the Volunteers and at the gentlemen on the top of the steps. The Riot Act was being read by the custos on the steps before the stones were thrown. The stones were thrown after the Riot Act was being read and before the conclusion. Not a shot was fired at them by the volunteers before. They commenced the attack. It was a volley of stones. They could not be got at the Parade. They must have brought them with them. There was a number of women among the mob. They were about the distance of from here to the dock from the custos (about four yards). The custos could not proceed with the reading of the Riot Act from the disturbance. The volunteers were struck and the order was given to fire. As soon as the volunteers fired they were not allowed to reload, as the mob rushed upon them. Several shots were fired at the court-house by the Rebels. When I say the Riot Act I mean the proclamation out of a copy of the laws. Before the Riot Act was read the custos in a loud voice intreated the people from the top of the steps not to come in but keep back, and not to use any violence. He exhorted them to be quiet before reading the Riot Act. He said if they had anything to complain of he would hear them, but they took not the slightest notice of what he said. I saw Moses Bogle at the head of the body coming into the Parade. The custos sent McIntosh before they came into the square to exhort them to peace. I saw McIntosh holding up his hands in front of them as if asking them to go back. The custos' name was Maximilian Augustus Baron Von Ketelholdt. When I recognized Moses Bogle, they were about 400 men with him. The attack was not made until the two joined. Where the custos was every man must have seen him. He was standing outside on top of the steps. There was no shed there. It must have been very near 4 o'clock when the custos began to read the Riot Act. The body of men separated at about 5 o'clock. They never went away altogether. They never left the circuit of the Parade or the court-house. They remained together as a body. They had not dispersed from the Parade at 8 o'clock at night. The court-house was set on fire about 5 o'clock. There are very few buildings about there; plenty of bushes. Up to about ½ past 5 I jumped out of the window in the court-house and got to Price's house when I saw no one and ran across the Parade and hid myself in an old house. I heard the cries of the people, Hip, hip, hurrah, until 9 o'clock. I also heard them say they had just killed the Baron. 500 or 600 people remained in the Parade over an hour after the reading of the Riot Act. The custos had an handkerchief tied to an umbrella and held out of the court-house. They asked what it meant. They were told it meant peace. They said they did not come for peace, they came for war. The Baron offered to go down and give himself up to them if he would save the lives of the other gentlemen in the court-house. They said they would kill every white and mulatto man. I was concealed under Doctor Gerrard's dispensary when they brought up Price, some said kill him others said no. Captain Grant was then sent for. Afterwards I heard a person ask him what were the colour of his father and mother. He said black. The voice said So much the worse for joining the whites, kill him, kill him. This was about ½ past 9. It was after the person had come that these questions were put, he was murdered. I believe shopkeepers lost a great deal of property.

SECOND DAY.

FRANCIS BOWEN.

I am a magistrate of Saint Thomas-in-the-East, and was so on 11th October last. I attended a vestry at the court-house that day. Something unusual occurred that afternoon about half-past 3 and 4 o'clock. We were just about finishing the business of the vestry when we heard some one crying The negroes are coming. We rose from the vestry board and went out. We saw a mob of people marching in with bayonets fixed on muskets, cutlasses, and sticks flourishing. They had their fife. Those with fixed bayonets were behind the rest. They came from the main street, past Mr. Kirklands store into the Parade. This was the first intimation I had of an assembled crowd on that day. It was not market day; Saturday is market day. The crowd kept on approaching to the court-house. The Baron and all of us were on the steps. The Clerk of the Peace was there. The Clerk of the Peace was there as churchwarden. The volunteers had retired into the school-room. As the people came into the square the volunteers were called out. As we came out the volunteers, with Captain Hitchins at their head, were just running out of the school-room. The crowd kept advancing, and the Baron, with a paper in his hand, asked them, What do you want? I heard it was the Riot Act the Baron had. Mr. Georges and myself called upon him to read the Riot Act. I said the people were bent on mischief. The Baron hesitated for some time, and the people still advanced and the volunteers retired. Captain Hitchins said, Baron, give me the word to fire, don't let them come too close upon us. There were between 20 and 30 volunteers. The crowd consisted of about 500. The Baron commenced to read the Riot Act. The people then threw a volley of stones. The Baron was high upon the court-house steps. All the crowd could see him. The Baron was hit, and so was I, with the stones. He could not complete the reading of the Riot Act as there were large stones flying about our heads, and we had to run into the court-house to save our lives. The volunteers did not fire until after the stones were thrown, and the attempt was made to read the Riot Act. Some of the volunteers were also struck with stones. They fired when they got the word from the custos. They all fired together. I think they were in double rank. I ran into one of the back rooms of the court-house and jumped through the window. A man stopped me and began pelting me with stones. I jumped into a gully to the south of the fort. The man then left me and went away. I then went down to the wharf and got on board the "Elleanor." I saw them murdering Mr. Walton on the beach. This was when I was on board the vessel. It was about a little after 5 o'clock. The court-house was burning at the time. I was sufficiently near to hear as well as see the row. There were about eight men over Mr. Walton. I saw them chopping him. I had a spy-glass looking through. There were about 50 walking about the sea beach who saw me aboard the vessel, and called out, You Bowen, you damned son of a b——h you come ashore and we will take your head off. Walton was dead then. I was greatly alarmed. I heard them all night about the bay making a noise. I could not recognize a soul.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

I am not certain you were working on the road, seven miles from Morant-bay, when I was going to Morant Bay on Wednesday morning about 9 o'clock.

JOHN STOTHERT GERRARD.

I am a Doctor of Medicine. I attended a vestry at the court-house at Morant-bay on the 11th October last. There was a disturbance in the course of the day. It commenced between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Bowen's evidence about the Baron's attempting to read the Riot Act is quite correct, also the volunteers retreating. I was upstairs. I remained until the roof of the court-house was falling in from fire. This was between 5 and 6 o'clock. The mob was round and about the court-house in different directions, surrounding it. They fired guns at us into the court-house. I don't think any of the missiles injured anyone in the court-house. Shot and pebbles and large stones came into the court-house. The windows were smashed from the discharge of guns as well as by stones. When the roof was falling in I jumped through the window and got into Price's house. Lieutenant Hall of volunteers was shot in Price's house. He was dead. Captain Hitchins and others were wounded with stones. The first person I saw killed was Lieutenant Hall. The Baron, Mr. Georges, and Mr. McPherson were wounded in Mr. Price's house. Some children were also wounded. Alberga's son was. I did not make any surgical examination. Mr. Price's house caught fire about that time. The row was going on all this time. The same crowd was continuing in the tumult all this time. When I left Price's house I got under a gun, which I soon left and got back of the fort wall and into the privy. It was about 7 o'clock in the evening. I remained in the privy about half an hour. I heard them murdering people. I heard the cries. As each one tried to make his escape I heard the women calling the attention of the men to them. I heard them say they had killed the Baron and Mr. Georges. I heard Mr. Herschell crying for mercy. I heard the people calling me out by name, saying if I came out they will save me. I would have gone out, but just at that time Mr. McPherson and some volunteers rushed in and shut the door. I recognized Daniel Stewart among the crowd. I saw him when I was in the privy and afterwards. He jumped up to the window. He had a musket over his shoulder. I knew him well; I have not the least doubt about him. He called out to the people, A lot of buckras in here, shoot them. He saw us through the window. I was present when they were killing Mr. Hitchins. A crowd of people came and was breaking down the privy. I thought it high time to get out, which I did. I was caught in the arms of several persons who had blood on them, and had volunteer rifle. The first person I saw was William Donaldson. I saw Captain Hitchins kneeling on the ground, his clothes half torn from him and covered with blood. He had nothing in his hands. There was a man behind him chopping him with a cutlass. I don't know who it was. The man left him and came to us. Hitchins then saw me and tried to get to me. The man then returned and despatched him. Donaldson took me to Mr. Price's kitchen. There was a tall man a sentry there. He stopped me and took off my hat. He said if I had not been a doctor he would chop me up as he

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Examined by Daniel Stewart.

I saw you at night singly. I saw you with a gun over your shoulder. I don't know if you can hold a gun. I have not done you any harm. I don't know if anybody has done you any harm.

CECELIA GORDON.

I lived at Morant-bay on the 11th October, at the east end of the town. I saw a great number of people coming into the bay. About half past three I heard a drum and fife, quite strange, coming down from Stanton Road. Stanton Road leads into the interior. When I heard the drum and fife I came out to my shop door and saw a number of people coming down Stanton Road with drum and fife. They stopped under the cotton tree and made a large circle. When they came first there were about 300, but when they beat the drum more people came. I left them at the cotton tree and returned into my yard, when I heard a great noise and came back. I found they had divided; some gone into the town; some under the cotton tree; some went by the main street; and some by the wharf road. I heard guns fire while I was in the yard. The guns were fired in the Parade. I came out to the gate again; I remained there for a good bit, and saw a body of men running back past my gate after the firing. This was about half an hour after I just saw them. I saw Nathaniel Richards, John Gough, and William Grant. All the rest I saw were hanged. Nathaniel Richards had a police gun with fixed bayonet, a cutlass, and a stick. William Grant had a sword to his side drawing on the ground, and a cutlass through a handkerchief tied round his waist, and a stick in his hand; the sword was in a steel scabbard. I saw John Gough stoop down on the ground and sharpen his cutlass; when he finished sharpening it he raised it up, and said twice, "This day Parson Herschell shall be a dead man." The men still stood up, apparently much frightened. I heard a great noise coming up the wharf road. I saw some women come up from the wharf road; Sarah Johnson and Caroline Grant were among them. They said, "O noo, man, this was not what you tell us in the mountain; now we come to the bay you "leave the work to us women; go into the Parade and see what they volunteers are doing with the "men." Captain Stewart said "Share the gang." The gang was shared. Half went the main street, and half the wharf road. "When you get down to the wharf road stop up the road, and don't allow "a man to pass; do the same to the main street." Captain Grant said, "Shall I go with them?" (The people called them Captain.) Sarah Johnson said, "I wonder if the gang is strong enough?" Captain Grant went with the gang by the wharf road. No Captain went with those by the main street. I saw Robert Grant dancing and blowing a horn before the music, when they were coming into the bay before the firing. I did not at that time know his name, but I know his face. I saw Robert Pinnock go into the bay, but not with the crowd. I saw Alexander Murray on the Thursday; he was with two strange men and Sarah Johnson. Murray was clean, and so was Sarah Johnson; the two men were in blood, and one had a volunteer's sword. He asked me if Duncan M'Pherson was not dead; I said "No." He said, "If I catch him now I'll take out the last breath with this sword." This was about half past six in the morning; the row lasted all the evening. The people did not my way until late at night. After Grant took charge of that division that went down the wharf road I did not see him again. I heard all they said when they were passing. It was very late at night.

Examined by John Gough.

I saw you with a cutlass. We were not a yard from each other. You live some where at Dumfries; I hear you were living there with Mary Ward, who is hung. I was at Mr. M'Pherson's penn when you were flogged. I saw you grind a cutlass and say you will kill Parson Herschell. I don't know if your master pilot was at sea that day. Parson Herschell is from Bath.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

I saw you on Thursday morning after the rebellion. You asked me where I was going. I told you I was going to Mr. M'Pherson's penn to tell that he was not dead. I don't know if you know the men that were standing up with you.

Examined by Robert Pinnock.

I know you. I see you going into the bay on the 11th. You were not with the crowd that went in. The crowd went in before you passed.

Examined by Caroline Grant.

I saw you come and call the men to go into the bay and do their business. You said the men left all the work to the women. I know you over 20 years.

Examined by Sarah Johnson.

I saw you with the riot on Wednesday, 11th October. You came up from the wharf road with a long stick in your hand. I saw you come up and call the men to go and destroy the gentlemen. You said next morning if any of your daughters join the white they must be killed the same as the whites.

Examined by William Grant.

I did see you with a sword, a cutlass, and a stick. The people called you Captain Grant.

By a Juror.

I have never quarrelled with any of the prisoners.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.

I saw you at Morant-bay. I saw you go into Mr. Robertson's yard looking for Mr. Cooke's servant to kill him. This was before the court-house was set on fire. I saw you standing at my gate with a gun whispering with James Dacres. I heard him say that Mr. Cooke's servant had carried powder for the volunteers, and if he caught him he would kill him. While I was in Mr. Cooke's yard I heard a noise in my yard; when I went down I saw a boy smashing my sash. I did not see you when you were taken up during martial law. I was at Mr. M'Pherson's penn during martial law.

URSULA FITZGERALD.

I am the daughter of Cecilia Gordon. I was living with her on the 11th October last at Morant-bay. I saw an unsual number of people coming into the bay that day between three and four. I saw Sarah Johnson, John Gough, and Robert Grant. They were too numerous to mention. I think there were about twice as many as what are in the court-house now. They had cutlasses, sticks, bills upon sticks about three yards in length. Plenty of them had it. I don't recollect seeing guns at that time. They all assembled near the cotton tree. When they left they went on to the station. I think they went in two bodies. Duncan Stewart (since hung) seems to have been a leader. I saw a party go along the main street. After they went to the police station I heard the noise of stones thrown upon the station; I heard the volunteers fire upon them with guns. After the volunteers fired some ran back to the cotton tree. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon. I saw there Robert Grant. John Gough was then grinding his cutlass. There were plenty of people; more than 20. They scattered and collected again. Gough said, after he had sharpened his cutlass, "I must kill "Parson Herschell this night, and go to Bath." They went back into the bay. Some went by the main street; others by the Wharf road. I did not go to the parade. This was quite daylight. I heard Sarah Johnson say, "I wonder if Captain Grant's gang is strong enough." I don't know which was Captain Grant's gang. I heard Sarah say, "You men, when you up in the mountain you say so "and so, but now you come down to the bay, you leave all the work upon the women, and allow all "the volunteers to kill our men." Many women present; not Morant-bay people. It was not market day. I saw the smoke from the court-house. This was about five o'clock when I saw the blaze. I did not see any people come back that way at all that day again.

Examined by John Gough.

I was at home during martial law. I did give evidence at Morant-bay against you about the cutlass. You live at Morant-bay. I don't know where John Stephens live. I was only examined once before Mr. Ewart and Mr. Bignall. Mr. Lindo was there.

Examined by Sarah Johnson.

I saw you before my gate. You came from the Wharf road. You don't live at the Wharf road. You were there on the 11th October last.

JOHN DUBUISSON.

I reside at Morant-bay, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, in the same yard as the two last witnesses, eastern end; I am Cecilia Gordon's son. I recollect the 11th October last. There was an unusual number of people came into the bay on that day, between 3 and 4 o'clock; there were about 400 and 500. They went from the cotton tree to the station; they did not stop five minutes at the cotton tree, but went on into the town. They had a drum, horn, and fife. They entered the station first; it is on the right hand walking westward. They began to stone the station, and smash the sashes. You can see the steps of the court-house from the station; this was before they had gone to the court-house. I saw them enter the station and took away the arms. The arms consisted of guns, bayonets, pistols, and swords. I ran through Bailey's yard into the parade. About five minutes after I saw the same people that had pillaged the station enter the parade. The custos and other gentlemen came on the steps; he had a book in his hand and was reading. After he commenced reading stones were thrown. I was about 20 yards from the custos; it was quite impossible to hear what was being read from the row. The first person I saw receive a wound was Captain Hitchins on his face. The blood was running down his face; he asked the custos, What am I to do? The volunteers fired after Captain Hitchins received this blow; the blood was rushing down his face. It was after the Riot Act had been attempted to be read, and after the stones were thrown. I went down to the wharf, where I remained until half-past six. The row was going on all the time. I saw Robert Grant enter the station with the rest; he was blowing the horn. Wm. Grant entered the station too with the same crowd. Caroline Grant was removing the stolen goods, which the others took from the station. I saw Jno. Gough had a boy named Alexr. White in custody. He beat him well and let him go; White is from Duhaney penn. I saw Wm. Grant with a sword in the rear of the mob march into the bay. I heard him called Captain Grant by the mob. I was told before by McLaren (since hung), that he was Captain Grant. He lives at Stanton; I don't know his business. I saw the court-house on fire. The row continued until over midnight.

Examined by Wm. Grant.

You are well known by me. I don't know if there is any other Wm. Grant besides you. You are the man I saw.

Examined by Jno. Gough.

I saw you with a stick; I don't know if you had a cutlass.

JAMAICA.

Examined by Robert Grant.

I saw you blowing a shell; I don't know what sort of a shell. I did not observe what clothes you had on. I have seen you at Morant-bay different times. I went into the bay to see what the crowd was about. I know you over four years. I am sure I saw you enter Morant-bay with the crowd on the 11th October, blowing a shell. I am working for money; I am a tradesman. I am a tinsmith.

Examined by Caroline Grant.

I did see you; you were removing the bundles along the road.

ROBERT EVAN JONES.

I was a policeman on the 11th October last at Morant-bay. I was in the station on the evening of that day. Not less than 500 people forced an entrance into the station; it was a little after 3. I saw Robert Grant among them. He was blowing a shell in front of the crowd. I was in the yard back of the station, and hearing the noise I ran into the station and saw him on the piazza blowing the shell. About 40 people were inside the station. The guard room was filled with people; they took the arms. I saw Alexander Taylor among them; he was commanding the men to do their duty; he stamped at them and said, Do your duty, men. About 12 men went upstairs. I saw Wm. Ford also; he took off one of the police guns. The arms consisted of guns, bayonets, and swords, and pistols. They asked me for ammunition; I told them there was none; in truth there was no ammunition whatever. They asked me for my inspector; the 12 men went upstairs and searched for the inspector. They fell in, the men in front of the station, as soldiers. They marched on to the parade. Robert Grant was still blowing the shell. They had drum and fife. I then went up to Mr. Stephen Cooke's house. I was severely beaten, left as it were dead. From Mr. Cooke's steps I saw some women running up the street, and urging the men to put fire to the school house. It was done. They put the fire on the western side of the school room. The school house was not an upstairs house. It is quite close to the court-house. The row continued until after 10 o'clock next morning.

Examined by Robert Grant.

I have known you before; six months before the rebellion. I have often seen you at Morant-bay. You come from the mountains. I don't know what part of the mountains. It was a conck shell you were blowing with all your strength. I was sick when you were taken up at Morant-bay. I marked you at the time I saw you blowing the shell.

Examined by William Ford.

I have known you from 1863. I have seen you in the bay before, selling provisions. I told you I can't help what evidence I have given, for I have done my duty. I never told you that I have made a mistake about you.

JAMES BONNER BARNETT.

I resided at Morant-bay on the 11th October last. I am a baker there. My baker shop is quite close the parade. In the afternoon of that day before the attacking fleet attacked the bay the bay was surrounded by squares. These were the guards. I was in the parade when the volunteers from Bath came into the bay. They came in a little after midday. The mob came up as close to the volunteers as from the judges' seat to the dock (four yards). They made a shear in front of the court-house. I heard one of the men say, in five minutes' time he will take away a volunteer's gun and make them smell fire. About half an hour after I heard a report that the Rebels were coming. When I ran out the parade was crowded with people. I ran up the road to Mr. Richards' shop, when I saw the attacking fleet attacking the station. I then made my way to Mr. Marchalleck's house. After I left Mr. Marchalleck's house I met Robert Grant with General Bowie. Bowie had a Scotchman named Watson. He was carrying him round the parade. I ran and laid hold of Watson and lifted him up and locked him up in my baker shop. Robert Grant had a digging bill in his hand, and said to Bowie, Uncle Bowie, let the man alone, we will catch him again. I saw the people attack the police station. I can't say that I saw any of these people at that time. Caroline Grant attacked me. It was daylight while they were killing. It was soon enough. She commanded others to kill me. She had a volunteer sword. Richard Grant was with her, and made a chop at me. At this time the court-house was burning. The killing was going on at this time. I know Alexander Murray. I saw him in the morning before the row; I saw him again between five and six in the evening, after the court-house was burning. He had a rifle with a sword-bayonet on it. I know Elizabeth Faulkner. I saw her on that day pass my shop; it was later in the evening. When the men said, "Let us take out old Bennett and cut off his head;" she said, "Yes, take him out, for the other day I buy six yards of cloth from him, and when I "measure it it was only five and a half yards." I know Nancy Murray; I saw her on the 11th October late at night at my baker's shop. Roof of court-house had been burnt down. She said to me, "My brother has received a bad shot, please let him stay here until the morning." I said to her, "Don't you know this is a baker shop?" While I was speaking to her two men came up, and said if I did not receive the man they would kill me and set the baker shop on fire, for I am a friend of the white people. George Thomas told me, "I was coming along the Wharf road, and I heard a noise in "the parade, and I ran up to see what was the matter, and I received a shot from one of my own "people." Nancy Murray said, "No, you receive a shot from that fellow Lipman, in front of one of "the guns in the Fort yard; but never mind, we coming back to-morrow to catch him; we don't done "yet." She said again, "Brother, no mind we kill all the buckra; but we save Doctor Major to come "see all the sick." This was about 2 o'clock in the morning. Maryan Thomas asked her if she killed plenty of the buckras. She said Alexander Brown is killed; we roll him down the Fort Hill. We kill the Baron and roll him down the hill; his head is one way and Sonny Brown's the other. "The Baron's brains is coming out. We kill Inspector Alberga, Mr. M'Cormack, Mr. Hitchins,

" Parson Cooke's son, and Mr. Walton." She said she killed one of Parson Cooke's sons, and the other one and the father got away. She said if she caught Stephen Cooke she would kill him. What she stated I have since found to be perfectly true. This row was going on up to midnight.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

I have known you, and seen you over and over. I saw you on the 11th October. When I saw you in the morning there was no riot. I saw you again in the evening between five and six o'clock. You said "Let us go and look for that fellow Chevannes ; he put me in the prison for logwood, and if I " catch him I will take off his head, I will take off his head." I am sure it was you I saw and heard. Mr. Chevannes was not in the parish. You live in the country. I believe in God. I have heard the Bible read. I am a friend to the Wesleyan Society.

Examined by Robert Grant.

I knew you on the 11th October. I did not know you before. I live in Morant-bay. You called Bowie uncle. When I saw you the court-house was burning. This is the second time I give evidence against you. I picked you out before Mr. Lindo.

Examined by Caroline Grant.

I saw you come to my baker shop to kill me. You had a volunteer sword in your hand.

Examined by Elizabeth Faulkner.

I know you and I were working at Mr. Murduro's. I never met you in any riot. I gave evidence against you before Mr. Lindo, and Mr. Bicknell, and Mr. Ewart.

Examined by Nancy Murray.

I commit you according to your statement. I sent to have you taken up after martial law.

MARY ANN THOMAS.

I lived in Morant-bay on the 11th October last. I am Barnett's housekeeper. I saw a great number of people come into the bay—over 100. I saw Nancy Murray among them. She had a volunteer cap on her head. It was night, after the court-house was burnt down. I saw Caroline Grant also. I saw her before sunset. She was coming from the main street, and had a volunteer sword in her hand. Two men coming from the parade said, "Father Jim, if you give me a drink we will go home." Caroline Grant said, "Instead you kill the man you drinking with him." I know Robert Grant. I saw him there in the evening—not dark. He was coming from the parade. He and his mother were walking in a great fleet. He had a gun with a bayonet on it over his shoulders. The bayonet was fixed. I saw Alexander Murray. He came up the main street from the bridge way, and turned into the lane where I was, west of the parade. It was closing of dark when I saw him. He had a volunteer gun with a bayonet fixed on it. He came with a fleet, more than prisoners here (37). There was another gang of people standing up. He said, "Come, let us go and look for that fellow Chevannes. " He put me in prison for logwood, and if I catch him this night I will take off his head." I know Elizabeth Faulkner. I saw her that night, about the same time when the court-house was burning. She came from the main street to Mr. Bennett's store door; and saw a gang of people at the store door. She said, "That Bennett into that store. Take him out and take off his head. The other day " I bought six yards cloth from him and it was only five and a half yards. He says he is blind; he is " no more blind than you." Immediately after she went into Mrs. Lunday's place, where Mr. Bennett keeps a store, and collected a lot of stones in her lap. She then returned with the party to the court-house. The court-house was burning that moment. I know George Thomas. I saw him on that day in my baker's shop. Nancy brought him into my shop about midnight. He was wounded. I heard Nancy Murray make a statement of some gentlemen that had been killed.

Examined by Robert Grant.

I have generally seen you come into the market with victuals. I don't know where you live. I knew you when you were smaller than so. I don't know what sort of gun you had, or bayonet. I don't know if you had any occasion to come in Morant-bay that day.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

I saw you in the evening of the 11th October. The sun was going down. I am sure it is you I saw. I have known you a long time—about 16 years. I have known the bay. I don't know where you from. I gave evidence against you at Morant-bay before Mr. Bicknell and Mr. Lindo.

Examined by Elizabeth Faulkner.

I know you and have seen you at Mr. Maduro's. I never heard you and anybody quarrel. I can't say if you had any right at Morant-bay on 11th October.

Examined by Nancy Murray.

I saw you with George Thomas over your shoulder. You did not remember you were in the family that day. I saw you with a volunteer cap. Your clothes were covered with blood. You were made a prisoner in Almshouse and got away.

Jamaica.

James Moore Ross.

I was living in Morant-bay on the 11th October. I was and am still a clerk at Mrs. Lundy's store. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon an unusual crowd of people came into the town. A large body came from the police station and entered the parade northward. Others entered from east and west of the parade. They kept sentry at the east and west entrances. I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle there. I am a volunteer. Was on parade ground that day. After I was well beaten by the mob, and trying to make my escape to the wharf, I saw Bogle. This was about half-past four o'clock. It was three-quarters of an hour after the Baron had attempted to read the Riot Act when I saw Bogle. A woman was assisting me down. He had a volunteer sword with a steel scabbard. He made after me with his sword uplifted. His sword was drawn. The person who was assisting me ran up and laid hold of him, and said, "Don't kill him; he is nearly dead already." I managed to get down to the wharf, where I was put in a boat and taken aboard the "Eleanor."

Examined by H. T. Bogle.

I don't recollect what I said before Mr. Cooke. You are living at Church Corner. I have seen you often. Your father is a baker. I have never seen you in a row until the 11th October. I never saw you since that day until this time.

Margaret Taylor.

I live at Morant-bay. I lived there on the 11th October last. I know James Moore Ross. He is a volunteer. I saw him that day at the parade. He had no jacket or cap. He was washed up in blood. I ran from where I was standing and went to him. He was staggering. He asked me to take him to the wharf. I did so. On my way down I heard a person behind me say, "Here is one of them." When I looked round I saw Henry Theophilus Bogle. He had a sword. I don't know what sort of sword. It was drawn. As he was coming up I shoved off Mr. Ross, and asked Bogle not to trouble Ross, as he was partly dead already. This must have been between four and five. Bogle said, "You "wretch, if you don't mind I will run you through." I then ran up the hill.

Examined by H. T. Bogle.

I saw you between four and five o'clock in the evening. I know you live at Cottage Penn. I never saw you with any row until that day. I saw you at the Wharf road. The gang of you was by Miss Jane Uniack's. That was where you ran from. I did not see you beat anybody. I was in Mr. Marchelleck's shop during martial law. I saw you come into Morant-bay riding upon a horse. You had a lame leg. I was sick during martial law, or I would have given evidence against you. I remember when Mr. Ramsay let you go. I asked you if they let you go. You said, "Yes."

Charles Augustus Lipman.

I am a volunteer of No. 2 company St. Thomas-in-the-East volunteers. I was so on the 11th October, and was on duty on the parade. I saw Bogle there on that day, about half-past four in the evening. The volunteers were attacked. The ranks were broken. I saw Bogle on the west part of the parade. I saw him running up the hill from the sea coast. He had a sword in the right hand and a stick in his left. This was after the attack on the volunteers. I was in the Fort yard. It was about half an hour after the attack was made that I saw him. It was a sword bayonet. He said to the rest (about 100), "Here is a volunteer; come at him." I was armed and came to the charge. I fired, and saw a man fall. The man is George Thomas. The court-house was then burning. I heard the Baron trying to read the Riot Act. It was about an hour after I shot this lad.

Examined by Henry T. Bogle.

Your master and I were living in the same house, I saw you at Morant-bay on the 11th October. I was at Morant-bay during martial law with the General. When I fired you thought I had more ammunition, and did not come up. I saw your head bandaged. I don't remember saying anything to Mr. Ramsay. I did not see you when Mr. Ramsay let you go.

Examined by Geo. Thomas.

I shot you to protect myself; I saw you with the crowd.

Chas. M. Robertson.

I reside at Morant-bay. I was there on the 11th October. I am a tailor. My shop is in the parade. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon I heard drums, fife, and horn blowing. Several persons were in my shop, and I told them to clear out that I may lock my shop. As I turned the key of the door I saw Inspector Alberga coming from a private yard leading into the parade. I followed him to the first tread of the east step of the court-house. He said to the authorities they have taken all the arms out of the station. About five minutes afterwards the mob came into the parade. I left the parade shortly after. Nathaniel Richards came up to my house at about an hour and a quarter after the Riot Act was read. When I left the parade the Baron was about reading the Riot Act. I saw Nathaniel Richards in full chase after a man who was Stephen Cooke's servant. He was running up the hill. He had a cutlass and a stick. He said to me, Stop that fellow, he has been carrying powder to the volunteers. The boy ran through my yard. Richards stopped at my back door and insisted to go in, as he said the boy was there. I followed Richards down the hill, after persuading him that the boy had gone down; then I met Henry T. Bogle with about 20 or 30 men. This was about a

quarter to 6. I said to him, Bogle, what are you about? He said, What am I about? Go and look into the parade, and you will see only one of your colour to five of mine. He drew his cutlass, and said, You had better clear out of this. He had an old Crimean shirt with a streak of blood on it. The school-room was on fire, but I don't think the court-house was. Next morning I saw four black people dead.

Examined by H. T. Bogle.

I don't remember ever making a job for you. I never received a piece of cloth for you. I did not know you were Moses Bogle's son until after the rebellion; I thought you were Paul Bogle's son. I saw you when you were taken up; you were riding on a horse or mule. You have never done me anything. I was in Kingston when you were let go by Mr. Ramsay.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.

I saw you on the 11th October at Morant-bay. You did me nothing. You wanted to enter my house. I was at Morant-bay when you were taken up. I told Drysdale I could give evidence against you.

LETETIA ARMA.

I was in the employ of Mrs. Lundy at Morant-bay in October last. I remember a row there on 11th October. Mrs. Lundy keeps a store there. Some people came there for gunpowder after they left the parade. The sun was not set yet. It was after the firing of the rifles. The court-house was not burnt at the time; they did not get it in the evening, but they got it in the night. They did not buy it, they took it. I saw John Askwith among them. He had a gun in his hand, no bayonet. I saw Ann Thompson; she was one that came (for gunpowder). She had nothing in her hand. I saw Henry T. Bogle there. He had a sword by his side. I don't know what sort of scabbard it was.

Examined by Henry T. Bogle.

Deposition read.

You came to Mrs. Lundy's in the evening. I live in Morant-bay. I saw you on the horse coming into Morant-bay in October. I could not come out as I had no "pass." I did not see you in martial law. They brought you on a Saturday.

Examined by Ann Thomson.

I saw you at Mrs. Lundy's store; it was 11 o'clock at night. The store never locks until 5 in the evening. You were taking the iron pots and cutlasses out of the store and handing them to the men.

THIRD DAY.

ROBERT MILNE.

I am servant of Mr. Stephen Cooke, clerk of the peace, St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was at his house on Wednesday, 11th October. I was sent down to the court-house. I went and saw the Baron and the inspector. They gave me something. I returned to the main street. I saw Nathaniel Richards. He had a cutlass. He was with other people (about five). Some had cutlasses, some had sticks. He asked me "What you have there?" He said, "You have powder carrying for the volunteers." He knew who I was. He said, "I was Stephen Cooke's servant." I ran away. He ran after me. They cried out, "Chop him, he is Stephen Cooke's servant, a damned rascal." I saw Charles Robertson at Mrs. Robertson's house.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.

I never saw you before that Wednesday. I saw you among the rebel crowd. I saw you in the parade.

FABEL TAYLOR.

I was at Cottage pen, Morant-bay, 11th October. I saw Betsy Taylor that day. She was with other people, Rebels. They were coming from the bay about 11 o'clock at night. I heard Betsy Taylor say, "Parson Cooke is a bad man; it is not worth for anybody to kneel under him; he like "court-house too much; the beating you gave him is not enough; his head should have been taken "off."

Examined by Betsy Taylor.

I know you before. You live at Spring Garden pass. I never met you at any row before. You did not come to Cottage pen and bring any message to me. Ann Aitchison was with me. I saw you the night.

ANN AITCHISON.

I know Fabel Taylor. I remember the Wednesday, the day of the trouble at Morant-bay. I was at the Cottage. Fabel Taylor was with me about 11 o'clock. I saw plenty of people coming from the bay into Moses Bogle's yard. Moses Bogle is dead. I saw Betsy Taylor among them. I heard her say, "Parson Cooke is a bad man; this night they must look for him and kill him, for he like court-"house too much." She lives at Stoney Gut near Spring Garden.

JAMAICA.

Examined by Betsy Taylor.

I know you long before. I knew you at Coley. I never meet you at any row before. You don't belong to Parson Cooke's society. You are a Baptist. We never had a quarrel. I know Mrs. Howell different from you. The people had lanterns with candles.

By a Juror.

There was no moonlight that night.

CAROLINE MILNE.

I know Betsy Taylor well. I remember the night of the row at Morant-bay. I was in my yard near Church Corner. I saw people going into the bay about 3 o'clock with cutlasses and sticks. I went as far as the bridge at the west end of the bay. I saw her beating Mr. Joseph Williams, a volunteer, with a stick. This was after the firing. She asked Williams, "Don't, your mother is a "black woman. What you join the volunteers to kill us for? You should have come to Stony Gut "and join us." I turned back and saw Matthew Ford and others. He had Mr. Ward and Williams and Todd (two volunteers). He was beating them the whole way going down to the church. This was about 4 o'clock in the evening. He had Mr. Williams' boots in his hand. I asked him to give them to me. Ford had a volunteer bayonet and a sword in his hands. He came to my house and asked for water. He left the sword there until he came back.

Examined by Betsy Taylor.

I know you a long time. I never met you in any row before. I saw you with a stick and your coat tied up. You join Bogle's society.

By the Court.

Joseph Williams was wounded. He had blood on his head. They were not running after women.

Examined by Matthew Ford.

I saw you beating Mr. Williams and Mr. Ward. You had a stick in your hand and Mr. Williams's boots. I know you a long time. You belong to Stony Gut. I know you and all your family. I said nothing to you on the 4th December. You begged me a bread, and I gave it to you. I never told you I made a sad mistake about you.

JOSEPH HARDIE WILLIAMS.

I am an accountant. I live at Morant-bay. I am a volunteer of St. Thomas-in-the-East. I was out on the 11th October. I saw about 600 or 700 people enter the parade. It must have been about half-past 3 o'clock. They were armed with sticks, cutlasses, guns, and spikes. I made my escape about a quarter mile from the parade to the Brown's Gut bridge. I escaped into Britt's house, a volunteer. I took off my jacket and my belt. My gun had been taken away at the parade by the mob. I heard Britt's mother say "They are coming." When I looked out I saw about 100 round the house. Every one had a stick and a cutlass. I tried to escape from the house to the bush, but was overtaken by them. They commenced beating me with sticks. I was beat by four mobs. They beat me until I fell. They carried me on a mile further towards the church. In the third mob I recognized one man. There was about 100 in that gang. They seemed to have been just entering the bay. The man I identify is Ennis Napier. He had a stick in his hand. He struck me himself with others. Both my hands were broken. My head was all cut up. I was ill for six or eight weeks. I was carried home in a hammock. I was marched on from one mob to another, and beaten by each of them. They appeared to have had some head man. The first gang seemed to have been under the command of James McLaren; the second seemed to be under the command of Napier; the third under Scipio Cowell. I don't know who was captain of the fourth gang. I met these bodies at different places. I knew McLaren. I have seen him very often at the Baptist chapel at Morant-bay, behind the Wesleyan chapel. I believe McLaren used to preach there.

Examined by Ennis Napier.

I saw you a little westward of the prison with a gang of Rebels. Mr. Ward and I were walking together. We were both covered with blood. You had a stick in your hand. You thrashed me well. I am quite sure of it. I never saw you from that evening until I saw you in custody.

WILLIAM ECCLES WARD.

I was at Morant-bay on the 11th October. I know Ennis Napier. He was with a crowd of Rebels. Saw him between the prison and Baptist chapel. He had a stick and cutlass in his hand. He was the head of the gang. He ordered the gang to take us on to Stony Gut. He and others beat me with a stick. The first gang caught me at the bridge. One man had me under the bridge in the water, trying to drown me. I saw the attack on the station. It was about half-past 4 when I was beaten. At about half-past 3 o'clock I was in the parade. Heard a drum beating and horns blowing coming down the Stanton road. I ran up into an old house in the parade. They rushed in and took down the guns. Napier beat Williams as well as me. Saw McLaren at Church Corner. Saw him at a meeting held at Gordon's house.

Examined by Napier.

You had a cutlass and beat me.

SLIGO CAMPBELL.

I was an officer of the district prison on 11th October. I know Ennis Napier. I saw him opposite the prison about after 4 in the evening. He had a stick in his hand. I spoke to him. He told me "he was looking for Mr. McPherson the coroner." He said he was not going to "kill him, only "to switch him." He was alone at that time. He said "he was going to the bay." I saw Mr. Joseph Williams, a volunteer, brought up, Mr. Ward, and Bobby Todd. Matthew Ford brought them up. They had made Mr. Williams and Mr. Ward prisoners, and were taking them on to Church Corner. There was a body of men facing Caroline Milne's gate at Church Corner. One of the Bogles generally attends McLaren's chapel. Joseph Williams was in blood. Napier said, "Take them on," and he turned back with them. I saw Matthew Ford beating Williams. There were upwards of 100 men at Caroline Milne's gate. They had sticks, and were beating Williams and Ward. I saw a body of upwards of 300 men at 12 o'clock at night come to the prison. Nathaniel Richards was among them. They came from the bay way. They were armed with guns, sticks, cutlasses, and lances. They had volunteer guns. I also saw Alexander White and William Osborne, Bowie was before this body, leading them. He was called Captain Bowie. Paul and Moses Bogle were also there. They were also called captain. There were 51 prisoners in the prison under sentence. There were some prisoners for felony. They ordered arms at the gate by Bogle's order. Bowie gave orders to load. Bowie said, "Fire, because people inside were armed." I was standing outside. I said, "We were not armed." They called me out. Some wanted to chop me. They ordered me "to go and let out the prisoners." I said, "I can't do that, you must go and let them out yourselves." They then formed two deep. Bowie marched in with the first company of 10 men. Craddock next marched in with 10 men. Simmonds was next with Bogle. He also had 10 men under him; the rest came in in one body. They opened the prison door, and let the prisoners out. They counted the prisoners and let them go. They took and swore me to join them, and not go in any public situation again. They swore me upon the Bible. They swore me to fight for Queen and country. William Osborne threatened me much. Nathaniel Richards was in a terrible rage. They said if I did not go with them and fight for my Queen and country, they would take off my head. I have seen Alexander White before at Morant. On Saturday, 7th October, he was charged with assault on a little girl. This was the same case that caused the disturbance. They inquired after the superintendent. I told them he was gone, but I don't know where. William Osborne said it is all nonsense. They said if I don't tell where the superintendent was they would take off my head.

Examined by Matthew Ford.

I have seen you before at Morant-bay. I saw you the day of the rebellion beating Mr. Williams. There were three of you.

Examined by Ennis Napier.

I saw you with a good sized stick in your hand.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.

I saw you on 11th October at the district prison. I knew you before. You were very violent. I was in the bay during martial law. You were with the Maroons. You were not taken up until after martial law. I saw you get a flogging. I don't know what you were flogged for.

Examined by Alex. White.

I saw you come in the prison with the rest of people. You came to take out the prisoners.

Examined by Wm. Osborne.

I knew you before at Friendship Pen. You are always wrestling. I have been an officer in the prison three years. I did not come to Duhaney Pen in martial law. I saw you with Bogle at the prison on 11th October. You were one of those who rescued the prisoner on the 7th October. You and I are no friends. I never had any quarrel with them.

By a Juror.

"You must take this oath and give the key to the superintendent. So help you God."

JNO. TOBIAS WALKER.

I remember the day of the trouble at Morant-bay. I live a quarter of a mile from Morant-bay. On next day (Thursday) I saw Ennis Napier. His clothes were in blood. He lives in the country.

Examined by Ennis Napier.

You told me "I don't business in the transaction; they shot Noble and I lift him up, and his blood "daub me." Noble is alive.

THOMAS GIBSON.

I live at Spring Garden, near Stony Gut. I know Benjamin Bingling. I know Catherine Rankine. In consequence of what Catherine Rankine told me, I saw Bingling. I told him what Catherine Rankine had said. I told him Catherine Rankine told me that "you had killed the Baron." The Baron was killed at the Wharf road, Morant-bay, on 11th October. It was next day morning I saw Bingling, and told him what Catherine Rankine had told me. I told him this at my door at Spring Garden. He said, "I must go and beg Catherine Rakine not to go much far with it." I said, "It is a

JAMAICA.

" thing I can't do, you must go and do it yourself." Bingling was at Morant-bay on 11th October He and I went there about half-past six in the evening of the 11th. When we went to Morant-bay he said, " We must go see the fire burn." I stopped at Brown's Gut bridge. He went among the crowd of people. I saw him pretty near eight o'clock in the evening. I was on the beach with some ladies. I lost sight of him from the time he went in until that time. When we came into the town the court-house was nearly burnt.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

You and I work upon the road. We draw off at Serge Island at 4 o'clock and were going home You and I never ate any dinner in your house. We were going home, but when we heard of the fire burn at the bay we went. You left me and ran on before me. We saw a quantity of people at Brown's Gut bridge. You went among the crowd. Between 7 and 8 o'clock you came to me at the beach and told me " You had down the fellow." You and Billy Walters walked together. Billy Walters is hung. I was sitting down on the beach. I did not hear Bundy tell you and I to go to the seaside and stand sentry. I don't know John Bundy. I did not take two volunteers and deliver them to John Bundy. He did not put me as a guard to prevent anyone from passing. I never took bullets out of Redman's foot. I slept at the bay. I went and looked upon the Baron according as you told me. You told me the fellow you had down was the Baron. The next morning I went to look upon the Baron; he was lying in the Wharf road dead. You had a cutlass. I remained on the bay the night on purpose to see if what you said was true.

Re-examined.

We hire lands at Spring Garden. It is ruinate land. We hire it from the Baron. The beach is bottom of the Wharf road. Bingling said to me, " Gibson, I have down the fellow." I asked him which fellow? He said, " the Baron." I told him he had no right to do that as it was the very man he was employed by. He went away after. He said " the Baron had a sword and made a strike at " him, and he made a strike at him with his cutlass, the Baron said to save his life and he would give " him two horses." He did not tell me where he killed the Baron. He said, " the Baron was on " the hill side hiding from the fire." I went to the Wharf road next morning and saw the Baron. He had a terrible cut on his head. Nearly cut the brains out. He and I never quarrel. I leave him in charge to John Williams, a constable. Bothwell was with Williams.

By a Juror.

When I parted with Bingling at 6 o'clock he had a cutlass in his hand. I did not see any guard kept.

Catherine Rankine.

I live at York, line to Spring Garden. I know Benjamin Bingling. I remember the day of the rebellion. I saw Bingling about 8 o' clock on the Thursday morning after. He came into my yard and told me "he had killed the Baron." I ordered him out of my yard. He told me "he went " Wednesday evening to Morant-bay." I did not ask him any question. I told Thomas Gibson what he had told me the same day. My husband's name is William Rankine.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

You came into my yard and told me you had killed the Baron. I told you that before Bothwell when you were taken up. You were taken up on the road. I did not see you kill the Baron. I don't know what sort of clothes you had on. I did not see any blood on you.

Alexander Bothwell re-called.

I apprehended Bingling. I received information from constable Williams, who caused me to look for Bingling. I was in search of him all during martial law. I could not find him. I found him some time in December last. He was with me in the presence of Catherine Rankine after I had taken him. I made him, Bingling, Catherine Rankine and Thomas Gibson prisoners. She charged him with the murder of the Baron in my presence. She said Bingling came to her yard and told her he had killed the Baron. Bingling heard her say this, he said nothing.

Examined by Benjamin Bingling.

I was looking for you in your house at Spring Garden. I burn your house. You were living in that house. I took you up at the Valley road.

William Padmore.

I am a shoemaker, at Morant-bay; I was so on the 11th October. I know Sampson Champney. I live on Stanton land. I saw Champney on 11th October, about 4 o'clock. He was about a quarter of a mile out the bay. He was in a large gang, apparently a reserve gang. I did not see him until I heard him say " Here is a volunteer, lick him, lick him." He did lick me and many others, and I fell. They had sticks. They were as they were wild. Some seemed to have been running away from the bay, others were going into the bay. I laid information against him after martial law. On the Sunday after I laid information against him, he came to my house and said, " Massa, for God's sake forgive " me." I saw Sampson Champney.

Examined by Sampson Champney.

I knew you on the 11th October. I pointed you out on the 11th October to a party who was taking me home, who said you were Sampson Champney. When you came to my yard I said I was willing to forgive you, but I had placed the matter before the magistrates.

CHARLOTTE CARTER.

I was a servant at Mr. Marchalleck's shop on 11th October at Morant-bay. I know Elizabeth Faulkner and Rosanna Findlayson. I saw Rosanna Findlayson come from the parade and come to Mr. Bennet's piazza. She said they must go and bring a firestick and some trash and set the school room on fire; the white people will be burnt up alive. The piazza was full of Rebels, who she spoke to. She then left and went round to the parade. Five minutes after the school room was on fire. I heard guns firing. The same time she left, they fired at one of the Bath volunteers (Gilfoy). I saw the body lying down on the parade. I saw Elizabeth Faulkner at Mr. Bennett's piazza also. She came after Mrs. Finlayson left the piazza. She was beating Mr. Bennet's door, and calling out for the people to take out the buckras in there, to kill them. She had a stick in her left hand. She beat the door with her right; Miss Downie, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Bennett were inside the store.

Examined by Elizabeth Faulkner.

The store was not locked at the time I saw you; it was only shut.

Examined by Rosanna Finlayson.

I did not see you with a firestick. You gave orders to your own people to go for the firestick. You come from the mountain together.

ROBERT JACOBS.

I was in the volunteer force in Morant-bay 11th October. I saw James Francis there on that day. After I made my escape out of Mr. Price's house, I went into the privy. There were McGowen and Rutty, two volunteers, and Mr. Duncan McPherson with me. Mr. McPherson is dead since. Rutty and McGowen and I were severely wounded. While I was in the privy, between 7 and 8 o'clock, the light from the court-house, which was burning, was very bright. Lot of people surround the place. I saw him through the window and made a sign to him; he said "Ah, you in there every one of your "head shall be off this night." I always employed him. He and others commenced to break down the privy. I fell on the floor and the others were on top of me. After beating us they pulled us out one by one. James Francis took off my ring and my boots. I laid down as if I were dead. He said "This fellow Jacobs is dead. To-morrow we will go to Bath and have some refreshments out of his "shop." He said "Good, the whole of you are all dead." He does not belong to Morant-bay. He belongs to Friendship Penn, about 12 miles from Morant-bay.

Examined by James Francis.

They took you up in martial law, but I was sick and could not give evidence against you. I told the Maroons to keep you. I gave evidence against you in Bath, when you were taken up a second time. I never saw you flogged. I heard you were flogged.

THOMAS SCOTT.

I was a drummer of the No. 1 company of volunteers, St. Thomas-in-the-East, and was at Morant-bay on 11th October on duty. I know James Failey. I saw him come in the crowd of Rebels. He came from the main street into the parade. There was no fighting going on when he came. When the court-house was burning down I ran out; I ran to the Wharf road. I left Captain Hitchins in the fort house. He was wounded. I saw Failey in the Wharf road when I ran there. He had a stick and a cutlass in his hands. He licked me down and called out for the rest of his men. There was a large crowd there then. His men came. They had sticks, cutlasses, and swords. I was on the ground. They said I was dead already, must not lick me again. They left me and I made my escape. This was when the court-house was on fire.

Examined by James Faily.

This is the same evidence as what I gave before Mr. Ewart at Morant-bay.

Examined by James Francis.

I flogged you at Bath. I was ordered to do so by Justice Kirkland for stealing goods in Bath.

ROMEO W. DRYSDALE.

I was corporal of police on 11th October last at Morant-bay. I made my escape from the parade to the wharf. I was attacked at the Wharf road. I was in the parade before and while the Riot Act was read. I saw Mr. Arthur Cooke gallop into the parade. I saw the mob come into the parade. After going to the Wharf road I attempted to go up Rosemary lane to get into the main street, when I was attacked by about 20 or 30 men. They were armed with cutlasses, sticks, and spikes. They were under the command of Lieutenant McLaren. I was made a prisoner. James Faily was among those who took me prisoner. He had a cutlass. This was about half an hour after the volunteers fired. Faily spoke to me, "Ain't you Charles William Drysdale's brother?" I said "Yes." He said "What are "you doing here, you will be killed to-day." He aimed a spike at me. I turned my head aside not to see what he was doing, when a woman saved me. He ordered me to be tied, but I was not tied. Serjeant McKenzie and I were made prisoners together. I was marched up to the district prison and left in charge of four men. They said to take us there until we got further orders of Capt. Bogle. I subsequently made my escape to Duhaney Penn. While in Mr. Uniacke's house I heard a person making a statement. I ascertained afterwards it was William Osborne. He came to Mrs. Uniacke and called for West (a rural constable), West was not there. Mrs. Uniacke answered him. He said he had come for West to go into the bay and see what is done. He afterwards said, "We kill Walton; "Baron dead, Arthur Cooke dead, and the inspector we have just killed." Mrs. Uniacke said "Boy,

JAMAICA. "after you kill all the buckras, what we going to do. Come out of my yard." He said, "I am going "back to the bay. See my machet; those that are not killed, we will finish them."

Examined by James Faily.

I did not say you made me prisoner.

Examined by William Wilson.

The night you were speaking was the night of the outbreak. I did not see you; I was afraid to take you up at the time.

By the Court.

McKenzie was with me, but he was asleep; Codrington was there.

ELEANOR UNIACKE.

I am a washerwoman at Morant-bay. I remember 11th October. I heard a person call at Cousin West. It was William Osborne. I know him well. West did not answer. Mrs. Anderson answered. I went into the hall and saw William Osborne. This was late in the night. Serjeant McKenzie, Corporal Drysdale, and Codrington were in my house. Osborne said all the buckras dead in the bay. I asked him where you come from so late in the night. He said from the bay. I asked him who dead? He said Mr. Cooke, Parson Herschell, and the inspector, and Mr. Georges. I said, Good Lord! what is this. I ordered him out. I asked him where the great singing was in the bay. He said at the prison after the prisoners were released. I don't remember his saying anything about Mr. Walton. I don't remember if he said he was going back to the bay.

Examined by William Osborne.

You had a stick in your hand. I did not see any cutlass.

JOHN CODRINGTON.

I was a boatswain in the district prison on 11th October. I was at Duhaney's Penn at Mrs. Uniack's house that night. Corporal Drysdale was there. Mrs. Uniack was there. I heard a person calling outside. He said, Hallo, you gone to bed. Mrs. Uniack went out. I heard her ask the person where you from this hour. He said from the bay. She asked What's the news in the bay. He said "Go into the "bay, you see how buckra lay down there." He said, "We kill Aleck Cooke; we kill the Baron, Walton, "and Parson Herschell, and the inspector." Mrs. Uniack asked him if he had seen that fellow Codrington and his busha. He said, "No, they did not, we did not see them, but we take out the prisoners." Mrs. Uniack said, Good God! boy, come out of my yard, after you kill all the buckras, how we to live. Next morning, on my way to the prison, I saw William Osborne coming behind me with a cutlass. I said, "Good morning, William Osborne;" he said, "Good morning, Mr. Codrington." He said, "I see you "over this side." I said, "I took a walk to see my family, and am just getting over." He said, "I "am just going at Church Corner to meet Captain Bogle, because we have to go to Lyson's to see that "fellow Wallace." Mr. Wallace is Lyson's overseer. Lyson's is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Morant-bay. He said, "We were going to Bath, and from Bath to Golden Grove."

Examined by Wm. Osborne.

I see you a few times working on the Kingston road. The rebellion was in the bay, on Wednesday night. There was no killing on Thursday morning.

WM. CUTHBERT.

I was a boatswain at the district prison on 11th October last. About 12 o'clock at night I saw a body of about 300 men come there. Sligo Campbell was there. I saw Wm. Osborne and Nathaniel Richards. They were all armed with rifles, sticks, and cutlasses. The prisoners were released by them that night. They left one portion at the gate, and came in three companies of ten men. They said shoulder and order arms. Nathaniel Richards had a volunteer rifle and a pouch at his back. William Osborne had a stick in his hand. Alexander White had nothing, he was with the body of men. Sentry was placed over me. I was sworn on a Bible. They said I am sworn to be no more a public officer, and must look for the superintendent, and deliver the key to him, and go home and work for myself, or come along with them and fight for my Queen and country.

Examined by William Osborne.

You were at the prison.

Examined by Nathaniel Richards.

A Maroon man asked me if I knew you, I said yes; you were brought before Provost Marshal Ramsay; you were flogged in the parade. I don't know how many lashes you got.

COLIN HAMILTON.

I was fifer to volunteers on 11th October. I was on duty that day. I saw a crowd enter the parade. I saw Captain Paul Bogle, Captain McLaren, and Captain James Thomas and Moses Bogle, as they came about ten yards from the volunteers. Paul Bogle gave the order to close at once. I saw John Gough among the foremost men; he had a cutlass and a stick; he was a front rank man. They were flourishing their sticks. As the order was given, John Gough licked at every volunteer he could get at, and police. I ran away into Mr. Hilburry's privy, and took off my clothes, and then ran down to the Wharf road. John Gough was down that side chasing a policeman who got away. He then saw a volunteer looking for his way. He licked him down with a stick. I saw him on Thursday morning

at Dumfries; it is about a mile from Morant-bay. I heard the "Wolverine" had come in, and came out of my house to see it, when I saw Captain James Thomas with a gun, and John Gough with a stick; his clothes was all over in blood. When he saw me he said, "Here is one of the volunteers." I said, "No, I resign." He said, "Well, don't let me see you wear that stripe again." They went away and took their despatch to the woods. Gough belongs to Morant-bay. He was living with Mary Ward; he has no regular place of living.

Examined by John Gough.

I don't know your yard; I know Charles Pendergast's yard. I don't remember saying anything to you. Some of your parents are at Morant-bay. He and I have had no quarrel. I have no ill-will against you.

ELIZABETH MCBETH.

I live near Morant-bay. I remember 11th October, the day of the rebellion. I saw Ennis Napier. I was at the cottage about half-past 2. He was coming up. I heard him say 14 days' fight, and blood and water going to be at Morant-bay to-day. Who for stop at the mountain stand there, and who for stand at Morant-bay stand there. He was going towards Moses Bogle's way. I saw him return at half-past 3, just before the row. I saw Joshua Gordon coming from Morant-bay after I heard the firing. He had a wound on the left side of his head, and was bleeding. His housekeeper was with him. She said he had taken a walk to the bay, they had shot him. Her name is Joanna Williams.

Examined by Ennis Napier.

I am very seldom at home I did not see you at the bay.

Examined by Joshua Gordon.

I know you well. I did not know you were a blackguard until that day. I was standing up outside the road. They said they were going to kill every buckra and every mulatto. I was sober on 11th October. I did not see anybody coming with you besides your sweetheart. I never said anything to you on the 19th October. I never said a statement had been taken of all the Church Corner boys. I never told you that they had put Gordon and Samuel Clarke into the great gun and blew them to the rags.

RICHARD D. MARZINK.

I was one of the volunteers at Morant-bay. I was wounded on my right leg, my right finger, and on my head, at Morant-bay. I saw the large body of men enter the parade on the 11th October, between 3 and 4 o'clock. I saw Alexander Taylor there. He belongs to Mount Stewart. He was among the body of Rebels. He had a long spike and a cutlass in a sheath to his side. He was with Captain Bowie who has been hung. Taylor thrust the spike at a volunteer, David Graham; I struck the gun out of Graham's hand. The gun fell to the ground. One of these spikes were taken out of Williams, a bugler's, body. I saw Alexander Taylor again after the firing at 6 o'clock. I saw him running through the Fort yard. Myself, the Baron, Mr. Hitchins, Jacobs, Mr. Reid, and Lieutenant Hall, were in Mr. Price's house. Taylor said, that fellow, Baron's, head shall be off this night. There were hundreds of people with him. They were moving from place to place. I saw Edward Gordon there also. He was with the armed crowd about 6 o'clock, running back of the fort to go to the sea way with the rest. They came in with guns with fixed bayonets.

Examined by Edward Gordon.

I knew you before, when I was at Morant-bay in the police force. I gave the same evidence as I did at Morant-bay. I saw you at 9 o'clock at night also, with other parties, capture me.

Re-examined.

They were keeping guard at the Wharf road. He and Daniel Johnson. He was one that took me prisoner. Johnson said to handcuff and send me up to Stoney Gut. They took away my jacket and cap. In the act of doing that Mr. Price came down from the fort to the road. They let me go and catch Mr. Price. I was still kept by the people. Edward Gordon was among the people. I know him well. I have known him three years back. They said, "Mr. Price, you are a black man. "You join buckra and leave your own colour." They took off his hat and his jacket. There was some money in the jacket, which they were fighting to get, and I got away. I never saw Gordon again until the 28th January, when I saw him and identified him.

JOHN SPENCE.

I live at Cottage Penn, and was employed by Mr. Duncan McPherson. I remember the day of the rebellion. I know Edward Gordon, and have known him a long time. I have seen him at the meeting-house at Church Corner. He asked me to join the meeting; this was about three weeks before the rebellion. The meeting-house was McLean's. Thomas Graham was there. I went to that meeting; plenty people were there. Thomas Graham asked me to join the meeting. McLaren was there. He swore the people; Graham and Gordon were present. I asked Gordon what was the meeting about? He said if I want to know what the meeting is about I must join them. I saw Thomas Graham in the Fort yard on the 11th October, about 8 o'clock at night. McLaren, T. Bogle, and Bowie were there also. Graham tried to break into the magazine; that is, the powder house.

Examined by Edward Gordon.

You asked me to go to the meeting, I don't remember what day; Moses Bogle did not ask me. I did know when you were taken up in martial law. I don't know for what purpose you build the house. You said you pray to God I don't join Moses Bogle's meeting. He is not my leader.

JAMAICA.

Examined by Thomas Graham.

I never stole your plantains. I never told Mr. Graham that if I had known she would have caught me with the plantains, I would have told a story and got your neck cracked. I can say the Lord's prayer. I saw you breaking the magazine door with an iron bar in your hand. The fire from the court-house was so bright that I could see anybody. I saw several more breaking the door besides you. I saw you with the jacket you have on. I never saw you in the court-martial. I saw you at 8 o'clock at night.

JOHN HILBURY.

I was on the court-house steps on the 11th October. I have a shop close by, next door. I saw when the Rebels came into the parade. Some came my way from the east. About three-quarters after they came in the court-house was on fire. About 5 o'clock I saw Alexander Taylor; he had a cutlass in his hand. He was with the body of men. He came from the court-house, and lifted his cutlass over me, and said, "Now, sir, what do you say for yourself. Is it the white or black people "set fire to the court-house. Is it not the white people?" I said "Yes." I was compelled to say so from fear. He said, "Ah, my boy, as soon as the Maroons at Hayfield hear that some of their sons is "dead, you will see what will be done here to-morrow." I saw Isaac Joseph at night on the parade; he had a cutlass in his hand. I had seen the inspector about five minutes before with his little son holding him by the right hand; as he came out a body of men rushed out on him. They said, "See "him here." He cried out, "Mercy, mercy; my child." One man had him a blow on the forehead with a stick; he staggered, and his hat dropped. He attempted to run, and another gave him another blow. They then laid hold of him by the neck, and dragged him across the parade and finished him. Isaac Joseph took up his hat. I saw him come from the crowd where the dead body was, and picked up the hat. He had a cutlass in his hand.

Examined by Isaac Joseph.

I saw you at Morant-bay. The distance between the shop where I was to where the hat was is 17 yards. I measured it afterwards. I had him taken up after the martial law. As soon as he saw me he ran away. That was the time I saw him after martial law.

Re-examined.

When I looked at him he hid his face with his basket.

JOHN SPENCE (re-called).

I know John Taylor. He is a brother of Alexander Taylor. I saw him in the Fort yard at Morant-bay. I asked him if he had seen Mr. McPherson; he told me he was dead. He was sitting down. It was 8 o'clock at night. This was the same time I saw Alexander Taylor. There was a crowd, about half as many people as are here now. He lives at Cottage Penn.

Examined by John Taylor.

I came to look for Mr. McPherson. You told me Mr. McPherson is dead. He told me I must go round the Fort yard, and I will see him. He could not go with me, as he had been in the bay from morning and was tired. I saw Mr. McPherson on Friday at Cottage Penn, after being brought up in a cart. He was dead. John Taylor told me where the body was at the Fort yard.

HENRY H. WILLIAMS.

I was a volunteer at Morant-bay on the 11th October. I saw Alexander Murray there in the evening. The court-house was on fire at the time. He was going down the bay, pass the Wesleyan chapel. He had a volunteer gun with fixed bayonet. At that time they were still going on with the havoc. I could not get into the bay on that day for the crowd. I saw two other men with Alexander Murray with volunteer rifles.

Examined by Alexander Murray.

I saw you on the 11th October, in the evening. I am certain sure it was you. You were coming from the parade way and going down the bay way. I have known you for over two years, when you were chipping logwood for Mr. Chevannes' money. What I have said against you is quite true. I can read the Bible.

ELIZA GREGORY.

I live at Morant-bay. Was there on the 11th of October. Know Brown's Gut bridge; saw Wm. McGregor there between 4 and 5 o'clock; there were about 20 other men with him. Some had guns, machets, swords, and sticks. They were keeping guard. They said they were waiting for Mr. Georges. I saw James McLaren there. He had a cutlass. He told the rest to keep guard and wait for Mr. Georges. They kept guard until 7 o'clock, when the shell blew, and they run up the bay. I saw Henry Mitchell. He was standing at the bridge with a lot of others; some had guns, sticks, volunteer's sword, and machets. I saw McLaren with them, who said too, "Come let us go let "go the prisoners out of prison." They moved on and went down. This was between 10 and 11 o'clock at night. I heard him say "That broke-hip volunteer escape from the parade, but if "I catch him to-night I will kill him." There was a volunteer who had pains and walked lame. He lived at the bridge, in the same yard. That is where I live. His name is James Britt.

Examined by William McGregor.

McLaren told you to keep guard and wait for Mr. Georges. You had a machet in your hand. I was standing at my gate. I never know you walk with a cutlass before the rebellion.

Examined by Henry Mitchell.

I know you a long time. I saw at the bridge with a stick. You knew that Britt was on duty that day. Your brother bought candles from me that night.

WILLIAM MITCHELL.

I was in the volunteer force on the day of the outbreak at Morant-bay. I saw in the morning men coming in two by two with sticks. I was in the court-house the afterpart of the day. I saw the armed body come in. They came up near to where we were stationed. We retreated. They sang out, they are running. They came up to us with bayonets fixed. The Baron waved his handkerchief and cried peace. The volunteers were in single file. There were only 27 of us on the ground. The order was given to fire. They did not allow us to reload. I managed to reload, but could not cap. While going up the steps of the court-house I was struck with a brick. They gave us five rounds, the No. 2 company. We got them from the No. 1. I made my escape with Mr. Walton from the back. Mr. Walton and I got into Hilberry's bush. We again returned to Mr. Price's house. I saw the Baron, Herschell, Mr. Georges, Dr. Major, and Dr. Gerrard, Mr. Warmington, and several others there. They had been in the court-house. At that time the court-house was on fire. Mr. Price's house took fire from the court-house. Lieutenant Hall was shot in the throat. The Baron, Mr. Georges, and little Alberga were shot. We then left the house. I saw the Baron leaning against the fort yard. As soon as the Rebels came in he went out and laid in the trench. Paul Bogle came in and said, "Here is the Baron." The Baron said, "What's all this? If it is me "you want, take me, and save the rest." Paul Bogle said, "No, we don't want you alone; we are "going to kill you and all the buckras, and volunteers, and the mulattos." They then beat him, while he cried for mercy. They left him and went away. A man said, "Captain, let us give him a chop," which he did. Another one said, "Let us give him a load," and discharged a gun at him. I saw Peter O'Hagan in the fort yard. He had a stick and a cutlass. They were beating me. I said to him, "Peter, save my life." He said, "I know you a damned forward fellow. Kill him, cut off his head." Alexander Taylor was there at that time; he said, "Kill him, kill the whole of them." They asked me why I join the volunteers, and what the Queen pay me to be a volunteer; I said, nothing. They took away my ring and my boots, and rifled me. I was ill for a long time. They threw me down and held a cutlass to my neck. I heard a person ask, Who is that? They said Mitchell. And somebody called out, Save him; they allowed me to get up. Manuld Panton came up and saved me. He has been hung; he was head man; they said, "Devil you, man, what the head man say." They said, "If we save him we must get half his salary."

SARAH KNOWLES.

I lived at Morant-bay on the 11th October. I know Peter O'Hagan. I saw him on that day at the Wharf road. I saw him at Hilberry's shop door. He had a cutlass and a stick. I was in the shop. I said, "Peter are you going to kill me?" He said, not to call his name or he would take off my head. This was between 4 and 5 o'clock. The school room was on fire. He was alone. I saw several of them in Mr. Hilberry's yard. There was a body in the parade. He said I am not going to kill any woman; but seeing all his colour on the parade he is going to kill all the whites before he goes away to-night. I asked him to allow me to go and take my child. He said if I was carrying any powder to the volunteers he would take off my head; this was a shoemaker's shop. I saw when they were murdering Mr. Price that same night. Next morning I found his body at Grant's shop door.

Examined by Peter O'Hagan.

I saw you with a stick in your hand. There was no crowd in the parade then.

FOURTH DAY.

FRANCIS MCKAY.

I am employed at Mr. Kirkland's store at Morant-bay. I was there on 11th October. I saw a concourse of people entering the bay, upwards of 300, from the Stanton direction. I got alarmed and closed the store. I went upstairs and saw the attack on station. I saw Alexander Taylor. He was one of the mob that attacked the station. He had a cutlass in his hand. He brandished the cutlass in my face and said he would come back for me. I heard them say they would kill every white and coloured person in the bay. I heard them bring Mr. Price under the window and struck his head against the wall. I remained there until 1 o'clock in the morning. The store is at the entrance into the parade. This row continued off and on until then.

GILBERT LINDSAY.

I was at Morant-bay on 11th October. I saw the attack on volunteers. I saw Alexander Taylor among the body of men attack the volunteers. I saw him in the daytime after the attack in the parade with a volunteer rifle. I afterwards saw him in the night. I heard him say not one of the buckra or volunteers to be left to-night. It was about sunset when I saw him.

GEORGE READ.

I know Robert Wilson. I saw him on 12th October at York, St. Thomas-in-the-East. His clothes was all over with blood. I asked him where he is from. He said from Stony Gut now. I asked him if Stony Gut only. He said from Morant-bay as well. I asked him if there were any gentlemen destroyed by the blacks. He said yes; we kill them. I asked what quantity. He said lots. I asked their names. He said, Mr. Walton, the Baron, and Mr. Herschell. I met him on the road. We left each other. On the next day I saw him with the same clothes daubed with blood at my yard. That is line and line with Spring Garden. I asked him how he had the heart to keep on the blood clothes until this time I see him again. He said, Yes, I have a right to have on my clothes, for when a man make up his mind to join a war he must make it up truly. I said, How comes you to daub so much

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with blood? He said, When I went to the bay, as I went into the parade, I licked down a volunteer with a stick, and I take away his rifle and his cartouche box, and his sword as well, and armed myself, and was there until the court-house caught fire. He said when the court-house caught fire some one called out the buckras making their escape to the privy, and I ran round. Immediately as he got round the whole of the buckras were flocking in the privy. I ran up and run the sword right through one, and as I pull back the sword the blood spill on me. That let me get the blood on my clothes; and we drag out the whole of them and kill them all. He said the buckras in the privy cried out Don't poke us in this manner, shoot us and done. He said they ran away from them and the fire was burning the court-house, and the fire from the court-house was dropping upon some of their blacks who were killed by the volunteers. He said when they commenced to draw away the blacks they found one of the Mr. Cooke's, he was awfully murdered, but not dead yet. I called out to the rest, hallo, there is one of the fellows here not dead yet. He said Mr. Cooke was trying to drag himself from the heat of the fire. When the people came we turn to and beat out his brains. George Robinson was in the house (sick) at the time.

Examined by Robert Wilson.

I met you Thursday morning about 8 and 9 o'clock. I was going to my brother's yard. I never told you anything. You live next door to me. Wilson and others held a meeting at York on 5th October. My brother went there and was shot on 15th October by soldiers at Chicgo foot market.

Re-examined.

He told me Mr. Cooke was killed just back of the court-house by the fort wall. The fort yard is near by the privy. The prisoner and I never had any quarrel.

George Robinson.

I live at York. I know Robert Wilson. I saw him on 13th October (Friday) at George Read's house. His clothes was all daubed with blood. I was sick with fever, lying down. I heard Robert Wilson talking to George Read. I heard him say buckra skin well tough and hard to dead, for they was well murder one of the young Cooke, but he did not dead till when the court-house catch fire. Then they were walking to see if any of the black skin was near the fire to move them away. At that time he found Mr. Cooke dragging on his belly to make his escape. I called out to the rest, and they turned to and beat out his brains. I never had any quarrel with prisoner.

Examined by Robert Wilson.

I know the last witness. We both live at York in one house.

John Hilberry re-called.

I live at Morant-bay. On 12th October, about half-past 6, I went into the fort yard to look at the dead bodies. I saw Mr. Alexr. Baines Cooke; he was dead; he was back of the privy in the fort yard. Both his eyes were dug out. The privy is about 12 or 15 yards from the school-room. This school-house was burnt.

Romeo Wm. Drysdale re-called.

H. T. Bogle lives at Church Corner, a mile from Morant-bay. E. Faulkner lives at Church Corner, a mile from Morant-bay. Failey lives at Thornton, 10 miles from Morant-bay. Francis does not live in Morant-bay. Pinnock lives at Thornton, 10 miles from Morant-bay. None of the prisoners live in Morant-bay; if they had I would know them; I have been there five years.

Nathaniel Lake.

Asthwith, Ford, Champneys, Rosanna Finlayson, Nancy Murray, Nathaniel Richards. They don't live at Morant-bay.

Defence.

George Ashby, by Rosanna Finlayson.

I am proprietor of Stanton estate. I am not aware that Rosanna Finlayson was working on Stanton on Wednesday, 11th October. Stanton is on the road from Stony Gut to Morant-bay. A crowd of people, about 500 or 600, stopped there.

Thos. Gibson, by Benj. Bingling.

You were working with me on 11th October up to 4 o'clock.

Wm. Padmore, by Wm. Grant.

I never saw you on the 11th October until 5 o'clock in the afternoon at Stanton land. I saw you with a gun belonging to Mrs. Blount. She lives at Morant.

Elizth. McBeth, by Sarah Johnson.

Thos. Martin, by Alexr. Murray.

You are a sawyer. You were at work on 11th October. After work you came to my yard about after 5 in the evening. My yard is at Church Corner. You dined with me. You remained there till dark, about half-past 7.

Examined.

I saw him come all the way from his house at Red Hill. He had nothing in his hand. I was at the bay on the 11th. I did not assist in saving lives.

JAMES WILKIE, by Alexander Murray.

I saw you on 11th October. You came to Martin's yard at 4 o'clock. Martin is my father. He was at dinner. After dinner you sat down for a little while; you went out. I don't know where you went. I don't know if you returned.

CORDELIA MARTIN, by Alexander Murray.

I am Thomas Martin's wife. I saw you on the evening of the rebellion. You ate dinner at my yard. You remained there until after dark. You came a little after 4 o'clock and remained until about 7 o'clock when you went away. I did not see him again until next morning.

WILLIAM GRAY, by Alexander Murray.

I saw you on the 11th October at 4 in the evening at Martin's yard. I saw you up to 7 o'clock. You were at Thomas Martin's house until then. Thomas Martin, Cordelia Martin, James Wilkie was there. The fury was going on.

SLIGO CAMPBELL, by Wm. McGregor.

I did not see you on the 11th October pass the prison. If you had passed the prison that day I would have seen you. You are a baker. To my knowledge you are not a blackguard.

JOHN WILLIAMS, by Elizabeth Taylor.

I never saw you at Stony Gut. I never saw you at Bogle's meeting.

Examined.

I am not in the habit of going to Bogle's meeting. I was sick when the row began.

COLIN HAMILTON, by Ann Thompson.

You are not a rowsome person to my knowledge. I saw you at the bay at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 11th October. I don't know what time you came home. I heard you about 10 or 11 at night for the first time after I saw you in the morning.

HENRY JOHNSON, by Ann Thompson.

I live in the house with you. I left you in the house in the morning at 9 o'clock when I was going to work. I came back 5 in the evening. I did not see her then. She came from the bay about 5. She had a basket in her hand. She never went out again. William Wilson lives in the same yard. He is not here. She and I slept in the same bed all night.

Examined.

She went for the pillows about 7 o'clock. I was asleep.

EDWARD HOUSE, by Alexander White.

You were working in the bay on the 11th October. You were carrying water for Mr. Price. You came to Duhany Pen to your employer James Job. You had a cut on your thigh. This was about 9 o'clock on the 11th October.

Examined.

He came from Morant-bay.

SARAH KNOWLES, by Alexander White.

Mr. Price was my employer. You were not working at half-past 4, carrying water on the 11th. Job brought the water himself on that day.

LETETIA JOHNSON, by Elizabeth Taylor.

I met you in the pass at 4 o'clock in the evening on Wednesday, at Church Corner. You came from Spring Garden. She was coming to look for me, and as she met me she turned back. We both went home to Spring Garden. She never came out of her house again. We don't live in the same house. After we got home I did not see her again. I never came out of my house again after I went in that evening. Spring Garden is three miles from Church Corner. She and I are no family.

Examined.

I did not sleep with her. I left my house soon in the morning and went to the bay to sell my victuals. I left the bay before the people came in.

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JAMES BRITT, by Alexander White.

I was in the shop when you were carrying water, about 9 o'clock in the morning of the 11th. You were going into the bay with the water. I am a volunteer, and was on duty on that day. I saw him at 1 o'clock taking water into Mr. Price's house. I did not see him after that.

JAMES BRITT, by H. T. Bogle.

You might have been at Morant-bay on the 11th, but I did not see you.

JOHN DUBUISSON, by Alexander White.

I saw John Gough beating you on the 11th October. I saw you run into James Lake's yard. This was about 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening. Lake is accountable. I did not see you after or before that time. I heard John Gough say while he was beating White that he was in favour of the white men, and let us beat him, which he did. He ran away and they followed him.

Examined.

I don't know what he was doing before or after.

THOMAS BOGLE, by H. T. Bogle.

I remember the 11th October. You had a bad leg on the morning of the 11th. I saw a lot of volunteers in the school. I was dismissed from school early because volunteers were in the bay. I never saw you leave the yard that night. You slept in the baker's shop all night. Between 7 and 8 in the evening my father marched up to the gate with the prisoners from the prison. Henry was then in the baker's shop, sleeping. He went to sleep after the volunteers had fired, about 5. He came in after they had fired. He slept until 7 or 8 in the evening. He then went to his father-in-law's yard, at Stony Gut. Thomas Miller is his father-in-law. I did not see you go to Morant-bay that day. I did not see you with any cutlass. Your cutlass is the other side of Stony Gut, but not near Stony Gut.

Examined.—I am prisoner's brother.

Prisoners.	Verdict.	Sentence.
Henry T. Bogle	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
John Asthwith	Not guilty.	
William Donaldson.		
Benjamin Bingling	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Matthew Ford	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Sampson Champney	Guilty	Penal servitude for 10 years.
Elizabeth Faulkner	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Francis Cowell.		
James Failey	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
James Francis	Not guilty.	
Rosanna Finlayson	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
David Ferguson.		
John Gough	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
William Ford	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Joshua Gordon	Not guilty.	
Edward Gordon	Not guilty.	
Caroline Grant	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Robert Grant	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Thomas Graham	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
William Grant	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Sarah Johnson	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Isaac Joseph	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Alexander Murray	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
William McGregor	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Henry Mitchell	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Nancy Murray	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Ennis Napier	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
William Osborne	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Peter O'Hagan	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Robert Pinnock	Not guilty.	
Nathaniel Richards	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Daniel Stewart	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
John Taylor	Not guilty.	
Alexander Taylor	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.
Alexander Taylor.		
Elizabeth Taylor	Guilty	Penal servitude for 20 years.
Ann Thompson	Guilty	Penal servitude for 10 years.
George Thomas	Not guilty.	
Alexander White	Guilty	2 yrs. Gen. Penitentiary, hard labour.
Robert Wilson	Guilty	Penal servitude for life.

APPENDIX.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED TO GOVERNOR EYRE.

PRESENTMENT FROM THE GRAND JURY OF THE PARISH OF HANOVER.

MR. JUSTICE KEMBLE to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Lucea, November 6, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, the presentment of the Grand Jury of the parish of Hanover, made to me this day, whilst presiding at the Hanover Circuit Court.

I have, &c.

The Honourable Edward Jordon, C.B., Gov. Sec. (Signed) EDWARD KEMBLE, J.

TO THE HONOURABLE EDWARD KEMBLE, JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT.—THE PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY OF THE PARISH OF HANOVER.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

WE, the Grand Inquest of the parish of Hanover, deem it our duty, in the present state of the Island, to call your Honour's attention to the unprotected condition of the loyal and peaceable inhabitants of this parish.

As we have hitherto believed that no class of the inhabitants of the Island were labouring under any social or political disadvantages, we were astonished and confounded at the causeless and bloody insurrection which has devastated the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and whilst we are convinced that a large number of the inhabitants of the Island are loyal and well disposed, we regret to say, that from indications we have observed in our various districts, we are of opinion that the spirit of disaffection is widely spread.

We are pleased and grateful for the energy and promptitude manifested by his Excellency the Governor, the military, and naval authorities, in putting down the rebellion; but we naturally entertain fears for the stability of peace and order in the Island, unless stringent and immediate measures be adopted for their preservation.

We sincerely trust that the Legislature, which will meet to-morrow, will adopt measures to attain this end, and we request your Honour to transmit to his Excellency the Governor the opinion of the Grand Jury, that the loyal inhabitants of this parish are willing to submit to any sacrifices that may be necessary to secure the peace of the Island.

On behalf and by the desire of the Grand Jury.

(Signed) JACOB LYON, Foreman.

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY OF THE PARISH OF ST. JAMES.

MR. JUSTICE KEMBLE to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Montego Bay, November 14, 1865.

I BEG to enclose, for his Excellency's information, the presentment of the Grand Jury of the parish of St. James, made to me at the St. James's circuit court yesterday.

I have, &c.

The Honourable Edward Jordon, C.B. Governor's Secretary. (Signed) EDWARD KEMBLE, J.

TO HIS HONOUR THE JUDGE.

We, the Grand Inquest of St. James, take leave to represent to your Honour an irregularity and oversight in the preparation of the panel of jurors for this parish, which now and for some time past has prevailed. We refer to the omission from the panel of the grand jury, of magistrates and other gentlemen of standing, education, and intelligence; and also the continuance on the panel of others who by their age should be exempt therefrom.

We need scarcely assure your Honour of our devotion and loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and that our utmost endeavour will at all times be exerted to preserve peace and order in our parish.

We further beg to call the attention of the Government, through your Honour, to the general inefficiency of the police force of this parish. The inspector is required to attend two parishes,

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viz., St. James and Hanover, while his health does not admit of his discharging the duties appertaining to one. The senior sergeant, on whom the responsibility rests during the absence and ill health of the inspector, resides at the distance of one mile from the police station, and, consequently, the discipline of the force is seriously affected thereby. We regret to observe that a latent spirit of discontent appears to exist among the labouring classes of this parish, which at any time may manifest itself by overt acts, and which alone may be restrained by the presence of an adequate military force.

November 13, 1865. (Signed) R. W. BUCHANAN, Foreman.

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY OF THE PARISH OF ST. ANN'S.

MR. JUSTICE CARGILL to COLONEL HUNT.

SIR, Spring Garden, November 16, 1865.

HEREWITH I beg leave to enclose a presentment of the Grand Jury of St. Ann's, which, as you will observe, I was requested to convey to his Excellency the Governor.

I am glad to say the St. Mary's and St. Ann's circuit courts have passed over quietly, and all the business has been concluded.

I have, &c.

Col. Hunt, Private Secy. and A.D.C. (Signed) JASPAR F. CARGILL.

TO HIS HONOUR JUDGE CARGILL.

WE, the Grand Jurors of the parish of St. Ann now assembled, beg to thank your Honour for your charge.

We, with you, are also gratified that at such a time as this the calendar contains so few cases, and comparatively of so trivial a character.

We likewise agree with your Honour in hoping that the Legislature now sitting may be guided by true wisdom in legislating for the future welfare of this Island.

We cannot separate without respectfully requesting you to convey to his Excellency the Governor our sincere appreciation of the foresight, energy, and decision which have marked his conduct throughout the late unhappy rebellion, whereby, in our humble opinion, the lives and property of many loyal subjects have been saved.

November 13, 1865. (Signed) THOMAS B. SCOTT, Foreman.

ADDRESS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica and other the territories thereon depending in America, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony of British Honduras, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF JAMAICA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the Legislative Council of Jamaica, thank your Excellency for the speech with which you have opened the present session, one of the most important interest to the Colony, after the sad and solemn events to which your Excellency alludes.

While joining your Excellency in acknowledging the zealous and able services of his Excellency the General commanding the forces, the Senior Naval Officer, and the Military Forces, as well as of the Volunteers, we desire also to record our grateful thanks to your Excellency for the energy, firmness, and wisdom with which you have carried the Island through this momentous crisis.

We are well aware that the slightest hesitation on your part would have been fraught with the most imminent danger to the lives of the loyal inhabitants throughout the Island; and we are well assured that all our loyal fellow-colonists unite in the expression of gratitude which it is now our privilege to convey to you.

We have pleasure in bearing testimony with your Excellency to the fidelity and loyalty of the Maroons, and their prompt and useful services under Colonel Fyfe.

We entirely concur in the painful statement your Excellency has made, that there is scarcely a district throughout the Island where disloyalty, sedition, and murderous intentions are not widely disseminated and openly expressed. We agree with your Excellency as to the causes which have created the dangers that now threaten the country, and will heartily co-operate with you in endeavouring to remedy this grievous state of affairs.

Your Excellency may confidently rely upon our giving our best consideration to any measure tending to establish that strong and efficient Government so necessary for the well-being of this community, and we trust that the Almighty may guide our deliberations, and enable us, in co-operation with your Excellency and the other branch of the Legislature, to secure the future safety, peace, and prosperity of the Colony.

ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

JAMAICA, ss.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this our Island of Jamaica and other the Territories thereon depending in America, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Colony of British Honduras, Chancellor of our said Island of Jamaica, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, Her Majesty's loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, thank your Excellency for your speech at the opening of the session.

We assure your Excellency that the advice and co-operation which you seek of the Legislature in a crisis consummated by rebellion, and which threatens, by a most diabolical conspiracy, the lives of the white and coloured inhabitants of the Colony, will not, on the part of this Assembly, be withheld.

We most readily acknowledge, that while the thanks of the Island are due to his Excellency Major-General O'Connor, for the readiness and promptitude with which he met the occurrences of the outbreak, and no less to all the other civil, naval, and military authorities engaged in its suppression, as well as to the Maroons for their fidelity and loyalty, the gratitude of the Island is chiefly due to the unexampled skill, energy, and self-devotion which characterised all your Excellency's measures.

We desire to express our entire concurrence in your Excellency's statement, that to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations of pseudo-philanthropists in England, and in this country to the inflammatory harangues and seditious meetings of political demagogues, to the personal, scurrilous, vindictive, and disloyal writings of a licentious and unscrupulous press, and to the misdirected efforts and misguided council of certain miscalled ministers of religion, is to be attributed the present disorganization of the Colony, resulting in rebellion, arson, and murder.

We cordially agree with your Excellency that this great wickedness cannot be attributed to any just grievances under which it can be said that the peasantry suffer; on the contrary, we entirely coincide with your Excellency in the opinion that they have advantages which the peasantry of no other country enjoy; and that it is the causes to which your Excellency alludes that they have failed to reap the benefits of their position.

Deeply impressed with the full conviction that nothing but the existence of a strong government can prevent this Island from lapsing into the condition of a second Hayti, we shall cheerfully take into consideration any measures recommended by your Excellency.

We feel ourselves bound in this emergency to aid (so far as the resources of the country will admit) the Government in all steps which may be necessary for insuring the security of the Colony and the protection of life and property.

We fervently join your Excellency in the prayer that Almighty God may so bless our united labours, that they may tend to the establishment of lasting security for life and property, and largely promote the general welfare and prosperity of the Colony.

ADDRESS FROM THE PARISH OF TRELAWNY.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this our Island of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE MAGISTRACY, CLERGY, AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH OF TRELAWNY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned magistrates, clergymen, and other inhabitants of the Parish of Trelawny, beg leave most respectfully and dutifully to represent to your Excellency the profound sorrow with which we receive the intelligence of the late most wicked and unprovoked rebellion against lawfully constituted authority of a large body of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, of the deplorable loss of life and property, and suspension of business thereby occasioned, and of the necessity for the most severe measures for the suppression of insurrection.

We also desire to express to your Excellency that we have been deeply impressed with a sense of the magnitude of the danger to which the lives and the property of Her Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects throughout the entire colony were, in consequence of this wicked rebellion, exposed; and that we deprecate the baneful results which must, we fear, necessarily follow both in the management of the internal affairs of the Island for many years to come, and which must injuriously affect its reputation abroad.

Sincerely sympathising with your Excellency in regard to the heavy responsibilities which were so suddenly and unexpectedly thrown upon your Excellency, and which, we have the greatest pleasure in stating, your Excellency discharged with so much wisdom, energy, promptitude, and decision of purpose—from no selfish consideration, but under a deep sense—we feel assured—of your Excellency's duty to our beloved Sovereign, to the loyal inhabitants of this Island, and all its best interests.

We beg to tender to your Excellency an expression of our heartfelt gratitude for the great services rendered to the whole Colony by your Excellency at this most critical conjuncture in its history; and we beg further to assure your Excellency of our own loyal devotion to our beloved Sovereign and the laws of this Island, and of our readiness to place our services at the command of your Excellency in whatever measures may be necessary for the preservation of life and property, and the peace and welfare of the Island at large.

We have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT NUNES, Custos,
and 164 others.

To which his Excellency made the following Reply:—

Mr. Custos, Reverend Gentlemen, and Gentlemen,

It would at all times afford me sincere pleasure to receive such a gratifying assurance of the good opinion and approval of the numerous and highly respectable and influential gentlemen of Trelawny who have signed the address presented to me by your respected Custos; but it comes doubly welcome to me at a time when the acts to which you refer, undertaken from a deep sense of my duty to my Sovereign and to the colonists of this Island, and with a full and anxious appreciation of the painful responsibility of my position, have been so maliciously misrepresented and so unjustly maligned by a section of the English press, and by parties at home, who have no sympathies with their fellow-countrymen suffering under the atrocious barbarities inflicted by savages, because those savages have a black skin, though they do not hesitate to call the just retribution which overtook the ruthless Rebels of St. Thomas-in-the-East by the names of "murder" and "massacre."

It was trying enough, gentlemen, to have to encounter the harassing and anxious duty of putting down the rebellion, and taking steps to preserve peace and tranquillity in the other districts of the Colony, but it is very hard, and most unexpected, to have to rebut accusations, founded upon exaggeration, misrepresentation, and untruth.

I shall have much pleasure in transmitting your address to Her Majesty's Government as a proof, that in the Island where the actual circumstances ought to be best known, and where the magnitude and imminency of the danger to the entire Colony can best be appreciated, that the foul aspersions disseminated by a portion of the English press are unjust and undeserved.

I thank you, gentlemen, most gratefully for your loyal address, and for the hearty expression of your willingness to co-operate with me in any measure necessary for the protection of life and property, and the peace and welfare of the Island at large. On my part I would assure you that I shall ever be ready to do my duty faithfully, and will never shrink from assuming any amount of responsibility which the public safety requires me to undertake.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

Address from the Parish of Clarendon.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

The humble Address of the Magistrates, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Clarendon.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned magistrates, clergy, and other inhabitants of the parish of Clarendon, deeply impressed with a sense of the immensity of the obligation under which we and other loyal and dutiful subjects of the Island of Jamaica stand indebted to your Excellency for the promptitude, energy, and untiring exertion with which your Excellency suppressed the late wicked and unprovoked rebellion in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, thereby nipping in the bud a most diabolical conspiracy to murder all the white and coloured inhabitants of the Island, and so delivering ourselves and others from the repetition of the horrors enacted in the said parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, beg leave most respectfully to express to your Excellency our most heartfelt gratitude for the substantial services rendered to the Colony at this trying period, and our high appreciation of the judicious course pursued by your Excellency in quelling the insurrection, in protecting life and property, and in restoring peace and order among us, when any but a decisive course would have added to the long list of killed and wounded, numbers more of innocent victims, and would have been fraught with the most fearful consequences to the Island at large.

Thus deeply convinced of the dangers which so greatly threatened our land, and from which, under the good providence of God, we have been rescued by your Excellency, we feel impelled to acknowledge how largely we are indebted to your Excellency, and accordingly to tender our humble and best thanks for the deliverance obtained for our country, and especially at a period like the present, when in return for the heavy responsibilities assumed, and the self-denying exertions and personal discomforts undergone by your Excellency, a strong opposition has been got up in the mother country against your Excellency, composed of a portion of the press and certain parties, in which those very acts that have been the means, divinely blessed, of restoring our country to a state of order and tranquillity have been most maliciously inveighed against.

Most sincerely do we sympathise with your Excellency in regard to all the anxiety, discomforts, and additional trouble which this unhappy rebellion has caused your Excellency, and also in respect to the accusations brought against your Excellency in England, and against which we desire now to enter our solemn protest, as being unfounded, untruthful, and unjust, and as being highly calculated to incite to fresh acts of rebellion the disaffected subjects of the Island.

We have further to congratulate your Excellency on the success of the measures adopted to quell the insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and on the approval which they have met with not only in respect to every right thinking person in this land, but also in regard to Her Majesty's Government at home. And with the earnest prayer, that your Excellency may long remain among us to administer the Government of this Island, and long be spared to enjoy the blessings of life and the good gifts of a gracious Providence,

We beg, &c.

(Signed) Francis Lowe, Custos, &c. &c.
and 115 others.

His Excellency's Reply.

Rev. Gentlemen and Gentlemen,

I thank you heartily for your address of sympathy with me under the trying circumstances in which I have lately been placed by the occurrence of a most atrocious rebellion in the eastern provinces of the Island; and also for your generous protest against the unjust and calumnious aspersions cast upon me by a section of the English public, who, without a correct knowledge of the actual facts, have not hesitated to adopt any wild and absurd or unfounded statements, which have been circulated either from their wantonness or for mischievous intentions.

I rejoice that the opportunity will soon occur of the British public being disabused of these exaggerations or untruths; and I feel sure that the generous manner in which you have come forward to denounce them will contribute largely to bring about this result, and to satisfy the English people that the measures taken by the local government to put down rebellion, and, as far as practicable, ensure protection to life and property, were only such as the safety of the Colony imperatively required.

For your good wishes towards myself personally I return you my very grateful acknowledgments.

Flamstead, January 12, 1866.

St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor of Jamaica.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, beg to express our deepest gratitude to your Excellency for the wise and energetic measures adopted by your Excellency on the occasion of the late rebellion.

We know that a fierce and bloody rising has been checked by your Excellency's prompt and decisive action, and we believe that peace and general returning confidence, so very desirable in this our moment of distress, would have been more rapidly acquired were it not for the speeches and writings of certain notoriously prejudiced persons in England, who know but little of the particulars of the late sad events; but we sincerely trust that justice will be done, and that is all we ask, for there can be no doubt that it is to your Excellency, and others who so nobly carried out your instructions, we owe our lives and properties.

We have heard with a mixture of pain and pleasure that your Excellency is about to leave the Island; pain, because we shall be deprived of so noble a head and so ready an arm to crush any further attempt; pleasure, because it will enable your Excellency, by your presence and expression in England, successfully to refute the many scandals heaped on yourself and the authorities here, and with a sincere hope that your services may meet their just reward from our good and gracious Sovereign.

Samuel Rennalls, Custos,
and 38 others.

His Excellency's Reply.

To the Hon. Samuel Rennalls, Custos; the Rev. John Campbell, Rector; Hiam Barrow and Edward Kinkead, Esqrs., and other Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

Mr. Custos, Reverend Gentlemen, and Gentlemen,

I receive with much pleasure your cordial address expressing your approval of the course taken by me to put down the late wicked and unprovoked rebellion, and your belief that the prompt and decisive manner in which it was crushed has conduced to preserve the Colony from a fierce and bloody rising of a more extensive and general character.

I quite share in your belief, and I feel fully convinced, that when the labours of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the late rebellion are terminated it will be abundantly shown how great and how imminent has been the peril from which the Colony, by God's blessing, has escaped.

For your kind wishes towards myself personally I feel deeply grateful, and I beg to assure you that whatever may be my future sphere of action, my best wishes will always be with you for the welfare and prosperity of Jamaica, and of all to whom it is a home.

E. Eyre.

Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

The Parish of Portland.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c.

Port Antonio, Jamaica, January 1, 1866.

We, the magistrates, clergy, and other inhabitants of the parish of Portland, beg to approach your Excellency with the deepest feelings of gratitude for the aid afforded us at a time when the

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lives of ourselves and families were in the most imminent danger from the approach of the blood-stained Rebels engaged in the insurrection which lately broke out in the neighbouring parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

But for the timely assistance afforded us, doubtless, under the direction of an all-wise and merciful Providence, by the arrival at Port Antonio, on the 15th October, of H.M.S. "Wolverine," with your Excellency and the military and naval forces which accompanied you, we have every reason to believe, and the evidence adduced at the court martial which assembled here to try prisoners bears us out in the belief, that the Rebels would have rapidly come down upon us, gathering strength as they approached, and Port Antonio might have witnessed similar painful atrocities to those perpetrated at Morant Bay and its vicinity.

We would also take this opportunity of recording our admiration at the skill, energy, and promptitude displayed on this trying occasion by your Excellency and the gallant officers who acted in concert with you, both in the disposal of the very limited military and naval forces then at command, and also the further distribution throughout and around the Island of the increased number of troops and ships, which have since arrived to our assistance. To this judicious arrangement no doubt is to be attributed the effective check that has been given to the spirit of the rebellion which has generally pervaded the Island, and contemplated the massacre of the whole of the white and coloured inhabitants and the appropriation of their property.

We look forward with hopeful anticipation in regard to the change which is about to take place in our political constitution, and earnestly and sincerely trust that, under the wise direction of the British Government, our unfortunate Island may be restored to peace and prosperity, and that your Excellency and family may be spared in the enjoyment of health and happiness to witness the realization of this our sanguine hope and expectation.

(Signed) JOHN S. CLACHAR, M.D.,
Senior Magistrate, and 99 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To JOHN SHEA CLACHAR, Esq., M.D., the REV. WILLIAM SMITH, Rector; A. ESCOFFERY, GEORGE FFRENCH, W. WEMYSS ANDERSON, Esq., and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Portland.

REVEREND GENTLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE with much pleasure the address of the magistrates, clergy, and other inhabitants of Portland expressive of your gratitude for the steps taken to intercept and put down the insurrectionary movement which, commencing at Morant Bay, had in three days and a half reached nearly to Port Antonio.

Placed as you were in the direct line of the wave of the rebellion, and hourly expecting its approach, you are well able to judge of the imminent peril which existed, and of the absolute necessity for the most immediate and severe measures being resorted to in order to check its future progress.

I quite believe, with you, that had assistance been delayed for only a few hours, any subsequent help would have been too late to have saved your lives and properties from savage and infuriated Rebels. We all owe a debt of lasting gratitude to the untiring exertions of our gallant sailors and soldiers, which under God's merciful providence averted this dire calamity and checked the extension of the rebellion to the westward.

It is a great gratification to me to know that, almost contemporaneously with the arrest of the rebellion in the districts where it broke out, the Government was enabled, by the arrival of additional naval and military forces, to make such arrangements for the protection of the Island as effectually prevented these further risings from taking place which, I fully believe, would otherwise have ensued.

I join with you in hoping that the change in the constitution about to be introduced will lead to future good government and largely promote the welfare and prosperity of the Colony.

For your friendly wishes towards myself and family accept my most grateful thanks.

ST. ANN'S.

THE HONOURABLE CHARLES ROYES, Custos of St. Ann, to GOVERNOR EYRE.

MY DEAR SIR, Windsor, St. Ann, January 12, 1866.

MY fellow-parishioners have honored me by the request that I will forward to your Excellency the accompanying address expressive of their gratitude and esteem, a duty I discharge with much pleasure. A copy of it is being signed in other parts of the parish, and the signatures thereto will be forwarded in due course to be appended to the one now enclosed.

I regret that unavoidable circumstances prevent my presenting it in person.

It must be gratifying and consolatory to your Excellency, amid the cruelly unjust invectives with which you are now assailed, to find that the inhabitants of a parish so extensive, populous, and loyal as St. Ann's, appreciate to the fullest extent the eminent services you have rendered them.

Permit me the honour to remain, my dear Sir, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES ROYES,
Custos, St. Ann.

His Excellency Edward J. Eyre, Esq.

To his Excellency Edward J. Eyre, Governor and Captain-General. Jamaica.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned magistrates, clergymen, vestrymen, and other inhabitants of the parish of Saint Ann, beg most respectfully to tender to your Excellency our grateful thanks for the firmness, promptitude, and decision with which your Excellency met and, under Divine Providence, subdued the late alarming rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

We feel assured that to the wise and energetic measures adopted by your Excellency, aided by the devotedness and gallantry of Her Majesty's military and naval forces, we owe the preservation of peace in other districts, for had these failed in the least degree, the rebellion would have extended throughout the land.

We deeply sympathise with your Excellency in the grave responsibilities and onerous duties that so unexpectedly devolved on you, and it is with pain and regret we notice the exaggerations and misrepresentations with which you are now assailed. We are however confident that when a strict investigation into the circumstances of the late lamentable insurrection takes place, it will be found to have been wholly unprovoked, and your Excellency's character and conduct will stand forth in the clear light of truth untarnished and above reproach.

We take this opportunity of expressing our unswerving loyalty to our beloved Queen, our earnest desire to promote the peace and prosperity of our unhappy country, our attachment and esteem to your Excellency, and repeating our appreciation of your eminent services,

We remain your Excellency's most obedient, humble, and loyal servants,

(Signed) Charles Royes,
Custos and Member of the Privy Council,
and 174 others.

His Excellency's Reply.

To the Honourable Charles Royes, Custos; the Honourable Peter Moncrieffe, the Honourable C. C. Bravo, the Rev. F. S. Bradshaw, LL.D., Rector; and other Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Ann.

Mr. Custos, Reverend Gentlemen, and Gentlemen,

I thank you sincerely for your address sympathising with me under the heavy responsibilities and duties which have devolved upon me during the late crisis in Jamaica, expressing your appreciation of my conduct under that emergency, and conveying to me your continued confidence and esteem.

It is gratifying to me to know that so large a portion of the inhabitants of the extensive and loyal parish of St. Ann appreciate the difficulties under which I was placed and the necessity for prompt and decisive action.

With you, gentleman, I feel assured that the inquiry which Her most Gracious Majesty has been pleased to direct will result in removing from the public mind the unjust and unfounded impressions, which have been entertained or propagated by persons at home, who had only a very partial and imperfect knowledge of what are the actual circumstances that have transpired.

Accept my warmest acknowledgments for the expression of your unswerving loyalty to our beloved Queen, and of your earnest desire to promote the peace and prosperity of the Colony.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

The Peasantry of St. Ann's to Governor Eyre.

To the Honourable Edward Jordon, C.B., Governor's Secretary.

Sir, Saint Ann's, January 3, 1866.

I have the honour to enclose an address to his Excellency the Governor from the peasantry of Saint Ann, signed by one hundred and twenty heads of families, numbering three hundred and forty, which, on their behalf, I beg you will lay before his Excellency.

In tame and simple language they have expressed their thanks to the Government for the restoration of peace, and stated plainly their views of the late unfortunate outbreak. These people are by no means ignorant of what they now say and do. I have gone amongst them, and I know their feelings and sentiments on the subject; and judging from the very ready manner they have come forward to contribute their names, I feel certain that, had my time permitted, the list might have swelled to a far greater number.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Richard Carter, J.P.

To his Excellency E. J. Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned labourers, in the behalf of ourselves, our families, and fellow-labourers of the parish of Saint Ann, take the opportunity, after the very painful occurrences that have recently transpired in the eastern district of the Island, respectfully to tender our grateful thanks to your Excellency, and to the authorities acting under you, for the happy restoration of peace and order, and for our deliverance from the great dangers which threatened the entire Island.

We have all been deeply pained at learning that numbers of our countrymen and fellow-labourers residing in St. Thomas-in-the-East had, by foolish and mistaken views, and in violation of the laws

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of the country, risen up in open rebellion, and have been guilty of acts which we shudder to learn of, the barbarity of which is only equalled by their madness and folly. No persons of right mind can delight in war; it is an evil that carries with it desolation and death; it sets families in total disorder; it breaks up comfortable homes; it unavoidably causes the innocent to suffer with the guilty, and it brings ruin upon a country.

Whilst we deplore the loss of so many lives, we thank God that in His good providence He hath preserved this and other parishes from such misery; and that under Him, our esteemed Governor and others acting under his authority have been able so effectually to crush this cruel rebellion, and thus saved us and our dear families; and we feel it a duty we owe to thank our Governor and other authorities for the work they have done, and for restoring peace and order in the Island.

We confess that as a people we are highly favoured. We are governed by the best of sovereigns. We have just laws, which protect alike the white and the black man. And the labouring man who is blessed with good health and strong limbs may find himself happy and comfortable within that sphere Providence has allotted to him.

If it be true, as we learn, that our countrymen of the East who rose up in rebellion were persons well-to-do in life, and possessed of comfortable homes, good provision fields, and plenty of small stock then we consider that the outbreak was the more foolish and wanton; and we can only say that by their acts they have brought shame upon the whole labouring body of this Island.

We do not believe that our own parish is free of bad men who would delight in an opportunity for plunder and other mischief (and we shall be careful to keep a watchful eye upon all such dangerous characters). Yet, as a parish, we have always preserved a name for good behaviour. This good order of things in this parish, we believe, is greatly owing to our being under the guidance of faithful and intelligent religious teachers, as well as to that universal kindness from employers which civility and obedience on the part of the employed never fail to ensure. We fear that our countrymen of St. Thomas-in-the-East have not been careful in seeking the good opinion of those above them; nor have they been careful in inviting among themselves teachers other than "the blind, leaders of the "blind."

We feel it a duty demanded from us, even as humble labourers, to do what in us lies in bearing up the hands of our Governor, and in upholding the laws and institutions of the country. We beg to repeat our thanks to the Government for the prompt and effectual measures taken in the late outbreak; and we pray that, so long as your Excellency shall continue among us, your administration might be both pleasant to yourself and prosperous to the Island.

We sincerely wish Heaven's best blessings upon your Excellency and family; and as loyal subjects we add, God bless our Queen, and long may she reign over us.

We remain, &c.,
THOMAS BARNETT, Wife, and Two Children,
and 117 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

MY FRIENDS,

I RECEIVE with much satisfaction the address presented to me by the peasantry of St. Ann, stating your deep abhorrence of the acts of rapine and bloodshed which have recently devastated the eastern parishes of this Colony, and expressing your desire to strengthen the hands of the Governor, and uphold the laws and institutions of the country.

Rest assured, my friends, that the interests of all classes depend upon the preservation of peace and good order, and that neither individual nor general prosperity can exist without it.

Your parish has always, and I believe deservedly, enjoyed the reputation of being a loyal one, and if the sentiments expressed in your address were generally entertained and acted upon by the labouring classes, I feel sure they would become as well to do and happy as any peasantry in the world.

I thank you sincerely for the good opinion you express of the steps taken to put down and prevent the spread of the late outbreak. A heavy responsibility rested upon me, and a most painful duty had to be discharged; but at a crisis of such magnitude severity became a mercy, and I cannot doubt that the prompt and stern justice dealt out to those in rebellion against their Queen has, under God's blessings, been the means of preventing many other parishes of the Island from becoming the theatre of occurrences similar to those which took place at Morant Bay.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, January 12, 1866.

FROM THE PARISH OF MANCHESTER.

MR. HOLLINGSWORTH to MR. JORDON.

SIR, Brumalia, December 20, 1865.

I HAVE the honour and great pleasure of forwarding to you, by request of the inhabitants of the parish of Manchester, the accompanying address to his Excellency the Governor, and beg you will do me the favour of presenting the same in the most acceptable manner, and to express my regret that I am unable to present it in person.

I have, &c.

The Honourable Edward Jordon, C.B.,
King's House.

(Signed) JOHN R. HOLLINGSWORTH.
Custos of Manchester.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica. Jamaica.

We, the undersigned magistrates, vestrymen, clergy, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the parish of Manchester, beg most respectfully to convey, through your Excellency, the expression of our loyal feelings to our beloved Sovereign the Queen and her Government.

We offer to your Excellency our sincere thanks for the prompt and energetic manner in which you were enabled to subdue the late diabolical rebellion.

The causes which led to former acts of insubordination and rebellion are matters of history, but the motives which prompted the present rebellion are difficult to comprehend.

The peasantry of the Island labour, as we believe, under no grievance, and, as your Excellency has lately observed, are less taxed, live more easily and cheaply, and are less under an obligation to work for their subsistence than any other peasantry in the world. If they are not better off, it is attributable to their own indolence, improvidence, and vice.

We congratulate ourselves that your Excellency displayed the determination and decision which enabled you to cope with the late rebellion, and, though with few effective means at your disposal, to crush and overcome it.

Whatever troubles threaten the future, we earnestly hope that with efficient Military and Volunteer forces, and such other appliances as may be at your disposal, the peace and security of the Colony may be permanently maintained.

It is to be deplored that in an Island where equal rights and privileges are enjoyed there should even be one parish found where disloyalty and sedition could be disseminated; and if this parish be exempt from so unhappy a state of things, we have much to thank the various ministers of religion for the instructions the peasantry have received from them for the last 30 years, combined with the precautions adopted by the local authorities, and the salutary effects of the restraining influences your Excellency brought to bear in crushing the late rebellion.

We, nevertheless, feel it our duty to watch, lest the introduction from without of worthless and designing characters should mislead and corrupt the loyalty of our own people.

That a strong Government is desired for the Island we entertain no doubt, and we fully agree with your Excellency that the existing form of constitution should be abolished, and one substituted better adapted to its present state and requirements.

In conclusion, permit us to say to yourself, Mrs. Eyre, and all the members of your family, that we shall ever pray for your health, happiness, and prosperity, and that you may be spared long to rule over the destinies of this beautiful Island, and in your retirement therefrom, that our most Gracious Sovereign may see fit to bestow on you some mark of her approbation, which you so richly merit.

(Signed) John R. Hollingsworth,
Custos of Manchester,
and 116 others.

The Parish of Westmoreland.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of Westmoreland, beg respectfully to express to your Excellency the satisfaction we feel from the continuance of peace and tranquillity generally throughout the Colony during a period in which we had reason to fear, from discoveries made in the recent lamentable insurrection in St. Thomas-in-the-East, that a great and general danger was to be apprehended.

We are happy to assure your Excellency that in this part of the Island a loyal and peaceable feeling seems now generally to prevail, and that the labouring population are willingly engaged in their usual avocations; and we are of opinion that this result has been largely promoted by the judicious measures taken by your Excellency's Government for the preservation of peace during a time of great excitement and alarm.

Whilst we deplore the great loss of life and property arising from this wicked insurrection, we are firmly of opinion that both energy and severity were necessary for its instant suppression and to ensure its confinement within the immediate locality of the outbreak; whilst it is equally certain that the most terrible results would have attended its spread throughout other portions of the Island, then almost entirely unprotected. And we cannot remain insensible to the fact, that the personal presence and exertions of your Excellency in the disturbed districts was a conspicuous instance of that quality of mind which has induced your Excellency not to shrink from any personal inconvenience or responsibility when urged by duty.

We regret that the measures adopted for the suppression of this unprovoked insurrection should be so misconstrued by a portion of the British public, who seem unaware of the actual state of society existing here, and of the easily excitable disposition of that portion of the population whose social condition is unimproved by a regular course of honest industry—equally ignorant also of the fact, that nothing prevents an equality in the political status of the negro, if he is possessed of intelligence, perseverance, and honesty. But we indulge in the conviction that such opinions will soon be reversed on further information being made known, and your wise and energetic measures in a moment of great trial and responsibility be appreciated as they deserve.

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Anxious as we have hitherto been to aid your Excellency locally in the preservation of the public peace and the due administration of the laws, we desire to assure your Excellency of a continuance of these sentiments, and of our devoted loyalty to the Throne of our beloved Sovereign.

And with esteem,

We have, &c.
(Signed) BENJAMIN VICKERS, Custos,
and 133 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To the Honourable BENJAMIN VICKERS, Custos; the REV. JOSIAH CORK, Rector; JOSEPH STONE WILLIAMS, and W. N. FARQUHARSON, Esquires, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Westmoreland.

MR. CUSTOS, REVEREND GENTLEMEN, AND GENTLEMEN,

ACCEPT my most grateful thanks for your loyal and cordial address, expressing your views in reference to the late unhappy disturbances in the eastern districts of the Colony.

You are quite right in supposing that the Executive felt impelled to the most prompt and severe measures to repress a wide-spread and destructive insurrection, from a consideration of the unprotected state of the whole Island, from a knowledge of the inadequate means at the disposal of the Government to provide for the safety of life and property throughout so extensive an area, and from a conviction that such was the state of the country generally, that any hesitation, delay, or failure would inevitably have led to further outbeaks, and have entailed upon the community an incalculable amount of suffering and loss.

That the steps taken were successful is a gratifying assurance to myself and to those who so ably seconded me that we did our duty; and in feeling this, we can view without anxiety, though not without deep regret, the unfounded aspersions which have been cast upon us by a section of the English press and public, feeling assured that the inquiry now about to be instituted by Her Majesty's royal command will show how unjust and how un-English has been the course of those who have condemned the absent unheard, and without that knowledge of events and of surrounding circumstances which alone could enable any one to form a just opinion.

For the renewed expression of your good feelings and loyalty I thank you very sincerely.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

PARISH OF VERE.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica and other the Territories thereon depending in America.

WE, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of Vere, beg leave respectfully to express to your Excellency our deep thankfulness and gratitude for the prompt, decisive, and wise measures adopted by your Excellency for the suppression of the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

To such measures, and to the skilful disposition and bravery of Her Majesty's land and sea forces, Volunteers, and Maroons, we attribute the prevention of the extension of the rebellion beyond that section of the Island where, as we believe, it prematurely broke out, and the ensuring its ultimate suppression.

Had your Excellency's measures been less prompt, or the success of the forces in the field less complete, or had any misfortune occurred through which the Rebels might have made progress to the westward, and joined the disaffected (too well known to exist in other parts of the country), we contemplate with horror the scenes of murder, rapine, and atrocity which would have too surely followed any such misfortune.

To your Excellency, therefore, and to the brave troops in the field of every denomination, we owe, under Divine Providence, our lives, our properties, and all that is dear to us; and we sincerely trust that such eminent services will be duly appreciated and rewarded by Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

We heartily concur with your Excellency in the necessity of establishing a strong government in this Colony. We have long been convinced that the present constitution is not suited to the conditions of society here, and has not worked and cannot work for the promotion of the social and material interests of the people. We shall hail, therefore, with pleasure the abolition of the present constitution and the substitution of another better calculated to ensure the peace, safety, and well-being of all classes of the community.

(Signed) LOUIS MACKINNON, Custos,
and 56 others.

PARISH OF ST. JAMES.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica, &c.

WE, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of St. James and vicinity, beg most respectfully to tender to your Excellency the sincere expression of our gratitude and thanks for the promptitude,

energy, and decision which distinguished your Excellency in suppressing the late atrocious rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and to which, nobly seconded by Her Majesty's military and naval forces, Volunteers, and Maroons, we attribute, under God, the salvation of our lives and the very existence of the Colony.

We beg further to tender to your Excellency our respectful thanks for the proposal in your Excellency's opening address to the Legislature to abolish the existing constitution of the Colony, and for the substitution of another more suitable to its requirements, deeply impressed as we are with the paramount necessity of such a measure, by which alone confidence can be restored to the minds of Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Jamaica, and life and property rendered secure.

We have, &c.

(Signed) G. M. LAWSON,
Of Hampden Estate, Senior Magistrate of St. James,
and 114 others.

THE DISTRICT OF PORUS.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Governor of the Island of Jamaica and its Dependencies, &c.

WE, the undersigned, being a portion of the inhabitants of Porus, Manchester, chiefly of the labouring class connected with the London Missionary Society, approach your Excellency with sentiments of loyalty to our beloved Sovereign and of respect to your Excellency as Her Majesty's representative.

We feel thankful to Almighty God for having disposed your Excellency to act with promptitude and energy during the unexpected emergency which arose in connexion with the late atrocious rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East, for having crowned your Excellency's efforts to restore order and tranquillity with signal success.

We respectfully tender to your Excellency our grateful acknowledgments for your thorough self-abnegation during the critical crisis, one proof of which was in repairing in person to the disturbed districts, and for your sound discretion in the precautionary measures adopted since the suppression of the rebellion for the preservation of peace. These afford unmistakeable indications of your Excellency's paramount interest in the welfare of the Colony, and anxious solicitude for the protection of the loyal portion of the inhabitants generally.

We beg to express to your Excellency our conviction that there are among us men faithful and true, ready to maintain to the death their loyalty to the Queen; with these we are identified, but we deeply deplore the fact, that with rights and privileges equally secured to all classes, thus leaving the peasantry without any real grievance (except it be in individual cases of injustice and oppression which the law does not sanction, and which must more or less occur in every country), there should be prevalent in the Island a spirit of disaffection and disloyalty.

Your Excellency will permit us to say further, that whatever might be the immediate occasion of the outbreak at Morant Bay, *the idle habits and wilful ignorance of a large proportion of the labouring population* are, in our opinion, among the predisposing causes of rebellion. Local circumstances in St. Thomas-in-the-East no doubt contributed to the rapid development of what was latent, and made evident that there were indolent and deluded creatures there desiring to obtain property without patient and persevering industry, and who became the willing tools in the hands of political demagogues—men of some intelligence, and in better circumstances than themselves; but the smouldering embers of sedition and disloyalty, of murder and rapine, are, we fear, not far to seek *anywhere* among the idle and ignorant, the credulous and vicious, who, with their imaginary grievances, have been indoctrinated into the belief that Jamaica is or ought to be theirs.

We respectfully submit to your Excellency that any legislative enactment to remove these GROWING evils of indolence and ignorance, and to promote honest industry and compulsory education as remedial agencies (without increasing public taxation), would deserve a place among the most effective measures of a strong and good Government, and would not only prevent the majority of the peasantry receding into barbarism and repeating at uncertain intervals their deeds of blood, but would also tend to elevate them in the scale of intelligence, develop the resources of the country, and by necessary consequence lead to permanently satisfactory results.

Trusting that a gracious Providence will continue to preside over your Excellency and family, and that wisdom from above, profitable to direct, may be granted in connexion with the administration of the affairs of this important Colony.

We are, &c.

(Signed) ALEXANDER LINDO, London Missionary,
and 105 others.

THE SAINT GEORGE'S VOLUNTEERS.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the captain, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Saint George's Volunteer Rifle Corps, beg leave most respectfully to address ourselves to your Excellency with regard to the late insurrection in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in this Island.

Jamaica.

We feel confident that had your Excellency not taken such very prompt and effective measures for the extinction of the blood-thirsty rebellion in the district to which it was first confined, it would have spread seriously throughout the country; the disaffection of the people proved this. The general remark of revenge, delight, and wish for massacre uttered by many in this and neighbouring parishes proved that had the Rebels of the east been permitted to go their rounds of the country unchecked, their numbers would be greatly augmented, their amount of massacres, arsons, and plunders seriously enhanced.

We peruse with surprise the tone of the English press in giving their opinions in this matter—opinions formed on no reliable data; but we are sanguine that, had these same enunciators of condemnatory opinion been near the scene of bloodshed and at the site of danger, they would one and all ascribe to your Excellency and other officers in action with you during the momentous crisis great foresight and tact, moderation and justice, as we, who are near to the unfortunate outbreak, now do.

It is our earnest wish to impress upon your Excellency that your measures, taken during the insurrection, have given general satisfaction, and we sincerely hope and trust that after all the facts shall have been placed before the British public, they will have cause to change the tone of their opinions from one of invective and misrepresentation to those of truth, and the awarding of praise to those to whom it is due for meritorious conduct during a trying emergency.

We ascribe ourselves, &c.

(Signed) Edward Skyers,
Captain St. George V.R. Corps, and 52 others.

His Excellency's Reply.

Captain Skyers and Volunteers of the St. George's Volunteer Rifle Corps.

I thank you sincerely for your address and for the good feeling which it evinces in reference to the late unhappy events in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

I do assure you that I regard it as a most providential interposition that the exertions of Her Majesty's military and naval forces, ably seconded by the Volunteers of Jamaica, were enabled so promptly to put down and punish a most savage and blood-thirsty insurrection, and thereby avert from other parishes the terrible calamity which befel the eastern district of the Island.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

Flamstead, January 12, 1866.

The Parish of St. George.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica, &c.

The humble Address of certain of the Magistrates, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of St. George.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, being certain of the magistrates, clergy, and other inhabitants of the parish of Saint George, deeply impressed with a sense of the immensity of the obligation under which we and other loyal and dutiful subjects of the Island of Jamaica stand indebted to your Excellency for the promptitude, energy, and untiring exertion with which your Excellency suppressed the late wicked and unprovoked rebellion in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, beg leave most respectfully to express to your Excellency our most heartfelt gratitude for the substantial services rendered to the Colony at this trying period, and our high appreciation of the judicious course pursued by your Excellency in quelling the insurrection, in protecting life and property, and in restoring peace and order among us.

We beg leave to remain, &c.,

(Signed) Charles Tuthill May,
Rector and Proprietor,
and 33 others.

The Parish of St. Elizabeth.

To his Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq., &c.

St. Elizabeth's, February, 1866.

The magistrates, clergy, and inhabitants of the parish of St. Elizabeth feel it a great duty which they owe to your Excellency to express to you, at this time especially, their conviction that to you the Island is indebted for the checking and putting down the rebellion, which, commencing in St. Thomas-in-the-East, unless for the prompt measures and energy exhibited, we believe would have spread death and misery through the Island.

Your Excellency, by wise and immediate action, has saved our families from worse than death. It will be our duty to impress on our sons and on our daughters that to you they owe life and honour. Your own heart will tell you as a husband and a parent what you have done for us. Our hearts say, May God reward you, and deliver you from all your enemies.

Your Excellency, we hesitate not to tell you that we have no faith in the present calm; we know

not what will come, or how soon services such as you have rendered us may be required again We trust such counsels and action as lately preserved us may not be wanting in a like emergency.

With every good wish towards youself and Mrs. Eyre, with whom we sincerely sympathise, and for your family, we shall ever be,

Your Excellency's grateful and faithful friends,

(Signed) JOHN SALMON, and 93 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To the HON. JOHN SALMON, I. ISAACS, C. ISAACS, R. SMITH, W. FINLAISON, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

MR. CUSTOS, REVEREND GENTLEMEN, AND GENTLEMEN,

ACCEPT my grateful thanks for your warm-hearted address expressing your appreciation of my services in putting down and preventing the spread of the late rebellion.

It is a very great gratification to me to know that whatever may be the misrepresentations I am subjected to by a section of the English public and press, the colonists of Jamaica, who have the best means of estimating the emergency which existed and of understanding the limited resources available to meet it, recognized both the necessity and the justice of the course adopted, and that that course was crowned with success.

I deeply regret to learn that you have no faith in the present calm, but I fervently trust that, through the naval and military protection afforded by Great Britain, and the watchful vigilance of the colonists themselves, any further recurrence of disturbances may be averted, and that in the course of time the excitement or ill feeling which have existed or yet exist may gradually subside and a renewed state of confidence be restored between the different classes of the community.

For your good wishes and sympathy towards myself and family I thank you most heartily.

(Signed.) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, March 1, 1866.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF JAMAICA.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., Governor of Jamaica.

SIR,

WE, the undersigned inhabitants of Jamaica, hasten to express our deep indignation at the misrepresentations which have been made by some public men and public writers in England in condemnation of your Excellency's conduct during the recent rebellion.

We cordially agree in the sentiments expressed in the addresses of the Legislative Council and the Assembly, to the effect that to your Excellency's measures in the suppression of the rebellion in St. Thomas-in-the-East is due the present (apparent) safety of other parishes of the Island and the gratitude of the colonists.

We do not doubt that those measures which, under God's providence, crushed out that rebellion in one parish, arrested its extension to other parishes wherein the seeds of disaffection had been widely spread amongst the lower orders of the population.

We cannot avoid the expression of our deep regret that there could be found in England men capable of commiserating the deaths of murderers and traitors, while they can in their public speeches and writings find no single word to utter in sympathy for any of those who have been wounded, for life disabled, or brutally massacred in the public service, or for the widows and orphans of those who have so nobly fallen in defence of Queen and country.

Your Excellency may rest assured that if there can be found in England men who, for the sake of political purposes, will not hesitate to make capital out of rebellion and murder, the vast majority not only of Englishmen in Her most Gracious Majesty's wide-spread dominions, but also of the rest of the civilized world, will heartily join with us, the colonists of Jamaica, in deep sympathy with Her most Gracious Majesty's representative in this Colony, and Her Majesty's Military, Naval, Volunteer, and Civil authorities, during this momentous crisis, and in utter detestation and abborrence of the recent atrocities and massacres committed by the lower orders, at the instigation of demagogues and fanatics, while in the full enjoyment of all the blessing and freedom of the British rule.

We have, &c.

(Signed) G. M. LAWSON, M.D.,
Hampden Estate, Member of the Legislative Council,
and 2,439 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To the CUSTODES, MINISTERS of RELIGION, MAGISTRATES, and other INHABITANTS of JAMAICA.

HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN, REVEREND GENTLEMEN, AND GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you heartily for your address expressing the sentiments of so many of the influential inhabitants of Jamaica in relation to the late rebellion in the eastern districts.

It is most gratifying to me to know that those who from being resident in the Colony at the time are best able to appreciate the danger which threatened the Island, and the steps taken to meet that danger, dissent from the views expressed by a section of the press and of the public in England, founded, as those views have been, upon an imperfect knowledge of the actual circumstances, and upon misrepresentations of the grossest kind.

JAMAICA.

I do not doubt but that the Commission of Inquiry which Her Majesty's Government has been pleased to appoint to investigate the whole subject, will place the occurrences which took place, and the steps taken by the local Government, in a true and just point of view before the British Government.

Nor do I doubt but that when this is done it will be abundantly manifest that the action taken by the Government to protect the Colony from a peril which threatened to overwhelm it was necessary, just, and merciful as a whole.

It is inseparable from a state of warfare and the existence of martial law, that many evils and occurrences which are not always justifiable should take place. These can only be regretted; they could neither be known to nor controlled by the authorities. I trust, however, that even these exceptional cases will be found to be very few, considering the magnitude of the emergency, the small means of meeting it, and the pressure which the urgent circumstances of the moment created.

I thank you sincerely for the extension of your sympathy to me, and those who acted under me, in the difficult and trying circumstances in which we were placed—circumstances which have been rendered still more trying by the un-English course taken by an influential section of our fellow-countrymen at home.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

From the Clergy of Jamaica.

His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Governor of Jamaica.

Sir,

We, the undersigned clergymen of this Island, feel strongly called upon at the present crisis to express our deep sympathy with your Excellency, and our utter condemnation of the hasty and uncharitable judgment passed upon you. We feel the utmost indignation at the attacks made upon you by a portion of the British press, by persons who are incapable of appreciating the dangers and difficulties of our position, who, falling into the very error they would condemn, are clamouring for the punishment of persons whose crimes exist only in their imagination.

We fully share in the conviction general in this Island, that your promptness, decision, and energy have, under God's blessing, saved Jamaica from probable ruin; and we would hope that the time is not far distant when many of those who have been led to join in unfair attacks upon your Excellency will be convinced of their error, and will be forward to acknowledge that they have grievously wronged you.

Those of us who have had the privilege of private intercourse with your Excellency are prepared to testify that never were charges of injustice or inhumanity more inappropriate than those with which your detractors have assailed you, but rather that decision, kindness, and humanity have uniformly characterized your conduct.

The lasting gratitude of the Colony will, we believe, follow your Excellency for your successful endeavours to bestow on us a form of Government calculated to ensure peace and security, and to promote the welfare of all classes of the community; and our individual prayer will attend your Excellency, Mrs. Eyre, and your family. May the blessings of the Almighty grant you a happy issue out of all your difficulties, and a long future of successful administration as a Colonial Governor, and whenever it may be needful an honourable repose from the arduous toils of high office, brightened by the remembrance that, in the opinion of those best able to judge, you have faithfully done your duty.

We are, &c.

(Signed) Reginald, Kingston.
Thomas Stewart, D.D., Archdeacon of Surry.
William Rowe, M.A., Archdeacon of Cornwall.
Joseph Williams, Acting Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Rector of St. Catherine.
Duncan H. Campbell, M.A., Ecclesiastical Commissary and Rector of Kingston.
G. B. Brooks, Secretary to the Bishop of Kingston,
and 17 Rectors, 41 Island Curates, and 16 Stip. Curates.

His Excellency's Reply.

My Lord and Bishop Reverend Gentlemen,

I deeply appreciate and value the cordial address of sympathy with which the clergy of the Colony have so generously come forward to support me by the expression of your good opinion and confidence at a time when my public character has been unjustly assailed through a section of the British press by persons who had no means of judging of the circumstances in which I was placed, and who have been un-English enough to condemn the almost unheard.

In thanking you for your testimony, that injustice and inhumanity are not traits in my character, I can honestly assure you that it has ever been my endeavour during my residence amongst you to act with all the kindness and consideration compatible with the responsibility attaching to me; but I should have been unworthy of the high position I held, and of the confidence reposed in me by our most gracious Sovereign if I had shrunk from a painful duty when it became necessary to punish most severely insurrection and outrage, and thereby save the Colony from all the horrors of a general rebellion.

Most heartily do I concur with you in hoping that the change about to be made in the form of Government of this Island will tend to promote the general welfare and prosperity, and that it may

gradually bring about a renewed feeling of confidence, security, and good-will amongst all classes of the community.

I thank you most sincerely for your warm-hearted wishes on behalf of myself, Mrs. Eyre, and our children. We shall value very highly your remembrance of us in your prayers, and I do assure you that whatever may be our future lot, we shall ever gratefully remember the kindness and good feeling of the clergy of Jamaica.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

FROM THE CONGREGATION OF ST. PETER'S.

REV. COLIN MACLAVERTY, M.A., to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Clifton Parsonage, March 12, 1866.

I HAVE the honour and pleasure to transmit herewith an address to your Excellency from the ministers and members of St. Peter's church, adopted at a meeting held at St. Peter's school house on the 10th instant.

It may probably be particularly interesting and gratifying to your Excellency to learn that, with one or two exceptions, the names subscribed to this address are those of black persons, thus evidencing that intelligent and respectable blacks can appreciate and approve what is right and true, and censure what is wrong and false, even when those condemned are miscreants of their own colour and unnatural sympathisers of the white race.

The names would probably have been much more numerous, but I regret to have to state that the poison of the gross misrepresentations which have been circulated seems to have so unsettled even some of my usually well-disposed church members, that they appear unwilling to join in any expression of opinion at the present time. This may be attributed to the pernicious course pursued on the part of the officials of certain societies at a distance, arrogating to themselves and their agents to be the exclusive friends of the negro, while, after nearly a quarter of a century's experience of this country and people, my conviction is that they have done more harm to the true interests of the negroes than they are aware of; and solemn and awful is their responsibility before God and man.

Begging to be permitted to add my personal admiration of your Excellency's history and character as a public man and private life as a Christian, and praying that every blessing may attend your Excellency, your amiable lady, and interesting family,

I remain, &c.

(Signed) COLIN MACLAVERTY, M.A.,
Incumbent of St. Peter's Church and Ecclesiastical Parish.

To his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq.,

&c. &c. &c.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, St. Peter's School House, March 10, 1866.

WE, the undersigned ministers and members of St. Peter's church, resident in the Ecclesiastical parish adjoining to that of your Excellency's mountain residence, would beg to address your Excellency at this time with feelings of respectful sympathy and gratitude.

When there was apparently great and imminent danger of the late rebellion spreading, and the Rebels visiting our hitherto peaceful district, by your Excellency's promptitude and energy, experienced skill, and firm determination, measures were devised and carried out, in concert with Her Majesty's military and naval forces, which speedily and effectually crushed the rebellion at its outset, and thus arrested its further progress from the neighbourhood where it originated, and its probable outbreak in other disaffected parts of the Island.

To your Excellency and to the authorized powers of all branches which acted in concert with your Excellency for the suppression of the rebellion we feel that, under God, we owe our safety and the safety and peace of the Island. The further sacrifice of the lives of all classes and colours was thus spared; for had the rebellion gained ground even for a time, while it might have been death to those who loyally refused to join with the Rebels, it would have been certainly so in the end, at the retributive hand of justice, to those who did join their lawless bands.

We regret to learn that your Excellency and those who so bravely acted with you in the late trying and dangerous emergency should have any blame imputed by parties at a distance to the course of action which stern necessity demanded to meet the exigencies of the sudden and murderous outbreak; but we are assured, from your Excellency's previous history and known humanity and piety, that no undue severity was intended or conveyed in your Excellency's instructions, nor was such carried into execution by the well-disciplined forces of Her Majesty's services; and we doubt not that the impartial inquiry now being officially made will fully relieve your Excellency, and all who acted with you, from any imputation on your justice or humanity.

We feel assured that every colour and class was and would be safe in the hands of your Excellency while they continued in all things lawful and honest; and certain we may be, that he whose justice and humanity obtained for him the official position and name of "Protector to the Blacks" in other lands and former times, under circumstances requiring no small amount of moral and physical courage, will not now have turned hostile to that race, whose true interests he laboured to promote not less justly and equally than those of his own race.

Believing that your Excellency's name and character will come out of the present ordeal only the more bright and honoured, and hoping that our beloved Queen may advance your Excellency, Her

JAMAICA. Majesty's tried and faithful servant, to still higher posts of honour; and praying that every blessing, both spiritual and temporal, may rest upon your Excellency, your amiable lady, and your family,

We beg to subscribe ourselves with deep gratitude and most respectful sympathy,

Your Excellency's most humble and devoted servants,

(Signed) COLIN MACLAVERTY,
and 72 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To the REV. C. MACLAVERTY, WILLIAM DAVIES, JOHN MCDONALD, THOMAS WALKER, &c. &c. &c.

REV. SIR AND MEMBERS OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH,

I THANK you most sincerely for your friendly address.

It is very pleasing to me to find that many of the people themselves appreciate the danger which existed during the late atrocious rebellion, for all those who were loyal amongst the black race, as well as for the white and coloured inhabitants.

It is impossible that there can be any peace or safety of life or property for any one, or any general prosperity or happiness, unless all classes feel that their individual welfare and interests depend upon a mutual good feeling and confidence on the part of each towards the other; and this good feeling and confidence can only exist when Christian love and forbearance, a ready obedience to and a respect for those in authority, and a cheerful submission to the laws of the country actuate and regulate the conduct of all.

You are right in believing that, as Governor of a Colony inhabited by different races and classes, it was both my duty and my desire to favour none to the disadvantage of others; and that as far as lay in my power my endeavours have ever been directed to promote the interests and the welfare of all alike.

I thank you gratefully for your good wishes towards myself and family, and I pray that the Almighty may in His infinite wisdom and power so guide and direct the future conduct of all as to ensure peace and prosperity to the Colony at large, and restore confidence and good will among all classes of its inhabitants.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, March 14, 1866.

FROM THE MISSIONARIES IN KINGSTON.

MR. HOUGHTON to GOVERNOR EYRE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Kingston, January 5, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to enclose for your Excellency's perusal copy of an address with which several of the leading ministers of the various denominations of Dissenting Christians in this city are desirous of waiting upon your Excellency.

Should your Excellency be graciously pleased to accept the same, I am desired to say that the gentlemen signing it will be prepared to wait upon your Excellency with it at such time and place as your Excellency shall appoint.

They also desired me to say, that it was only from the public prints yesterday they heard of your approaching departure from the Island, or they would have done themselves the honour of earlier addressing your Excellency.

Awaiting your Excellency's commands,

I have, &c.

His Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq. (Signed) THOMAS OUGHTON.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, Governor of Jamaica, &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned missionaries and ministers of the Gospel in Kingston, feel that we should not be true to ourselves as public teachers, or to the churches under our charge, did we permit your Excellency to leave this Island without the expression of our most heartfelt sympathy with yourself in the very difficult and trying circumstances in which you have been placed.

Sufficiently removed from the more immediate scene of action to be able with some degree of calmness to judge of its real nature, while sufficiently near to feel the emergency of the case, we cannot but express our most solemn conviction that to your Excellency's prompt, energetic, and decisive measures we owe it that the scenes of Morant Bay were not enacted throughout the Island.

Unbiassed by political feelings, and with no party to serve, we feel ourselves the more free to express our conviction, from the evidences of our own observations, as well as from the official and other sources of information to us, that a spirit of insubordination to law has long existed among a large portion of the population of this Island, and that lately the teachings of ignorant and wicked men have served to fan the flame into sedition.

We know not what evidence there may be of an organized conspiracy, and if there were any, we are satisfied that it was by no means universal amongst the labouring population, but in the state of our community we feel convinced that the slightest indecision, delay, or miscarriage in dealing with the first spark of rebellion as exhibited at Morant Bay would have caused the spread of civil war throughout the Island.

Under such circumstances we would record our firm conviction that the most energetic and stringent, and even severe measures, which the constitution placed within your Excellency's power, were necessary for the protection and safety of her Majesty's peaceful and law-abiding subjects in this Colony, and we would gratefully recognize the hand of Providence in placing at the head of affairs one who so vigorously and effectively determined to do his duty to the utmost in that time of imminent peril.

Without expressing any opinion on isolated acts, and regretting that great loss of life has occurred, involving, we fear, to some extent the innocent with the guilty, we would nevertheless cordially express our conviction that the general policy pursued by your Excellency was absolutely necessary to meet the exigencies of the case, and was dictated simply by a sense of duty, and of the responsibility which rested on you at a period of such alarm and extreme danger.

At the same time we would also express our regret of the unqualified censure pronounced by a large portion of the British press, arguing at a distance from our Island, and manifesting deplorable ignorance of its population and condition; and whilst we would sympathize with your Excellency as to the unfair criticism of your acts, and the improper imputation of motives, we cannot refrain from also recording our feeling that the sentiments so expressed in England are already producing almost mischievous influence on our population, and are likely, when fully circulated, to go far, not only to reproduce the scenes of massacre which we all so much deplore, but also to paralyze the efforts of those in authority.

Trusting that your Excellency with your Lady and family may be preserved by our Heavenly Father, and may enjoy a safe and prosperous voyage, and that your future career may be one of prosperity and happiness in whatever position your Excellency may be placed,

We have, &c.

(Signed) JONATHAN EDMONDSON,
General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions,
31 years in this Island,
and 10 others.

January 6, 1866.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To the REV. JONATHAN EDMONDSON, the REV. JAMES WATSON, the REV. SAMUEL OUGHTON, the REV. JOHN THOMPSON, the REV. WM. HOLDSWORTH, the REV. WM. GARDNER, the REV. WM. GRIFFITHS, the REV. J. RADCLIFFE, the REV. A. J. MILNE, M.A., the REV. ENOS NUTTALL, and the REV. ELISHA PENROSE.

REVEREND GENTLEMEN,

ACCEPT my heartfelt gratitude for the sympathy you extend to me under the difficult and trying circumstances in which I have been placed, and for the valuable testimony you bear to the necessity for the most prompt and decisive measures being taken to put down a rebellion, which having in three days and a half extended from Morant Bay forty miles in one direction and twenty in another, required but a few days longer to overrun a great portion of the Colony, spreading destruction and desolation in its course.

In crushing out so formidable an outbreak, it became my painful duty to exercise a severity which, whilst justly punishing the guilty, might terrify the seditious and evil-disposed of other districts, and restrain them from making any similar attempts; and if in the steps taken to effect this object some isolated acts of wrong or wrongs or injustice have occurred, I can only say they were unknown to me and could not be controlled by the Executive, and I trust, too, they will be found to be only such as are inseparable from the state of warfare and existence of martial law—both great evils in themselves—but forced upon the Government by a peril which, if not promptly arrested, would have endangered the entire Colony.

I can only assure you, Gentlemen, that I have been actuated by the single desire to do my duty to my Queen and to the people of this Island, and amidst all the misrepresentations and censures which have so unsparingly and unjustly been heaped upon me by those who, being at a distance from the danger, could neither realize its magnitude nor the smallness of the means available to meet it, I have the innate satisfaction of feeling that I did that duty faithfully, and the proud conviction that in doing it I averted from Jamaica a general and sanguinary war.

For your good feelings towards myself and family personally I tender you my sincere thanks, and I do assure you that whatever may be my future career, my best wishes will be always with you for the welfare and prosperity of the Colony and for the individual and general happiness of all connected with it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, January 22, 1866.

FROM THE REV. T. P. RUSSELL.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR EYRE.

MY DEAR SIR, The Cloisters, St. Ann's Bay, January 9, 1866.

IT is not from any fear I entertain of your strength failing you in the hour of trial, of your allowing the sense of *loneliness* to creep over you, as you consider the nature and number of those unworthy attacks which have been made upon you and your policy of governing this country, in England; of your being driven from your position of conscious integrity, uprightness, and consistency

JAMAICA. in the administration of the affairs of this Colony, to one of doubt of everything you have done, or of your needing anything like what I can say to enable you to *bear all* with that true nobleness which has already endeared you to many hearts, that I address you with a few lines.

My sentiments of attachment to your Excellency, my approval of your public conduct, and especially in the late unhappy outbreak, my feelings of indignation at the wrong already inflicted and more severely threatened on one who has done his duty—and the very best thing that could have been done under the circumstances—urges me thus to address you and inform you that you are *not alone*; you have my feeble but earnest sympathy (and I may say that of thousands more), and you will continue to have a place in my earnest prayers in private, at the family altar, and at the public assemblies of God's people.

We have *confidence* in committing your Excellency and family to God's care and guiding love; we know He will bring forth your Excellency's righteousness as the light and your judgment as the noon-day. All will be eventually cleared, even though it may be necessary to *delay it for a season.* Be assured therefore, my dear Sir, that while everything is at present, and will remain for a time in so unpleasant and painful a position with regard to yourself and family, there will arise from many a heart and many a home continual intercessions on your own and their behalf, and that the Commission instituted by Her most Gracious Majesty's Government may be guided to definite and right conclusions.

Your Excellency will not, I venture to hope, be in the least measure influenced by the fickleness of public opinion as expressed in the newspapers.

Allow me to remark that at present I have found *but one* party in the country at all dissentient as regards the approval of your conduct.

They may or may not increase their number according as they may succeed in swaying the judgments of those whom they influence. Public opinion, I regret to say, in this country is exceedingly unsteady.

But your Excellency's former independency will serve you now; and amid so much that is changeable I heartily hope your Excellency may derive those consolations from the word of God which it is calculated to impart.

God Almighty bless, sustain, and comfort you with the light of His countenance and the sense of His approval; and grant yourself and family every desirable satisfaction after the fullest investigation.

I have hastily seized a few moments from my ministerial engagements to pen these few and unworthy lines, at this, as I have felt the period of your peculiar and painful trial. Look not at their intrinsic merits, but at the one feeling which has dictated them, and permit me to remain,

Your Excellency's attached and humble servant,

(Signed) THOMAS P. RUSSELL,
Wesleyan Methodist Minister.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

REVEREND SIR, Flamstead, February 6, 1866.

I HAVE received and thank you for your letter of the 9th ultimo, expressing your sympathy with me under the trying circumstances of my present position.

Believing that I did my duty faithfully in a great emergency, I am troubled with no anxiety as to the future; but I value highly the good opinion and the prayers of the many who have so generously come forward to support and encourage me.

Believe me, &c.

The Rev. T. Russell. (Signed) E. EYRE.

FROM THE ISLAND OF ST. VINCENT.

HIS EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, ESQ., Governor, &c. &c.

SIR, St. Vincent, January 9, 1866.

THE violence with which your conduct during the late troubles in Jamaica has been attacked by a portion of the English press and by the Anti-Slavery Society, and the un-English spirit in which you have been condemned by both on insufficient evidence and unheard, must enlist for you the sympathy of all lovers of fair play, of all persons who are acquainted with your Excellency, and especially of those who have had experience of negro outbreaks.

Your rule over this Colony from 1854 to 1859 is kindly remembered by us, and we feel assured that you could not have assented to the executions of which you are blamed had they not been absolutely necessary.

The revolt of a portion of the negro population which occurred here in 1862, has taught us that severity at the earliest possible moment must be the rule in insurrections in Colonies in which the white and coloured people are vastly out-numbered by the negroes; and we can well understand that, success having converted the partially civilized negro into an African savage, it may be necessary to push severity towards him to a degree which could not be required in any European state; in fact, to the extent of producing absolute terror.

We look on the suppression of the revolt in Jamaica as having prevented revolt in the smaller Colonies, and are aware that the massacre at Morant Bay was openly spoken of by the negroes here as worthy of imitation, and that the news brought by the next mail of the retribution which followed it, was not lost on the disaffected amongst us. We therefore think that you are entitled to our gratitude for the energy and firmness with which you acted, and to the gratitude of every Colony in

the West Indies, more especially of those which being totally without the protection of British soldiers must find such an example of value in the war of races on which they seem to be entering.

Trusting that the investigation ordered by the British Government may prove to it, as we believe it will, that you have done your duty and have not exceeded it,

We remain, &c.

(Signed) JN. J. HUGHES, M.C.,
and 34 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To the HON. J. J. HUGHES, the HON. ROBERT AITKEN, the REV. H. LABORDE, and other INHABITANTS of ST. VINCENT.

REVEREND GENTLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received with very great pleasure your address, coming as it does from the inhabitants of a Colony of which I administered the Government for several years, and in the welfare and prosperity of which I must ever take a lively interest.

It is most gratifying to me to find that I am still remembered amongst you with kindly feelings, and that all the obloquy and misrepresentation which have been so unsparingly, and, I must add, so unjustly heaped upon me by a section of the English press, have not shaken your confidence in my character, which a long personal acquaintance enabled you to form during the time I had the honour of being your Lieutenant Governor.

You are quite right in supposing that the pressure of a most imminent and great peril, threatening the entire Colony of Jamaica, with very limited means of meeting it, made it a stern duty, from which I did not shrink, so to crush out and punish an actual and extensive rebellion, as by intimidating the disaffected of other districts (known to be in a state of preparedness to rebel) might prevent them from attempting to repeat in such districts the savage occurrences which desolated St. Thomas-in-the-East, and, for a time, left one of the richest and most productive parishes of the Colony (containing upwards of 21 square miles), without proprietor, manager, or overseer to reap the abundant crop then ready for the harvest.

I do not doubt but that any failure or delay in putting down or checking the spread of insurrection in Jamaica would at once have resulted in rebellion in other British West India Colonies, especially the smaller and comparatively unprotected ones. Nor do I doubt that the only safe way of dealing with rebellion in these Colonies, where the white and coloured population is so greatly out-numbered by the black (and my opinion is founded upon many years' experience of the negro character), is to confront it by a punishment that shall be prompt, certain, and severe.

I believe that such a stern exercise of retributive justice in the long run becomes eventual mercy.

Whatever may be the result of the Commission now engaged in inquiring into the circumstances connected with the late rebellion and the steps taken to subdue it, I shall ever retain the proud satisfaction of believing that I did my duty faithfully in a great and trying emergency, and the conviction (almost universally shared in by the Colonists themselves) that in doing it I saved Jamaica from the horrors of a general and protracted rebellion.

For your good wishes towards me personally I thank you most sincerely, and I earnestly pray that your lovely and fertile Island may ever mercifully be preserved from becoming the theatre of such appalling scenes as were recently enacted in the eastern districts of this Colony.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, Jamaica, February 5, 1866.

MR. MAIS to GOVERNOR EYRE.

Parish of Port Royal, Halberstadt,
January 19, 1866.

SIR,

IT affords me considerable pleasure in having the honour of forwarding to your Excellency an address cordially signed by a numerous and respectable class of my parishioners.

The testimony borne by this and other parishes of your Excellency's conduct in the suppression of the late rebellion at Morant Bay must be highly satisfactory, refuting as it does the wicked and un-English attempts to throw blame upon acts that have so justly called forth heartfelt thanks.

To your Excellency's prompt and energetic conduct I feel that we owe our present existence. Had the reverse been your line of action, and tampering and hesitation been adopted, the rebellion would have spread, and in a general revolt few would have lived to have related the sad events.

Misrepresentation and falsehood have jointly been used against your Excellency, and a portion of the English press have put forth statements that, in the absence of facts, are very startling, but, Sir, with a high feeling of having conscientiously performed a most difficult and responsible duty, and with truth on your side, you will ultimately triumph over the pitiful attempt to injure your reputation as a ruler.

During this crisis and in your present painful position, it is consolatory to feel that your Excellency enjoys the respect and esteem of a large portion of the inhabitants of this Colony, who anticipate that the reward you so justly deserve will yet be bestowed upon you by our beloved Queen.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STEPHEN W. MAIS,
Custos of the Parish of Port Royal.

His Excellency Governor Eyre &c., &c.

JAMAICA.

MR. LANGBRIDGE to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Sue River Metcalfe, Kingston, P. O., February 5, 1866.

FROM living quite at one extremity of this parish, and being in ill health, I was not aware until too late of the address presented to your Excellency from Metcalfe.

That will account for the omission of my name in the address, as a large landed proprietor and an old magistrate of the parish.

Though this omission is of no consequence to your Excellency, I feel it to be otherwise with myself, as it might appear not only disloyal to our Gracious Queen, but ungrateful to your Excellency, to whom the deepest gratitude is due not only of the present but future generations, as the most prompt and intrepid saver, in the hands of a merciful Providence, of our lives and property, and everything that is dear and valuable to us in this life. Saving by almost inspired ability and extraordinary exertions and intense toil a most valuable possession of the British Crown from being ignominiously taken from Great Britain, through seas of human blood and human torture, by innumerable rebel savages, whose blood, as well as the blood of the white and coloured people of this country, your sagacity and strategy saved from being shed to an infinitely greater extent.

Allow me the honour, &c.

To His ExcellencyEdward John Eyre, Esq. (Signed) W. R. LANGBRIDGE.

If the name of W. R. Langbridge, J.P., could be added to the address I should be glad, as it would be painful to me to see it in print without it.

(Signed) W. R. L.

MR. HART to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Montego Bay, February 6, 1866.

EXCUSE the liberty we take in addressing you when your time must necessarily be otherwise employed, in defending yourself of the vindictive charges laid against your Excellency.

When we take a retrospective view of our past sufferings in the rebellion this side the Island in 1831 and 1832, and we were burnt out of house and everything we possessed and barely escaped with our lives (our residence at Reading Wharf four miles from this town), we can assure your Excellency, from past experience, we regard your prompt and decisive action was the only cause of preventing the spread of the rebellion to this side the Island and all around.

In the former rebellion, which broke out some weeks before it was really intended, as it was not completely matured, the design was checked in consequence of a dispute between two servants at Shettlewood, which got to their master's ears, and but for the prompt measure, much loss of lives would have been lost; only six suffered (whites). There was no hubbub made when the Rebels were *shot, hung*, and *flogged*, and many without trial. Three coloured men on Belfort Bridge in another parish; there was no secret, the punishment was the cause of the rebellion being crushed, and now, because you have acted wisely and done your duty to your Queen and country, they seek to disgrace you, which under Divine Providence we sincerely hope you may live to defeat.

The late Inspector Alberga, whose life the Rebels particularly seeked, was a mild and humane man. The same feeling predominates against you; we hear and see enough this side the Island to convince us of what they would do towards your Excellency; they only want the upper hand, which God grant they may never succeed in obtaining, and we fervently hope you may long enjoy life to overcome your bitter enemies, of which you have many of the lower grade, and advisers who have nothing but from an idea of gain.

We remain, &c.

To His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., (Signed) AARON HART,
Captain-General and Governor of Jamaica. and LOUISA his wife.

The MAROONS of CHARLES TOWN to GOVERNOR EYRE.

SIR, Charles Town, St. George's, February 5, 1866.

I AM desired by the Maroons to forward to you the accompanying address from them to your Excellency, begging that you will be pleased to receive the same.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq. (Signed) W. B. EDWARDS,
Quartermaster, Buff Bay, P.O.

To his EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, &c., &c.

NOBLE AND RESPECTED SIR, Charles Town, St. George's, February 5, 1866.

IT is with feelings of profound sympathy and respect that we, loyal Maroons of Charles Town, venture to intrude upon you, at this important juncture, to offer your Excellency our best wishes in this your hour of trial.

We have heard with dismay and deep concern that a portion of the British press and a section of the British public have been dealing unfairly towards you, but we rejoice to learn that our Gracious Queen Victoria, ever mindful that neither the greatest nor the least of Her Majesty's subjects, in whatever part of the globe they may be placed, shall suffer wrong with impunity, has shown her

wisdom and regard by sending out to this country a Royal Commission to inquire into the origin and nature of the late rebellion, and the measures adopted for its suppression; and we, loyal Maroons, are fully persuaded that the result of the investigation will fully vindicate you in all your late acts, and those of the military and naval and civil authorities engaged therein, and repel the vile aspersions which have been so thickly cast upon you and them.

We humbly and sincerely offer our prayers to the Great Disposer of all Events to cheer and comfort you in this your trying hour, and that every blessing may be poured down upon you, your estimable lady and family, that health and happiness and prosperity may attend you and them wherever you may bend your steps; and we also venture to express a hope that our good and excellent Queen may reward you yet with Her Majesty's gracious approval of your Excellency's late conduct, for *we* all feel persuaded that you have discharged the solemn duties and heavy responsibilities committed to your charge with fidelity, zeal, humanity, and Christian forbearance.

With deep sympathy we remain, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM M'FARLANE, Major,
and 92 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

MAJOR MACFARLANE, OFFICERS, and MAROONS, of Charles Town,

I THANK you sincerely for your address expressing your good opinion of and sympathy with me under the obloquy and misrepresentation by which I have been assailed by a section of the English public and press.

With you I confidently believe that the inquiry now being conducted under a Royal Commission appointed by our Most Gracious Sovereign will dispel the foul aspersions which have so unjustly been cast upon all those who, in putting down and punishing an atrocious rebellion, endeavoured to do their duty faithfully to their Queen and country.

I rejoice also to think that one of the more prominent results of this inquiry will be to place before Her Majesty, in its true light, the able and zealous service rendered by Her loyal and faithful Maroons.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, February 4, 1866.

LETTER FROM THE FAMILY OF HENRIQUES.

To HIS EXCELLENCY E. J. EYRE, ESQ., &c., &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Spanish Town, February 22, 1866.

WE, the undersigned members of one family, jointly request your Excellency to receive our heartfelt thanks for the prompt measures your Excellency adopted in the suppression of the late rebellion which took place in Saint Thomas-in-the-East on the 11th of October 1865.

We believe that, but for a mighty interposition of Providence, coupled with the exertions used on your part as well as the assistance rendered by the military, the majority of our lives would have been lost.

We have been led to this belief from our personal knowledge of a majority of the lower classes of persons who inhabit this Colony.

We know that the *class named* are a blood-thirsty, barbarous, and discontented race.

We are strongly of opinion that if your Excellency had not put such a timely stoppage, that the rebellion would have spread all over the Island, and but God himself only knows when and where it would have been ended.

We deeply sympathize with your Excellency to find that persons across the water (perfectly unacquainted with the matter, as well as of the manner and habits of the people) should have attempted to condemn your Excellency's actions, without awaiting the result of any inquiry that was about to be instituted.

We believe that a great majority of the respectable and intelligent portion of the community will go with us in our statements herein contained, and that we who are on the spot ought to know more about the matter than those abroad.

We believe that your Excellency will join us in welcoming the Royal Commissioners who Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint.

We rest perfectly assured that they will find that your actions have been of such a nature as to warrant Her Gracious Majesty to promote you to a more distinguished and civilized place, where you will be able to give your opponents cause to envy you.

In conclusion, we wish you and family every prosperity that this world affords, and we have the extreme honour to be,

Your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient Servants,

(Signed) EBENEZER CONSTANTINE HENRIQUES,
and 8 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

To E. C. HENRIQUES, J. C. HENRIQUES, H. N. HENRIQUES, E. E. HENRIQUES, M. J. HENRIQUES, A. T. SAA, E. E. SAA, C. HEMMINGS, and W. W. HENRIQUES.

I THANK you for your address.

It is gratifying to me to know that as members of a family in the humbler walks of life, you recognize that my endeavours to preserve the peace of the country, and to render life and property secure, were intended to promote alike the welfare and safety of all classes of the community.

For your good wishes I return you very sincere thanks.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, February 6, 1866.

FROM THE CONSULATE OF SPAIN.

EXCELLENT AND DEAR SIR, Consulate of Spain, Jamaica, Kingston, January 28, 1866.

IF my signature do not appear on the address which the inhabitants of this city have considered it their duty to present to your Excellency, thanking you for the manner in which you have secured the legal and prompt suppression of the late rebellion so unexpected in this Island, it was because it does not comport with my office to mix myself in political matters.

I have not failed, however, to make known to my Government what I considered as a sacred duty and an act of justice towards your Excellency, for which reason I now take the liberty of uniting my voice and opinion to those of the inhabitants of Jamaica, in bearing testimony to your Excellency's worth. Requesting your Excellency to accept the assurance of my respectful consideration.

I am, &c.

His Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) BRUNO BADAN.

FROM THE LADIES OF PORT ANTONIO AND MANCHIONEAL.

To HIS EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, ESQ., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica, &c., &c.

Port Antonio, January 1, 1866.

WE, the undersigned, of Portland and Manchioneal desire to tender our grateful thanks to your Excellency for the prompt assistance and protection we received from you (personally) in our hour of direful and extreme peril. As women we must ever pray for your Excellency's welfare, for if the men return thanks for their lives alone, we return ours to you for saving us from every indignity a female most dreads, and which during those perilous days that elapsed between the fearful massacre at Morant Bay, and the appearance of the "Wolverine" at Port Antonio, formed the dreadful subject of thought to most of us.

Next to the great and good God, to your Excellency we owe the preservation of all most dear to us. Many had fled from their distant homes at hardly an hour's warning, with hearts fainting within them at the frightful news of the savage cruelties practised on dear friends; terror lent courage, strength, and resolution to encounter danger and fatigue. They feared for their honor and lives, and dreaded the cruelties which were threatened fathers, brothers, and husbands—some were to be beheaded and others chopped to pieces. On reaching Port Antonio, the people from Manchioneal found that owing to there being no ammunition in the place, it could not be defended. They then with the inhabitants, and those of the surrounding properties hastened on board the American barque "Reunion," Capt. Tracy. May the Almighty bless him for his kindness to us all that sought protection on board his vessel.

On board the "Reunion," a poor, wretched worn out group welcomed your Excellency on Sunday morning, the 15th October. The inhabitants who did not take refuge on board the "Reunion," went on board the "Son," Capt. Murdock (a fine schooner) at that time in Port Antonio, and which vessel as well as the "Reunion" put to sea on Friday night; and from the deck of these vessels, Mulatto River (Mr. Hinchelwood's) property was seen in flames.

Words strong enough to express our feelings fail us in attempting to return thanks to your Excellency, and your noble hearted officers. We can only pray that the choicest blessings may be poured on your heads by the just and gracious Father of us all, the divine and only searcher of our hearts. We shall never in memory revert to that time without feelings of enthusiastic gratitude stirring our hearts towards your Excellency, and those under your command, for your humanity and promptness in hastening to our aid. Had you not come by that time, we have every reason, from what the deluded beings confessed, to think our lives would have passed away amidst indignities and horrors too fearful to contemplate. From these bitter sorrows your timely arrival saved us. That the great God of all nations and colours may bless and protect our earthly deliverers will be the united prayer of those that you saved from calamities the most direful human nature could be called on to bear.

(Signed) ELIZA A. ORGILL,
and 237 others.

FROM THE LADIES OF MANCHESTER.

To His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica, &c., &c., &c.

The humble address of the Ladies of the Parish of Manchester.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Ladies of the parish of Manchester, beg leave respectfully to present to you this expression of our sense of your Excellency's conduct during the late rebellion; and to offer to you our heartfelt sympathies in the trying position in which you are placed.

We naturally shrink from leaving the sphere of our homes and even approaching the threshold of politics; but we were thrown into the utmost consternation at learning the sad fate of the ladies of St. Thomas-in-the-East—women sadly awaiting their doom in their respective homes, while their husbands and brothers were either murdered or absent on duty, and others flying in terror to the woods, with their helpless children; and we felt, and still feel, this might have been our lot, had it not been for the prompt and instant measures which your Excellency adopted, with the advice o your Privy Council. And now learning that your Excellency's conduct has been called in question, we do not hesitate to come forward and express our heartfelt sympathy with you, and to pray that the same Almighty power which gave you wisdom and courage to protect the Island, may still throw his protection around you, and enable you to overcome the calumnies of those wholesale maligners, who, in such unmeasured terms, have arraigned your actions at the bar of public opinion.

We beg leave respectfully to offer our sympathies to Mrs. Eyre and your family; and to express our appreciation of the noble and spirited letter of your sister, which we have read in the English papers.

May the blessing of God be showered abundantly on Mrs. Eyre, yourself, and family is the earnest and sincere prayer of

Sir, yours most respectfully.

(Signed) S. A. Hollingsworth,
and 133 others.

FROM THE LADIES OF CORNWALL.

To His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor of Jamaica.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Ladies residing in the county of Cornwall, Jamaica, and on its borders, beg to tender our heartfelt thanks to you for the prompt and wise measures which we believe, under God, to have been the means of saving us and our children from a fate too terrible to contemplate.

Deeply as we deplore that a necessity for so much bloodshed should have arisen, we feel that it would have been a cruel, unjust, and unwise mercy which could throw away the lives of a peaceable, loyal, and offenceless community for the sake of sparing the lives of murderers and rebels.

We believe that the blessing of God has rested on your brave efforts to save us and those whose lives are far more precious to us than our own; and we earnestly hope that the policy which has proved so effectual for the protection of our lives and properties so far will not be rashly abandoned.

Those among us, who have passed safely through the late perils, will ever remember that, in all human probability, to you and to those who have so ably seconded your efforts we owe our immunity; and we shall ever recall your name with feelings of the deepest gratitude and respect.

We remain, &c.

(Signed) Carey Kelly,
and 156 others.

His Excellency's Reply.

To Mrs. Kelly, Mrs. Corinaldi, Mrs. De B. Haven, Mrs. Phillpotts, &c., &c., &c.

Mrs. Kelly and Ladies,

I thank you gratefully for the address, and for the generous expression of your opinion that the steps taken by me during the late rebellion were only such as the urgent circumstances of the moment made essential for the public safety.

Sincerely do I join with you in lamenting the necessity which compelled a resort to stern and severe measures; but I felt assured it was the only course which held out any prospect of grappling successfully with a great danger that had already overtaken one extensive district, and which threatened destruction to the entire Colony.

Permit me to assure you, that whatever may be my future lot, it will be the greatest gratification to me to believe that, under God's blessing, I have been instrumental in preserving your homes from the horrors which a general rebellion must have entailed; and it ever will be my proudest recollection that my conduct in the hour of difficulty and danger has met with the approval, and earned for me the good opinion and sympathy of the Ladies of Jamaica.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

Flamstead, January 20, 1866.

FROM THE LADIES OF ST. ELIZABETH.

His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Ladies of St. Elizabeth's, feeling that to your Excellency's exertions to save this Colony during the late important crises we are, under God, indebted for the preservation of

JAMAICA.

our lives and properties, desire to testify by our united and heartfelt gratitude and sympathy, that we most deeply appreciate all you have endured on our behalf.

We must ever remember how, at the first terrible news of the massacre in St. Thomas-in-the-East, when all hearts were paralysed with dismay and fear, you, dear Sir, regardless of your own personal safety, unmindful even of your nearest and dearest ties, hastened to the scene of action, and by your promptitude and energy suppressed an insurrection that would otherwise have spread rapidly over every part of our Island. Our hearts were then divided between sympathy for Mrs. Eyre and admiration of your own noble and intrepid conduct.

Most truly do we now realize also the danger that threatened our own parish in August last, when through the wicked and disloyal reports that were fomented and circulated among our ignorant and excitable peasantry, a general spirit of disaffection prevailed; the lives of our husbands and fathers were in jeopardy, and a fate worse than death awaited ourselves. On the representation of our good Custos, your Excellency promptly responded to our call for help and protection at that period; and our fears were for the time dissipated. And how have these services been requited and honoured? We blush to think of the disgraceful vituperations that have so freely assailed your Excellency, and are indignant that such should ever have found a single advocate.

But calumny and misrepresentation have done their worst. The testimony of your own conscience, dear Sir, that you have faithfully and loyally performed your duty to our beloved Queen and country, the prestige of your name, and the high character you bear for uprightness and integrity, must be your present reward; and although we fear Jamaica will always be identified with all that is most painful and unsatisfactory in your experience, the grateful blessings of every true heart among us will follow you when you leave her shores; and future years will, we fervently trust, shower on you the honour and homage you deserve.

With us, Sir, the case is unfortunately widely different. We feel that irreparable mischief has been done by the moral effect of late proceedings on our population. Our influence over them has been seriously weakened. We distrust the present calm, and fear the latent spirit of discontent fostered in their minds, may at any moment burst into open rebellion. Jamaica, though to many of us a permanent home, is, we fear, no longer a safe asylum to European families; for no Governor or British officer can for the future be expected to imperil his own life and reputation by incurring responsibilities which have been so ungenerously rewarded.

On yourself, Mrs. Eyre, and family, honoured Sir, we invoke the richest blessing of health and happiness, and beg to subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's obedient servants,

(Signed) MISS SALMON, Mount Olivet,
and 69 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

TO MISS SALMON, MRS. MILLAR, MRS. ISAACS, MISS ISAACS, MRS. SMITH, &c., &c., &c.

MISS SALMON AND LADIES OF ST. ELIZABETH,

I THANK you most sincerely for your warm-hearted address.

It is most gratifying to me, to know that amidst all the obloquy and doubts with which my character and conduct have recently been assailed in England, I am so fortunate as to enjoy the good opinion and sympathy of the ladies of the Colony, where the acts which have been impugned took place.

The testimony thus given in my favor by the good, the kind, the gentle, and the loving, is the best refutation I can adduce of the charges made against me of inhumanity or undue severity. I can conscientiously assure you that throughout the whole of the late unhappy occurrences, I was actuated by single desire to do my duty faithfully as the Queen's representative, upon whom devolved the heavy and anxious responsibility of determining the steps to be taken to protect the lives and properties of the white and coloured inhabitants of this Island, suddenly imperilled by a most unexpected and savage insurrection which threatened, if not at once stamped out, to become a general rebellion. In such an emergency, it was essential that the action of the Government should be prompt, certain, and severe.

That the steps taken were effectual, and the Colony saved from a succession of horrors and atrocities which can better be imagined than described, we owe to the merciful over-ruling of an allwise God.

I shall ever rejoice that I was led to take a course which had so providential an issue, the reality of which no misrepresentation can gainsay or destroy.

That nothing may occur to interrupt the present state of quietude and peace, and that time may gradually restore and perpetuate amongst all classes the feelings of confidence and good-will which have recently received so rude a shock, is my most anxious hope, and I fervently pray that God's best blessing may ever rest upon the hearts and homes of each one of you, and upon all those who are near and dear to you.

For your good wishes towards my wife, myself, and our family, I tender you my own and Mrs. Eyre's heartfelt thanks and gratitude.

Flamstead, February 16, 1866. (Signed) E. EYRE.

FROM CERTAIN POOR WOMEN OF THE PARISH OF SAINT CATHERINE.

SIR,

WE, the undersigned poor women of Spanish Town, not having been afforded an opportunity of affixing our names to any of the addresses presented to your Excellency, beg leave respectfully to approach your Excellency with this our humble address.

We feel it to be our duty too (sharing as we do the esteem and admiration for your Excellency, which is entertained by all respectable persons throughout the Island), to thank your Excellency from our hearts for our narrow escape from the horrible cruelties to which our sex and fellow subjects of St. Thomas-in-the-East were exposed during the late rebellion.

We have no doubt but for the prompt and energetic measures which from necessity your Excellency adopted for its suppression, our well grounded fears that the outbreak in that parish would spread like "wild fire" till it reached our homes, would have been realized.

We are persuaded that although your Excellency, as a faithful servant of the Crown, shrunk not in the hour of danger from the performance of a painful duty, yet no one regrets more than your Excellency, the unavoidable severity that such an unprovoked and wicked rebellion required to suppress it.

We trust that your Excellency and the noble and brave officers and men who aided your Excellency in carrying out effectually measures which alone, under God, could have saved the country from a greater calamity, will have the pleasure of receiving Her Majesty's approval of your conduct, when truth shall have triumphed over falsehood and misrepresentation.

We unite in wishing you, Mrs. Eyre, and family, every blessing now, and happiness hereafter, and remain, &c.

(Signed) CHARLOTTE ALDRED,
and 99 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

TO MISS CHARLOTTE ALDRED, MRS. MARY RIVERS, MISS CATHERINE MCCALLA, &c., &c., &c.,

I THANK you very sincerely for your address.

It it most gratifying to me to learn that the poorer women of the Colony, equally with those who are better off, believe that my course of action as Governor during the late unhappy occurrences in Saint Thomas-in-the-East was dictated by a sole desire to protect the lives and properties of those entrusted to my care, and that no one could lament more than I do the necessity for resorting to the measures of severity. I could not however, [mistake] what my duty was, or hesitate to discharge it, however painful, when the safety of the Colony was at stake.

Mrs. Eyre joins me in grateful thanks for your kind hearted expression towards us, and our children; and we beg you to accept our united and best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of you all.

(Signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, October 17, 1865.

FROM THE LADIES OF JAMAICA.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE, ESQ., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica.

SIR, December 1865.

WHILE so many demonstrations of gratitude to your Excellency are being made throughout the Colony, we, the women of Jamaica and others resident here, cannot refrain from expressing also our feelings and sentiments of fervent, heartfelt thankfulness to your Excellency, whose self-devotion has, through God's mercy, saved us, our families, and our homes from outrage, desolation, and ruin.

Our gratitude is enhanced and deepened by the sad and solemn recollection, no less of the miseries over which widows and orphans, and other victims of wrong have now to mourn, than of the horrors to which we ourselves had been doomed. So long as life lasts must the memory of those times be remembered by us, and so long as life lasts will those memories be soothed by the recollection of him through whose prompt forethought, vigorous action, generous courage and conduct, domestic hearths were preserved, honour and life saved, whilst sorrow and lamentation were averted from many a home throughout the Island.

In affectionate sympathy with Mrs. Eyre, in sincerest regard for your Excellency, we all, wives, mothers, daughters, widows, offer humble supplication to that great and merciful Protector, who through you, protected us, for every blessing for you, your wife, your children. May He protect and abundantly prosper your future career.

We are, your Excellency's humble servants,
(Signed) M. L. STEWART, Wife of Archdeacon Stewart,
and 2,809 others.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

MRS. STEWART AND LADIES OF JAMAICA,

IF in the dark hour of life, when a public man's character is assailed and aspersed, his actions misrepresented, and his motives doubted, there can be one more cheering support than another (next to trust in God, and the consciousness of having endeavoured to do his duty), such support and comfort I find in the address which you now present to me.

To have gained the approval of the large number of colonists of all ranks and classes who have recently signed addresses to me has been most gratifying, but to have elicited the touching expressions which I now receive of the good-will and sympathy of the wives, mothers, daughters, and widows of

AMAICA. Jamaica affects me most deeply, and will ever be cherished as a most highly prized testimony that you believe that in the hour of difficulty and danger I did my duty faithfully to my Queen and to the colonists of this Island.

Most truly do I sympathize with those of you who in the late terrible occurrences lost near and dear relatives, and whose homes have thus been broken up and rendered desolate. May the merciful God, who alone can, comfort and sustain you and your orphan children in this deep affliction.

Sincerely do I feel also for all who, whilst escaping this heavier calamity, were still subjected to sufferings, anxieties, and suspense that can only be realized by those who knew the imminence of the peril which menaced them, and its terrible nature.

If there is one circumstance in the course of a long life of active public service upon which I shall ever dwell with greater pleasure than another, it is the recollection that the means I adopted during the late rebellion were, by God's blessing, and through the noble exertions of our sailors, soldiers, and volunteers, successful in rescuing a large number of unprotected ladies and children, resident in the disturbed districts, from the horrors by which they were surrounded, and that in other parts of the Colony the ladies were by that success saved from witnessing similar scenes of savage outrage and bloodshed in their own districts.

Accept my most grateful thanks for your affectionate good wishes on behalf of myself, Mrs. Eyre, and our children. Rest assured that our prayers and sympathies will ever be with you.

May the Almighty speedily restore peace, harmony, and confidence to this unsettled and excited country, and may He bless and prosper you and yours, granting you all every happiness in your own homes, none making you afraid.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

His Excellency's Reply to Address from the Parish of Manchester

Mr. Custos, Rev. Gentlemen, and Gentlemen,

I thank you sincerely for your loyal and kind address, expressing your satisfaction at the prompt and effectual manner in which, with my limited means, the late serious rebellion was put down, and I am glad to learn that the steps taken for that purpose, added to the precautionary measures adopted since, have had a salutary effect in your own as well as in other districts.

I earnestly trust that the exertions of the ministers of religion, and the measures of a government which under the change made in the constitution, will now be a united and strong one, may henceforward lead the people to habits of greater industry, prudence, and morality, and thus, by improving their social position, render them more prosperous, contented, and loyal.

It is very gratifying to me to receive such a hearty expression of your grateful appreciation of my personal exertions in endeavouring to restore tranquillity to the country and provide for its future prosperity.

Pray accept my best thanks for this proof of your good opinion, as well as for your friendly good wishes towards myself and family.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

His Excellency's Reply to Address from the Parish of Vere.

Mr. Custos and Gentlemen,

I thank you very sincerely for your loyal and kind address, recording your approval of the steps taken by me to put down the late insurrection, and your belief that but for its prompt suppression in the eastern districts, the rebellion would rapidly have extended amongst the disaffected of other parishes, and the whole Island have become the theatre of outrage and bloodshed.

I fully share in your belief, and regard it as most providential, that the first rising took place apparently prematurely, and thereby frustrated that more simultaneous action among the negroes of different parishes, which there is every reason to think was contemplated, and which, had it taken place at a time when we were so ill-prepared to meet the emergency, would have entailed incalculable horror, and must have led to a protracted and bloody struggle.

I am happy to think that the large reinforcements of both military and naval forces, so generously sent over to our aid, and the rapid formation of local volunteer corps for self-defence, have so far reversed our position, that I trust we shall now be able to prevent any further attempts at rising amongst the disaffected, and certainly should be able at once to put down any such attempts if made.

Most cordially do I rejoice with you in the prospect which the abolition of the existing constitution, and the substitution of one better adapted to the circumstances and requirements of Jamaica, holds out of future good government and progress, and earnestly do I pray that the new order of things about to be brought into operation may conduce largely to the re-establishment of order and tranquillity based upon the holy, solid foundation, the respect, loyalty, and regard of a people prosperous, contented, and happy, under the advantages of a genial climate, a fertile soil, and the blessings conferred by freedom and equal laws.

You will be glad to learn that I have been honoured with the high approval of Her Majesty's Government, of the measures taken by me for repressing and preventing the spread of the late insurrection.

King's House. (Signed) E. Eyre.

His Excellency's Reply to Address from the Parish of St. James.

Dr. Lawson, and Gentlemen of St. James,

I thank you sincerely for your address, for although I only did my duty in endeavouring promptly to put down and punish the late atrocious rebellion, it is gratifying to me to know that the steps taken by me for that purpose have met with your approval.

I can assure you that it is my constant and earnest thought by day and by night how I can best provide for the future peace and safety of the Colony, convinced as I am, that with such a population as we have, and with so much disaffection arising from ignorance and evil teaching pervading that population, it must be a long time before the same feeling of confidence and security can again be felt by the white and coloured inhabitants as existed prior to the late outbreak.

I rejoice to find that you concur with me in thinking that the only way of enabling the Government to cope successfully with the state of things which now exist, and is likely to exist for a great length of time to come, is so to modify the present constitution of the Colony as by creating a strong Government will enable that Government to command vigor and efficiency of action within the Island, and respect and confidence in England.

Most earnestly do I hope that all those who have a stake in the country, and who are anxious to promote its true interests, will, under a state of things which, if continued, must render all property valueless, merge every lesser or personal consideration, and cordially co-operate to bring about this great and good work, of which (if achieved) the benefit will descend to and be shared in by all future generations.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

His Excellency's Reply to Address from the District of Porus.

Rev. Sir and Gentlemen,

I thank you sincerely for your loyal address, and for the expressions of your approval of the measures taken by me to put down the late wicked outbreak in the eastern parts of the Island, and to preserve peace and tranquillity in the other districts.

I sincerely hope that, under God's blessing, the precautions taken will prove effectual, and that the misguided and deluded peasantry, who, either from idleness and vice, or under a mistaken impression of supposed wrongs, have been ready to join in rebellion against their Sovereign, may see the folly and wickedness of all such attempts; and, in the course of time, settle down, under the advice and teaching of their ministers, into a peaceable, honest, and industrious population.

Recognizing with you the necessity of endeavouring to improve the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the peasantry of this country, I look forward with great hope to a changed constitution, enabling the Government to do much to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to promote the general welfare of the Colony, which could not be accomplished with the present unworkable system of Government, under which the Island has so long been weighed down.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

His Excellency's Reply to Address from the Ladies of Port Antonio and Manchioneal.

Ladies of Port Antonio and Manchioneal,

It is very gratifying to me to receive your kind and warm-hearted address, expressing your sense of the imminence of the danger from which, in conjunction with the other inhabitants of Portland and Manchioneal, you were preserved by the arrival of Her Majesty's Ship "Wolverine" at Port Antonio on the morning of Sunday, the 15th October, and your thankfulness to those who were the instruments of your preservation.

Deeply sympathising with you under all the losses, sufferings, anxieties, and suspense to which you were subjected during the first three days of the rebellion, I assure you that it is a source of the greatest satisfaction to me that, by God's blessing, and the untiring exertions of Her Majesty's naval and military forces, I was enabled to arrive in time to save you from the still more terrible fate which appeared to be impending.

May God, in His mercy avert from you and from the Colony any similar occurrence; and may He restore that peace and confidence which have been so savagely interrupted.

Accept my grateful thanks for your good feelings towards myself and family; and my heartfelt and best wishes that the Almighty may preserve, bless, and prosper each of you, and all dear to you.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

JAMAICA.

REPORT

OF THE

JAMAICA ROYAL COMMISSION,

1866.

PART I.

REPORT.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1866.

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Copy of a Commission under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet appointing Major-General Sir Henry Knight Storks, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.; Russell Gurney, Esquire, Queen's Counsel, Recorder of the City of London, and John Blossett Maule, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of the Town of Leeds, to inquire respecting certain Disturbances in the Island of Jamaica, and the Measures taken in the course of their Suppression.

(L.S.)

Victoria R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith: To Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Knight Storks, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Our Island of Malta and its Dependencies, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our Island of Jamaica, and the Territories depending thereon, a Major-General in Our Army, having the Local Rank of Lieutenant-General while in Command of Our Troops in Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon; Our trusty and well-beloved Russell Gurney, Esquire, One of Our Counsel learned in the Law, Recorder of Our City of London; and Our trusty and well-beloved John Blossett Maule, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of Our Town of Leeds; Greeting:

Whereas it is alleged that great Disaffection hath prevailed in Our said Island, and that sundry evil-disposed Persons have concerted the destruction of other Our Subjects resident therein: And whereas grievous Disturbances have broken out in Our said Island, and have been suppressed, and the said Disturbances and Suppression have been attended with great loss of life, and it is alleged that excessive and unlawful severity has been used in the course of such Suppression: And whereas it greatly concerns Us that full and impartial Inquiry should be made into the origin, nature, and circumstances of the said Disturbances, and with respect to the Measures adopted in the course of their Suppression: And whereas it is requisite for the sufficiency of the said Inquiry that it should be conducted by Persons not having borne part in the Government of Our said Island during the existence of the said Disturbances nor in the Suppression thereof. Now know ye that We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in the Loyalty and Fidelity of you, the said Sir Henry Knight Storks, Russell Gurney, and John Blossett Maule, have constituted and appointed you to be Our Commissioners for the purpose of making such Inquiry as aforesaid; and We do authorize and require you, with all convenient despatch, and by all lawful ways and means, to enter upon such Inquiry, and, jointly or severally, to collect evidence in Our said Island respecting the origin, nature, and circumstances of the said disturbances, and respecting the means adopted in the course of the suppression of the same, and respecting the conduct of those concerned in such disturbances or suppression, and We do require you to communicate to Us through one of the Principal Secretaries of State, as well as the said evidence as any opinions which you may think fit to express thereupon. And We do further require, that you do in all things conform to such instructions as shall be addressed to you by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State: And We do strictly charge and command all Our Officers, Civil and Military, and all Our Faithful Subjects, and all others inhabiting the said Island and the territories depending thereon, that in their several places, and according to their respective powers and opportunities, they be aiding to you in the execution of this Our Commission. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Our Court at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, this thirtieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, in the twenty-ninth year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

(Countersigned) Edward Cardwell.

COPY of a COMMISSION under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet appointing CHARLES SAVILE ROUNDELL, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, to be Secretary to the Commissioners for prosecuting an inquiry into the origin, nature, and circumstances of certain disturbances which had occurred in the Island of Jamaica, with respect to the Measures adopted in the course of their suppression.

(L.S.)

VICTORIA R.

To Our trusty and well-beloved Charles Savile Roundell, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, greeting:

Whereas by a Commission under Our Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, this thirtieth day of December, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, in the twenty-ninth year of Our reign, We have constituted and appointed Our right trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Knight Storks, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our Island of Jamaica and the territories depending thereon, a Major-General in Our Army, having the local rank of Lieutenant-General while in command of Our troops in Jamaica, and the territories depending thereon; Our trusty and well-beloved Russell Gurney, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law, Recorder of Our City of London; and Our trusty and well-beloved John Blossett Maule, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of Our town of Leeds, to be Our Commissioners for prosecuting an inquiry into the origin, nature, and circumstances of certain disturbances which had occurred in the Island of Jamaica, and with respect to the measures adopted in the course of their suppression:

Now know you, that We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty and fidelity of you the said Charles Savile Roundell, have constituted and appointed you to be the Secretary to the said Sir Henry Knight Storks, Russell Gurney, and John Blossett Maule, in such their capacity of Commissioners as aforesaid.

Given at Our Court at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, this thirtieth day of December, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, in the twenty-ninth year of Our reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

(Countersigned) EDWARD CARDWELL.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lieut. General Sir H. STORKS, G.C.B., to the Right Honourable EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.

Jamaica, King's House,
9th April 1866.
(Received 30th April 1866.)

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the Report of the Royal Commission of which I am President, together with the Notes of the Evidence taken.

Mr. Charles S. Roundell, the Secretary to the Royal Commission, will remain in Jamaica until the departure of the packet of the 24th instant, to enable him to arrange and complete the several documents forming the Appendix to the Report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. K. STORKS.

The Right Honourable
Edward Cardwell, M.P.,
&c. &c.

SYNOPSIS OF REPORT.

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REPORT

OF THE

JAMAICA ROYAL COMMISSION,

1866.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

INTRODUCTION.

WE Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to make inquiry into the origin, nature, and circumstances of certain late disturbances in the Island of Jamaica, and with respect to the measures adopted in the course of their suppression, and being for the purpose of such Inquiry authorized jointly or severally to collect evidence in the said Island respecting the origin, nature, and circumstances of the said disturbances, and respecting the means adopted in the course of the suppression of the same, and respecting the conduct of those concerned in such disturbances and suppression; and being required to communicate to Your Majesty as well the said evidence, as any opinions which we may think fit to express thereupon; humbly report as follows:

1. In obedience to Your Majesty's commands we have instituted a full and searching inquiry into the subjects referred to us.

2. In the course of such inquiry we have collected a large body of evidence, and have also been furnished with certain Returns.

3. The whole of the evidence, both oral and documentary, will be found in the Appendix.

4. Before entering upon our Report, it will be proper to state briefly the course which we have pursued in conducting our Inquiry.

If we encountered difficulties they have been such as have been inherent in the nature of the case, and have not been attributable to other causes.

It is our duty, no less than our pleasure, to place upon record our sense of the readiness with which all persons of all classes in Jamaica, upon the first announcement of Your Majesty's intention to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, at once came forward to promote the objects of such Commission.

Before indeed intelligence of the full constitution of the Commission had been received, the Island Legislature had already invested the Commissioners with those statutory powers for enforcing the attendance of witnesses, and taking their examination upon oath, without which our proceedings would have been seriously impeded.

The readiness in fact with which, as soon as the purport of Your Majesty's Commission became generally known, evidence was proffered, proved at first a source of some embarrassment, and, together with other circumstances, which we proceed to narrate, led to a modification of our original plan.

Our intention, at the outset, was to have followed the order of events, which was also the order prescribed by Your Majesty's Commission.

We proposed that each branch of the Inquiry should be kept separate and distinct; that all the evidence under each head should be taken consecutively; and that no subsequent subject should be entertained until all the evidence under the prior head had been exhausted.

By this method we should have secured that order which tends so much to clearness as well as to thoroughness in the investigation. We should also have been enabled to present the body of evidence obtained in a convenient form for future reference.

But owing to a variety of causes, partly local and partly arising out of the strangeness of the circumstances in which we were placed, we soon found that much delay was caused by irregularity in the attendance of witnesses.

It then became necessary, in order to avoid expense and loss of time, and notwithstanding the inconvenience incident to the derangement of our plan, to take the evidence of such persons as were at hand, numbers of whom were daily presenting themselves before us, especially from the lately disturbed districts, for the purpose of tendering their evidence.

We were thus compelled, by the force of practical exigencies, to depart from the systematic arrangement which we had prescribed.

5. So far, however, as circumstances permitted, we have endeavoured to marshal the evidence in order of subjects.

6. We have, moreover, with a view to remedying the inconvenience of the defective arrangement of the evidence, appended to our Report a classified in addition to a general index of the witnesses.

7. But besides the difficulty of enforcing adherence to method in the distribution of the evidence, we encountered one of a still more serious complexion in the nature of the evidence itself.

In many cases the witnesses manifested a singular ignorance of the nature and value of evidence, as well as a misconception of the proper scope of the Inquiry.

As regards the negroes, it is enough to recall the fact that they were for the most part uneducated peasants, speaking in accents strange to the ear, often in a phraseology of their own, with vague conceptions of number and time, unaccustomed to definiteness or accuracy of speech, and, in many cases, still smarting under a sense of injuries sustained.

Many of them, again, misconceived the object of the Commission, and came to tell their tale of houses burnt or property lost, in the undisguised hope of obtaining compensation. Some also heard of the money which was being paid out of the funds at our disposal to those who travelled to Spanish Town to give evidence.

Even as regards the other witnesses, many even of the educated class could often scarcely be restrained from giving opinions in general and positive terms as equivalent to facts, or from stating as facts within their own knowledge matter communicated to them by others.

A considerable body of evidence, especially in relation to the state of the Island, was thus tendered, which, on being sifted by us, proved of but little value.

The result of these tendencies on the part of so large a number of the witnesses has been the accumulation of a vast mass of evidence, much of which is vague, unimportant, and remote from the subject of Inquiry.

8. Upon a review, however, of the evidence as a whole, and with a full appreciation of the gravity of the defects, in substance as well as in form, to which we have adverted, we are nevertheless satisfied that all such defects are more than compensated by their collateral results.

If we have erred on the side of a too great facility in giving audience to all persons, of whatever class, at whatever stage of the Inquiry they might present themselves, and in receiving evidence in many cases but little pertinent or material, and if, moreover, in consequence, the evidence taken is more or less wanting in order and somewhat redundant, we have yet the satisfaction of feeling that the Inquiry has been both thorough in fact, and thorough likewise in the estimation of the persons most concerned.

No difficulties in point of form have been suffered to bar access to our tribunal; no material witness, of whatever colour or party, has been denied a patient hearing; no material evidence has been excluded by a too rigid circumscription of the limits of the Inquiry; and therefore we trust that any incidental formal defects will be thought of minor consequence, in comparison with the object which throughout we have regarded as paramount,—that of the fullness, thoroughness, and impartiality of the inquiry.

9. There is, however, yet another observation to be made, arising out of a circumstance not always appearing on the face of the evidence.

Some of the evidence which we have received was wholly unworthy of credit, and has been discarded by us in the preparation of our Report.

We should have been glad if we, who witnessed the deportment of witnesses, and had the opportunity of comparing their evidence with one another, could have distinguished those upon whose testimony we could not rely. To have done so, however, we must have entered minutely and at length into details which seemed to us to be inconsistent with the character of our Report.

10. We proceed to give a brief account of the mode in which the evidence was presented to us, as well as to state the principle upon which we acted in defining the limits of the Inquiry.

11. In any ordinary investigation of a judicial character, the conduct of the proceedings is vested in recognized officers with well understood functions, and by such a course the great object of all such inquiries, the ascertainment of the truth, is best secured.

In the case, however, of the Inquiry which we have been commissioned to institute, these ordinary aids towards the discovery of the truth were wanting.

To supply them, so far as the nature of the case admitted, we determined at the outset to appoint a solicitor, to whom should be entrusted, subject to the superintendence of the Secretary, the duty of marshalling the evidence, summoning witnesses, and taking preliminary depositions.

At the same time we took an early opportunity of notifying that the Inquiry was an open one; that we were anxious to obtain the fullest information touching the subjects referred to us; that we desired to summon all such witnesses as might appear likely to afford us information; and that we should be glad to receive assistance from every quarter in prosecuting our object.

We also publicly declared, that in our capacity as Your Majesty's Commissioners we were to be regarded as the representatives of all classes equally of Your Majesty's subjects in the Island.

12. One of the most serious difficulties, however, with which we had to contend, consisted in grappling with the vast mass of evidence which was tendered in support of the allegation of excessive and unlawful severity in the suppression of the disturbances. We were informed that there were some 300 witnesses to be examined with respect to the graver cases comprised in that branch of the Inquiry, independently of the far more numerous cases of the burning of houses.

The sufferers were mostly poor persons of the peasant class, living at a considerable distance from Spanish Town.

It became necessary to adopt some course which, while securing to ourselves the proper control over the proceedings, should at the same time ensure a thorough and searching inquiry into the extent and nature of the severities inflicted.

13. We resolved, therefore, to institute, under our own direction, an official visitation of the lately disturbed districts, with a view to a report being made to us of the number and value of houses destroyed in the course of the suppression.

14. Having thus provided for an exhaustive investigation of one main branch of the grievances alleged, we determined also to investigate on the spot all the other alleged cases of a grave kind involving loss of life, or circumstances of special hardship.

15. In pursuance of this determination the Commission was opened on two several occasions in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. On each occasion the Commissioner engaged in the investigation traversed the district, and was occupied for several days in examining witnesses.

All the graver cases of repression which have been brought to our knowledge have thus been individually investigated.

The results of the evidence so taken have been carefully digested, and compared with the official Returns, and will, together with the official Report on the subject of the houses destroyed, be found in the Appendix.

16. We are thus enabled to present Returns, compiled or verified on the spot, for the accuracy of which we can vouch, and which will offer as near an approximation to the number of lives lost and houses destroyed in the course of the suppression, as we believe the nature of the case will admit.

17. At an early period in our proceedings we were called upon to define some principle by which to guide ourselves in restraining the Inquiry within proper limits.

Under the terms of Your Majesty's Commission, which direct us to make inquiry into the "origin" of the disturbances, we were solicited to admit evidence with respect to a great variety of subjects, embracing almost the whole range of Island politics for several years past. The limitation, however, of the object of our Inquiry to the subject of the late disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East seemed to prescribe a natural limit to the range of the investigation. Accordingly we resolved, as far as we could, to confine ourselves to an examination of the causes which proximately and directly led to the disturbances.

While, therefore, we were ready to entertain any subject, however general in character, which seemed to satisfy this requirement, we made it our endeavour, on the other hand, to reject all evidence which either in point of time or place failed to conform to the above standard.

18. Your Majesty's Commission was first fully constituted in Jamaica, on the arrival at Kingston of those of us who joined the President of the Commission, on Saturday the 20th of January.

The Commission was formally opened on the following Tuesday.

On Thursday the 25th of January we began to take evidence.

From that day until the 21st of March we sat from day to day continuously, with scarcely an intermission.

Since the 21st of March we have held three additional sittings, for the purpose of receiving further evidence.

In the course of the first-named period we paid several visits to the scene of the late disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

On the first occasion we all visited Morant Bay and Stony Gut, and took evidence on the spot.

On the second occasion Mr. Russell Gurney, availing himself of the power conferred by Your Majesty upon any one or more of us of holding a separate Court, visited Morant Bay, Bath, and Manchioneal.

At each of those places he sat as Commissioner, and examined in all 140 witnesses from the several adjacent districts.

On the last occasion Mr. Maule sat in the like capacity at Monklands, Leith Hall, Golden Grove, and Morant Bay, and took the evidence of 82 witnesses.

On both occasions on which one of the Commissioners was thus engaged in examining witnesses in St. Thomas-in-the-East sittings were concurrently held by the others, as usual, at Spanish Town.

The total number of days occupied in the examination of witnesses has been fifty-one.

The total number of separate sittings amounts to 60.

The total number of witnesses examined before us in the course of the Inquiry is 730.

19. We have thus set forth a statement of the course which we have pursued in conducting the solemn Inquiry which Your Majesty has been pleased to entrust to us.

It has been our endeavour to investigate calmly, thoroughly, and impartially the origin, nature, and circumstances of the lamentable events, the intelligence of which affected Your Majesty with so much concern.

In the process of that investigation we have collected full evidence respecting the disturbances, respecting the means adopted in the course of the suppression of the same, and respecting likewise the conduct of those concerned in such disturbances and suppression.

With the full information before us, derived from the evidence deduced upon each and all of these important subjects, we have anxiously sought to arrive at a deliberate and a just decision upon the whole case referred to us.

And lastly, in submitting for Your Majesty's information the body of evidence which we have collected, we have also, in obedience to Your Majesty's commands, not failed to report, with respect to the many grave and momentous issues directly involved, the opinions which in the discharge of a difficult and painful public duty we have felt ourselves bound to form upon the foundation of established facts.

The Origin and Outbreak of the Disturbances.

The first resistance to lawful authority occurred on Saturday the 7th October 1865.

On that day, which was also market day, a Court of Petty Sessions was held at Morant Bay.

The business which came before the magistrates during the early part of the day was of an ordinary description, consisting principally of charges of assault, and of the use of abusive language by negroes towards persons of the same class.

Among other cases of this description, there was a charge of assault, brought by a woman against a boy. He was found guilty by the magistrates, and sentenced to a fine of 4*s.*, and the payment of the costs, which amounted to 12*s.* 6*d.*

When the defendant was called upon to pay this amount, a person of the name of Geoghegan interfered, and told him to pay the amount of the fine only, and not to pay the costs.

This caused so much disturbance in the court that business was for a time suspended, and the magistrates ordered that Geoghegan, who was speaking very loud and causing the disturbance, should be brought before them. The constables laid hold of Geoghegan for that purpose, but he was rescued by bystanders, and left the Court House. He was followed by the police, who attempted to retake him ; but a considerable number of persons having come to his assistance, the police were beaten, and compelled to retreat without

effecting their object. When order was in some degree restored, a summons in which Lewis Miller was the defendant was called on for hearing. This case, from the interest which was felt in it, had caused a numerous attendance at the Court House on that day.

It arose out of a dispute relating to an estate in the neighbourhood of Stony Gut, not far from Morant Bay, a portion of which had been leased out to small occupiers. Some years ago the occupiers had refused to pay rent for their holdings, on the ground that the land was free, and the estate belonged to the Queen.

The question was then tried, and decided against the occupiers. During the last summer there seems to have been a disposition again to raise the same question, and a refusal to pay rent was accompanied by the statement that the land was free.

It was for a trespass on a part of this estate that Miller, who was one of the occupiers, was summoned.

The case was heard and decided against him, and notice given of an appeal against the decision.

On the following Monday, informations having been taken upon oath, warrants were issued for the apprehension of two persons of the name of Bogle, and several others who were stated to have taken an active part in the riot of the previous Saturday.

These warrants were placed in the hands of a policeman who, with five other policemen and two rural constables, proceeded early on Tuesday morning the 10th of October to Stony Gut, a Negro Settlement about five miles from Morant Bay, where Paul Bogle and some other of the alleged rioters lived.

They found Paul Bogle in his yard, and told him that they had a warrant for his apprehension.

He desired to have the warrant read to him, which was done. He then said that he would not go, and upon one of the policemen proceeding to apprehend him he cried out, "Help, here." At the same time a man named Grant, who was with him, and was addressed as "Captain," called out, "Turn out, men." Almost immediately a body of men, variously estimated at from 300 to 500, armed with cutlasses, sticks, and spikes, rushed out from a chapel where Bogle was in the habit of preaching, and from an adjoining cane field, and attacked the policemen.

The policemen were, of course, overpowered. Some of them were severely beaten. Three of the number were made prisoners, and detained for several hours, and were ultimately released only upon their taking an oath that henceforth they would "join their colour," that they would "cleave to the black."

It was stated by Bogle, in the presence of the policemen, that they had expected to go to Morant Bay that day, but that it was then late; that on the morrow there was to be a vestry held at the Bay, and that they expected to come down. It was said by others that they intended to come down to the Bay "to kill all the white men and all "the black men that would not join them."

Information of what had taken place, and of the threat to come down on the following day, was on the same Tuesday evening given to the Inspector of Police at Morant Bay, and to Baron Ketelhodt, the Custos of the Parish. In consequence of this information the Custos summoned the Volunteers of the district to assemble at Morant Bay, and at the same time wrote to the Governor for military aid.

On Wednesday the 11th of October the Vestry, consisting of certain elected members, and of the Magistrates, who were members ex officio, assembled in the Court House at Morant Bay at about 12 o'clock, and proceeded with their ordinary business till between three and four o'clock, when notice was given that a crowd of people was approaching.

The Volunteers were hastily called together, and almost immediately afterwards a body of men, armed with cutlasses, sticks, muskets, and bayonets, after having attacked the Police Station, and obtained possession of such arms as were there deposited, were seen entering a large open space facing the Court House in front of which the Volunteers had been drawn up. Baron Ketelhodt went out to the steps, and called to the people to know what they wanted. He received no answer, and his cries of "Peace, peace," were met by cries from the crowd of "War."

As the advancing people drew near the Volunteers retired till they reached the steps of the Court House. The Custos then began to read the Riot Act. While he was in the act of reading it stones were thrown at the Volunteers, and Captain Hitchins, who commanded them, was struck in the forehead. The Captain, having received authority from the Custos, then gave the word to fire. The order was obeyed, and some of the people were seen to fall.

There was some conflict of evidence on the point, whether stones were thrown before the firing commenced. That fact, however, was, as it appears to us, clearly established

by the testimony of a large number of witnesses, although there were some who stated that they did not see any stones thrown until after the firing.

One witness fixes the time of the throwing of the stones. He saw stones thrown, and immediately left the place before the firing commenced, which he heard but did not see.

Another, again, who did not see the stones thrown, saw the face of the captain bleeding before he gave the order to fire.

The apparent contradiction may, we think, be easily reconciled. It is possible that the eyes of those who did not see the stones thrown were fixed on the main body who were advancing towards the Volunteers, while the stones were apparently thrown by women, who had been observed carrying them, and by others who were walking at the side of the main body.

At the time of the discharge of the rifles, the mob were close upon the Volunteers. The rioters instantly rushed upon them, and succeeded in disarming some of them. The rest they compelled either to flee or to take shelter in the Court House.

Here were assembled the Magistrates and other members of the Vestry, with such of the Volunteers as had succeeded in effecting an entrance.

Some escaped at once by the back windows, but the greater part remained for a considerable time, being pelted with stones and fired at from the outside; such of the Volunteers as had retained their guns also firing from the inside.

A cry was then heard, "Go and fetch fire;" "Burn the brutes out." Bogle in particular said, "Let us put fire upon the Court House. If we don't, we will not manage the "Volunteers and the Buckra."

Very shortly afterwards men were seen to set fire to the School House, which adjoined the Court House. Then, after a time, the fire spread from the roof of the one building to that of the other.

As the roof of the Court House was beginning to fall in, the inmates were compelled to leave the building, and it being now dark they sought to conceal themselves in different places in the vicinity.

Some remained undiscovered throughout the night, but others were dragged from their hiding places, and one by one either beaten to death or left for dead on the ground.

The number of persons killed by the rioters in or about the Court House appears to have been 18, and the number of the wounded to have amounted to 31.

After this the town remained in possession of the rioters. The gaolers were compelled to throw open the prison doors, and 51 prisoners who were there confined were released.

Several stores were attacked, and from one of them a considerable quantity of gunpowder was taken. Previous to the attack upon the Volunteers, an unsuccessful attempt had been made to obtain gunpowder from the same store.

An attempt was made to force the door of the Magazine, where above 300 serviceable stands of arms were stored. Happily the endeavour was not successful.

It became of course very important to ascertain whether what occurred on this day was an accidental riot, followed, when passion was excited in the heat of the contest, by the killing of opponents, or whether it had its origin in a planned resistance to the constituted authorities, and whether the killings were premeditated murders.

In considering this point it is necessary to refer to the conduct and declarations of those who took an active part in the riot before and upon the 11th of October.

It was proved that two or three weeks before that time meetings had been held at some meeting houses in the neighbourhood of Morant Bay, at which an oath was administered, and the names of the persons sworn were taken down. The terms of the oath were not shown. All that was proved before us respecting it was that an oath was administered, a pledge of secrecy required, and the names of the persons sworn registered.

One witness was told by Alick Taylor (who was one of the persons sworn in his presence, and who moreover was during the sitting of the Commission convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life for the part which he had taken in the disturbances,) that what they wanted was to have the back lands to work for nothing, and that they were going to kill the Buckra.

At the time too of the burning of the Court House it was stated by Moses Bogle to one person who had been invited by him to attend one of the meetings, "This is the same affair I sent to call you about."

Another meeting, at which a similar course was pursued, was shown to have been held at Coley, a place about ten miles from Morant Bay, on the night of the 9th of October.

Those who were present, and who went through the form of swearing, were told that they were to go down to the Bay the next day, and that they would hear what it was for.

At another of these meetings Bogle stated that he must have 50 men from each place, and a Captain to each set.

Moreover, one witness who attended a meeting on the 3d of October, at which an oath was administered to him, and his name registered, was suddenly summoned from his bed late at night on the 9th to go to Stony Gut. Upon his arrival there he was told that the Volunteers and Policemen were coming, and that he must assist in keeping guard. He remained in the chapel all night, and was one of those who answered to Bogle's call for help when the police arrived on the following morning.

It has already been mentioned that on the arrival of the Policemen at Stony Gut on that morning some of them were compelled to take an oath, and that the purport of that oath was that they would "cleave to the blacks."

It was admitted too by a very unwilling witness, that for a week before the 11th of October the person before described as Captain Grant had been in the habit of drilling the men at Stony Gut; and it was stated by one of the constables who was detained in Bogle's house on the 10th that he saw a number of men drilled in companies by Moses Bogle and a person who was called Colonel Bowie. The account, in fact, which was given us of the proceedings on this occasion was so circumstantial that it deserves a place here. Paul Bogle said, "Colonel Bowie, take the men out to drill." Immediately, as we were told, about 300 men, armed with cutlasses, sticks, and lances, assembled about Bogle's house in three companies; one under Bowie, who appears to have taken the lead, a second under Moses Bogle, and the third under James Dacres.

One company at a time went out to drill; the other two remaining in the yard of Bogle's house. "Colonel" Bowie's was the first company to be drilled; he ordered his men to fall in in threes, and gave the word of command, "March." They marched out in order with drum and shells, and practised marching and the use of their cutlasses. When Bowie's men came back, Moses Bogle took out one of the other companies.

Altogether the drilling occupied about three quarters of an hour.

On the morning of the 10th small parties were seen going, with fife and drum, in the direction from Stony Gut towards Coley, Somerset, and Mount Lebanus, and some of them were again seen in the evening returning with greatly increased numbers.

The conduct of the rioters on Wednesday the 11th of October was also very significant. They came, or, as some of the witnesses described it, marched into Morant Bay in different parties. There were individuals who exercised over them some sort of authority, one being addressed as Colonel, another as Captain. The larger body came from Stony Gut, where they had been collected from different places in the immediate neighbourhood. Others came from a distance of several miles from beyond Bath, while one large body, nearly 100 in number, came from Torrington, a large negro settlement to the north of Stony Gut, and joined those from the latter place at the entrance to Morant Bay.

Here the first thing done was to attack the Police Station, and to obtain possession of the arms placed there, consisting of muskets, bayonets, and pistols.

The muskets, however, proved to be of little use, as they were without flints. Upon this being discovered by their new possessors they were heard to say, "How can they "fight us when they have no flints to their guns."

It has already been stated that at this time an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain gunpowder from a shop in the town.

Out of the very few persons assembled in the Court House who were allowed to escape, two were doctors, one of whom was told that if he had not been a doctor he would have been killed like the rest. Another pretended to be a doctor, and was let go by Bogle upon his swearing that he would not dress a white man's wound. A fourth was a Maroon.

There was manifested, indeed, throughout these disturbances, a great desire to conciliate the Maroons, and a great fear of offending them. "Be careful what you do "with this man, he is a Maroon," was sufficient to obtain the release of one of the Policemen who was taken before M^cLaren, "the Captain of the Guard," and of one of his companions for whom he interceded. "Don't kill this man; he is a Maroon; the "Maroon is our back" was the expression used by Bogle respecting one who had been taken prisoner.

"I am a Maroon, and if any one disturbs any one in my house I shall send for the "Maroons" was the exclamation of a woman, of itself sufficient to frighten away a crowd of men intent upon violence.

We were unable to learn upon what foundation the hope of support from this singular people rested. Occupying as they do a mountainous district, difficult of access, and commanding the road from the north to the south of the Island, they had it in their power to afford most valuable assistance to any rising which might take place in St. Thomas-in-the-East. The only communication shown to us to have taken place between them and Bogle occurred three or four weeks before the 11th of October, when Bogle paid a visit to the Maroon settlement at Hayfield in the neighbourhood of Bath, accompanied by Bowie and Bailey, both of whom were shown to have taken an active part with him in subsequent proceedings.

In this visit Bogle spoke of the grievances under which he said the people laboured from nonpayment of sufficient wages and the undue imposition of taxes.

He does not, however, appear to have obtained any encouragement from his audience, or to have said anything as to any future plans.

Bowie, on the other hand, is represented to have said to one of the party that their intention was to beat the whites and browns out of the country, but that they were afraid of the Maroons, and wanted them not to interfere.

Among the members of the Vestry deliberately murdered in the course of the night of the 11th was a Mr. Price, a Negro, who had by his abilities raised himself to a position in life superior to that of most of his race.

When he was first caught, a discussion was overheard as to what should be his fate. One said, "Kill him." Another said, "Don't kill him; we have orders to kill no black, only white." "He has a black skin but a white heart," was the reply, and he was beaten to death.

It was proved that after the murders Bogle returned to Stony Gut, and that there was a service in his chapel in which he returned thanks to God that he "went to this work, and that God had succeeded him in his work."

With this evidence before us it was impossible to avoid arriving at the conclusion that there was on the part of the leaders of the rioters a preconcerted plan, and that murder was distinctly contemplated.

We ought, however, to advert to the following letter signed by Bogle and 19 others, and addressed to the Governor:

"We, the petitioners of St. Thomas-in-the-East, send to inform your Excellency of "the mean advantages that has been taken of us from time to time, and more especially "this present time, when on Saturday, 7th of this month, an outrageous assault was "committed upon us by the policemen of this parish, by order of the Justices, which "occasion an outbreaking for which warrants have been issued against innocent person, "of which we were compelled to resist. We, therefore, call upon your Excellency for "protection, seeing we are Her Majesty's loyal subjects, which protection, if refused to "will be compelled to put our shoulders to the wheel, as we have been imposed upon "for a period of 27 years with due obeisance to the laws of our Queen and country, "and we can no longer endure the same, therefore is our object of calling upon your "Excellency as Governor-in-Chief and Captain of our Island, and your petitioners as in "duty bound will ever pray."

This letter was on the 10th of October, at some time after noon, given to a messenger, to be delivered to the Governor at Spanish Town, distant from Stony Gut about fifty miles, and was delivered at the Governor's house between 10 and 11 o'clock on the following morning.

It seemed to be relied upon as showing the peaceable intentions of the writers. We confess we cannot look upon it in that light.

Its language is that of scarcely concealed defiance, and looking at its terms, at the time at which it was written, and the acts by which it was accompanied and followed, it seems to us to partake rather of the character of a manifesto preparatory to and attempting to justify a recourse to violence.

The designs of some of the insurgents, and the hopes entertained by others, will more clearly appear from what passed during the three days following the rising on Wednesday the 11th.

During the evening and night of the 11th some of those who had escaped from the Court House were concealed in places where they had the opportunity of overhearing the conversation of the insurgents. One heard them say that on the following day they were to go to Bath. Another, who was close to what he described as their guard-room, to which their prisoners were taken, learned that they were to meet at Stony Gut at two o'clock in the morning; that one party was to go and gather more men; another to proceed to Port Morant and the Plantain Garden River District. These plans appear to have been carried out. We find that there was a meeting at Bogle's in the course of

the night, and that men were carried as prisoners by armed parties to Bogle's house; that one was compelled to swear that he would leave the whites and cleave to the blacks; that another was promised that if he would join Bogle he should have the land which he leased for his own from generation to generation; that early on the following morning a party consisting of 200 men armed with guns and bayonets mounted on sticks, and with shells blowing, proceeded to Coley, a few miles to the north-west of Stony Gut, endeavouring to obtain fresh support, and compelling persons, under the threat of immediate death, to swear that they would henceforth join the blacks; that Bath and the estates in the Plantain Garden River District were attacked in the course of the day, and Port Morant on the day following.

The first party who entered Bath came in search of the ammunition belonging to the Volunteer Corps, which had been kept in the house of their late captain.

Later in the day a much larger party came marching in military order, with flags flying and drums beating. They had complete possession of the town till the following day, when on hearing the well-known horn of the Maroons, who at the request of a Magistrate resident there came to the relief of the inhabitants, they fled from the place.

The stores in the town were pillaged, and property to a large amount was taken or destroyed.

The few white and almost all the coloured inhabitants fled to the bush.

The estates attacked in the course of that day and night were all situated within a few miles of Bath.

At an estate in Blue Mountain Valley, a few miles on the west side of Bath, an armed party of about 50 men, under the command of one addressed as Captain Wilson, attacked the book-keeper, who received wounds, from the effects of which he shortly afterwards died. The life of the son of the owner, who had lately arrived from England, was threatened, and saved through the zealous intercession of his coloured overseer.

At Amity Hall, on the other side of Bath, which was attacked by 400 men, Mr. Hire was murdered, and his son left for dead; while Mr. Jackson, the Stipendiary Magistrate, and Mr. Creighton, were severely wounded, the latter so severely that it seemed scarcely possible that he should survive.

The account given by some of the actors themselves of their proceedings at Amity Hall is remarkable.

They said in the hearing of a witness that they had murdered Hire, and would kill his son; that as soon as Jackson said he was a friend of Gordon they rubbed him up, and brought him to life; and that they had set fire to Dr. Crowdy's bed, but that when they discovered that he was a doctor they put it out.

The houses upon the other estates in the neighbourhood were attacked and plundered, but in no other case was murder committed. Search, indeed, was made for different persons connected with the estates, and the intention of killing them if found was openly avowed, but the persons sought for either were absent, or succeeded in making their escape, being in most cases assisted by some of their own labourers.

In one case, "I am Manning of the Maroons" seems to have been sufficient to enable Mr. Manning to secure the safety of those for whom he was interested.

Monklands, which is about 16 miles up the valley from Morant Bay, was attacked by a party of above 50 men, armed with guns, cutlasses, bayonets, and swords.

At Hordley, an estate in the Plantain Garden River District, a large party of women and children, above 20 in number, were obliged to hide in the wood for the night, and to conceal themselves during the whole of the following day and night, until the advance of a small body of troops enabled them to reach a place of safety. And a faithful black servant, who assisted them in escaping, was herself compelled to flee in consequence of her life being threatened.

Whitehall, an estate in the Blue Mountain Valley, was attacked by a smaller party. The proprietor, Mr. Smith, was sought for, but escaped in the bush. He died shortly afterwards from the effects of exposure.

There was one curious exception to the rule generally followed of destroying the furniture found in the houses, and that was in the case of Golden Grove, one of the most valuable properties in the eastern part of the Island. When it was proposed by one to go over to what was called the Great House, the answer was, "that is to be saved for Paul Bogle; those were the orders of the general."

It is always difficult to know how far to rely on the accuracy of ordinary observers when estimating numbers. But there were witnesses who gave evidence as to the number

of the insurgents on this day having been at one place 1,500, and at another as many as 2,000, all or the great majority of whom were armed with various kinds of weapons.

It is impossible not to attach some importance also to the cries which were heard, as not unfrequently the real object of the body of men from which they proceed is thereby disclosed. " Colour for Colour " was the cry everywhere during the short time that the disturbances lasted.

" Blood, blood," " We want blood," was heard at one place.

" We must humble the white man before us," " We are going to take the lives of the white men, but not to hurt the ladies," was what was said in the hearing of the widow of one of the persons killed at Morant Bay.

" Hurra! Buckra country for us. Never mind the Buckra women; we can get them when we want," was the cry upon one estate.

" We want the Buckra men to kill, but we don't want the women now; we will have them afterwards," was what was heard upon another, by a faithful woman, who succeeded in hiding her mistress and all the members of her family.

Again, " Don't burn the trash house; we want sugar to make for ourselves;" and " Don't set fire to the house; only kill the white man, for when we have done that we have the house to live in for myself," were exclamations heard elsewhere.

The several estates to which reference has hitherto been made were all situated to the north or east of Morant Bay. The only movement in an opposite quarter which was made on this same day was in the direction of White Horses, a place four miles to the west of Morant Bay. There a party of 30 or 40 persons attacked a shop, plundered the house, and compelled the owners to promise to go over to the side of the blacks.

During the next three days the insurgents continued their course through Port Morant northward to Manchioneal, and on to Mulatto River and Elmwood, the last of which places is situated in the most northerly part of St. Thomas-in-the-East, where that parish abuts upon Portland.

As they advanced with the cry of " Colour for Colour " they were joined by a considerable number of the blacks, who readily assisted in the work of plundering. The houses and stores were sacked. The intention also of taking the lives of the whites was openly avowed, and diligent search was made for particular individuals. But in each case the imperilled persons had timely notice, and sought safety in flight.

Elmwood was the point furthest from Morant Bay to which the disturbances extended, as on Sunday the 15th the troops arrived at Port Antonio, and put a stop to the further progress of the insurgents northwards.

Thus it will be seen that in the course of these few days the insurgents had spread over a tract of country extending from White Horses, a few miles to the west of Morant Bay, to Elmwood, at a distance of upwards of thirty miles to the north-east of that place.

They seem to have been under the impression that they would be allowed to remain in possession of the estates.

Not only were the crops uninjured, and the buildings for the most part preserved, but the intention was openly avowed of proceeding to take up the crops.

" We are going down the river to take up the crops " was the statement of one man at Manchioneal, who just before had been telling of the events in the district of the Plantain Garden River, and how he and others " had downed that fellow Hire."

And by several of a party of armed negroes who entered Manchioneal Bay it was openly said that they were going down next week to take off the crops, and take charge of the estates.

During these latter days very little was seen, by any of the witnesses, of Bogle or of those who were associated with him in the original outbreak.

It has been already mentioned that he returned to Stony Gut on the night of the 11th. He was still there with Craddock, McLaren, and Bowie on the afternoon of the 12th. On that occasion a large number of men met in the chapel, some of whom were afterwards drilled. They were then addressed by Bogle and Craddock. They were told " that this country would belong to them, and that they were about getting " it, to take possession, that they had been long trodden under sandals," that the country " had long been theirs, and they must keep it wholly in possession."

When the people separated it was arranged that those who lived on the valley side should leave for their homes, and that " when the enemy came " they should send a messenger to let the men in Stony Gut know, and that if any came towards Stony Gut information should be given to the men in the valley.

The next day Bogle and McLaren were seen at Chigoe Foot Market, at the head of 200 men, marching up the valley.

On the 15th he was at Mount Lebanus Chapel with more than 100 men, when the alarm was given that the soldiers were coming.

He then gave directions to the men that they should get their arms loaded, and that those who knew that their arms were not loaded should go and get powder and load their guns.

Later in the day it was mentioned in the hearing of a witness, who was for several days detained as a prisoner at Fonthill, that when on that day the troops were coming over a hill in the immediate vicinity of the insurgents, Bogle was in force, and advanced to give them battle, but that he was dissuaded by Cowell, one of the most active of his associates, and that his followers then became panic stricken and took to flight.

In corroboration of this account it is in evidence that Bogle was seen, and pursued by General Jackson, who accompanied the troops on that day, at a time when the insurgents were seen to be dispersing.

On the following day he went with a very small number of followers to the Maroon settlement at Hayfield, but found that all the men had left, and were employed in guarding Bath.

From that time nothing appears to have been heard of him until the 23d, when he was apprehended by the Maroons, and taken as a prisoner to Morant Bay.

In reporting the result of our Inquiry into the origin of the disturbances it is necessary to allude to peculiar circumstances affecting the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East.

Mr. Gordon was a proprietor, and had been a Magistrate in that parish, and had taken an active part in parochial concerns.

Among other things he had complained of the unhealthy state of a building at Morant Bay used as a lock-up house, and had caused inquiry to be made into the conduct of a brother Magistrate in relation to that matter. The result of the inquiry was, that while the building was condemned as unfit for its purpose, he was thought to have made charges against the Magistrate which he must have known to be untrue. On this ground he was dismissed by the Governor from the Magistracy, and his dismissal was approved by the Home Government.

He had been also elected to fill the office of Churchwarden, but his right to act in that capacity was disputed on the ground of his not being a member of the Church of England.

This alleged want of qualification formed the subject of an action at law, in which Mr. Gordon was the plaintiff, and Baron Ketelhodt, the Custos of the parish, was the defendant.

The action was twice tried, and on each occasion a verdict was found for the defendant, and an application for a third trial was still pending in the month of October.

By the law of Jamaica the parochial expenses are not defrayed out of a local rate but out of the general funds of the Island, on the application of the Vestry, sanctioned by the approval of the Executive Government. As the Custos in questioning the right of Mr. Gordon to sit at the Vestry as Churchwarden had acted at the request and as the chairman of that body, they had included the costs incurred in defending the action brought by Mr. Gordon in their parochial estimate; and the Executive Committee, after taking the advice of the Attorney General, had approved of the estimates so framed.

All these proceedings had produced considerable irritation in the western part of the parish, and especially among the members of the Native Baptist Communion to which Mr. Gordon belonged.

There were other causes for irritation existing alike in St. Thomas-in-the-East and in other parts of the Island. These arose from the alleged lowness of the rate of wages and irregularity in their payment, and the difficulty of obtaining relief from alleged injustice in consequence of the constitution of the Magistracy.

The Magistrates are principally planters and persons connected with the management of estates. Those who are not so connected are for the most part engaged in business, and their attendance is very irregular. The consequence is, that disputes between employers and labourers, and questions relating to the occupation of land, which are decided in the first instance at Petty Sessions, are adjudicated upon by those whose interests and feelings are supposed to be hostile to the labourer and the occupier.

We had a great deal of evidence on these subjects, and it did not appear to us that the rate of wages was low, but rather that the smallness of the sums frequently received by the labourer at the end of the week arose from the unwillingness to labour for more than a very limited time.

Nor was it proved before us that there was unfairness on the part of the managers of estates in the payment of wages.

Disputes, however, must frequently arise upon such subjects, and it was clear to us that the difficulties in the way of seeking relief by law were very great, and it was not to be expected that, constituted as the Bench of Magistrates at present is, it would have the confidence of the labourers.

The evils resulting from the want of a good Master and Servant Act, by which summary relief might be obtained before an independent and impartial tribunal, are evidently very great.

But the originators of the outbreak do not appear generally to have belonged to the labouring class. They were for the most part what are called free settlers, occupying and cultivating small patches of land, and placed in better circumstances than the ordinary labourer.

Their great desire was to obtain, free from the payment of rent, what are called the "back lands."

"Soon we shall have the lands free, and then we shall have to pay no rent," was the answer received by one rent collector in the summer of 1865.

Other evidence of the same description was given, showing that there was both in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and in some other parts of the Island, a vague expectation that in some way the occupiers were in future to be freed from the payment of rent.

The Suppression.

I.—*The Measures adopted.*

The Despatch of Troops. Proclamation of Martial Law.

It is right that we should now relate the means by which this apparently formidable insurrection was checked and finally suppressed.

The letter of Baron Ketelhodt, written on the 10th of October, and requesting military aid, was received by the Governor at Spanish Town on the following morning.

Expresses were immediately sent off to Major-General O'Connor at Kingston, requesting him to get ready 100 men for immediate embarkation, and to the Senior Naval Officer at Port Royal, requesting that a man-of-war might at once be sent up to Kingston to receive the troops, and convey them without delay to Morant Bay.

These requests were at once complied with, and the troops arrived at Morant Bay in time to preserve that place from a second attack by the insurgents.

On the following morning the Governor received information of the events of the 11th, that the Court House had been burnt down, many persons murdered, and the prisoners released; and also that the insurgents were marching up the valley on the line of the Yallahs River.

In consequence of this information an additional force was sent to Morant Bay, and troops were ordered to march from Newcastle towards the Blue Mountain Valley, to stop the progress of the insurgents in that direction.

The Privy Council were then summoned. They met on the evening of the 12th, and all the information which had been received up to that time was laid before them. They came unanimously to the conclusion that it would be desirable at once to proclaim martial law. By an Act of the Local Legislature of 9 Vict. c. 35, after a recital that the appearance of public danger by invasion or otherwise may sometimes render the imposition of martial law necessary, but that, from experience of the mischief and calamities attending it, it must ever be considered as amongst the greatest of evils, it is provided that martial law should not in future be declared or imposed but by the opinion and advice of a Council of War.

By another section of the same Act it was provided, that the Governor, the Members of the Privy Council and of the House of Assembly, with certain Naval and Militia Officers, should be Members of the Council of War, and that not less than twenty-one should be a quorum.

This Council was summoned to meet on the morning of the 13th, and was attended by about thirty members, among whom were men of all parties in the Island.

The opinion of the Chief Justice was required by the Governor, and given, and it was unanimously resolved that martial law should be at once declared over the whole of the county of Surry, with the exception of the town of Kingston.

The only point upon which any difference of opinion was manifested at this meeting was, as to whether Kingston should not be included. One witness, indeed, who was present, stated it to be his impression that the Governor had proposed that martial law should be declared over a more extended area. No one else, however, seems to have had this impression, and it is clear that it was the result of mistake.

The original draft of the Proclamation prepared by the Attorney General by the direction of the Governor was laid before us, and on comparing it with the actual Proclamation agreed to by the Council we found that the area agreed upon by the Council was somewhat more extensive than that originally suggested by the Governor.

The following is a copy of the Proclamation:—

Jamaica S.S.

Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, and of Jamaica Supreme Lady, Defender of the Faith.

To all Our loving subjects.

Whereas We are certified of the committal of grievous trespasses and felonies within the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East of this Our Island of Jamaica, and have reason for expecting that the same may be extended to the neighbouring parishes of the county of Surry of Our said Island: We do hereby, by the authority to Us committed by the laws of this Our Island, declare and announce to all whom it may concern that martial law shall prevail throughout the said county of Surry, except in the city and parish of Kingston; and that Our military forces shall have all power of exercising the rights of belligerents against such of the inhabitants of the said county, except as aforesaid, as Our military forces may consider opposed to Our government, and the well-being of Our loving subjects.

Given at Head Quarter House, Kingston, on the 13th day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and in the 29th year of Our reign.

Witness, his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our said Island of Jamaica, and other the territories thereon depending in America, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of British Honduras, Chancellor of Our said Island of Jamaica, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

(Signed) E. Eyre.

By his Excellency's command.

(Signed) Edward Jordon,
Governor's Secretary.

We are of opinion that the Legislature of Jamaica in the recital to the Act just referred to have not in any sense exaggerated the magnitude of the evils attending martial law, and we are confirmed in that opinion by what is shown to have taken place in the Island during the few weeks of its continuance.

But with the full knowledge of all that has occurred we are nevertheless also of opinion that upon the information before them, and with the knowledge they possessed of the state and circumstances of the Island, the Council of War had good reason for the advice which they gave, and that the Governor was well justified in acting upon that advice.

The Military Operations.

When intelligence of the outbreak reached the Government, troops were immediately sent to the scene of action, the object being to limit the disturbances within certain bounds.

With this view, detachments composed of the West India regiments serving in Jamaica were despatched to Morant Bay and to Port Antonio, at each of which places military posts were established.

At the same time a party of the 2d Battalion 6th Regiment marched from Newcastle to proceed along the line of the Blue Mountain Valley, and endeavour to intercept the insurgents who were reported to be advancing by that route.

Seamen and marines were also landed at Morant Bay from Your Majesty's ship "Wolverine," who co-operated with the regular troops.

Bodies of Maroons protected Port Antonio and Bath.

Troops were also sent to Linstead in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, about 14 miles to the north of Spanish Town; and Volunteers, pensioners, and special constables were enrolled for the protection of Kingston, and for the general maintenance of order.

These military arrangements appear to us to have been prompt and judicious.

By confining the insurgents to the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East and its neighbourhood the disturbances were kept in check, and were prevented from spreading to other parts of the Island.

Operations of which Morant Bay was the Centre.

On Friday the 13th of October Captain Luke was sent forward from Morant Bay with a force of 120 men of the 1st West India Regiment to Bath, which he reached on the following day.

At the "Rhine," an estate near Bath, he found nearly 100 refugees, consisting of the women and children of the families from the surrounding districts.

These refugees were escorted to Port Morant, whence they embarked for Kingston. Many of them had undergone severe privations, and some were severely wounded.

On the morning of the 14th a man was tried by Court-martial at Port Morant, and executed, who was said to be one of the leading rebels, and had threatened the life of the Collector of Customs at that place.

During the same day a party of 50 marines and sailors under Lieutenant Oxley, Royal Navy, advanced from Morant Bay, westwards as far as Easington. On the road two negroes were seen running away, and failing to stop, when ordered to do so, they were both shot. The same fate befel a prisoner, who, during the march, attempted to escape by flight. A fourth man was tried and executed, by order of Court-martial, at Easington, for having joined in the outbreak on the 11th.

On the 18th of October 90 men were sent up to Stony Gut from Morant Bay. This party, on their arrival, took possession of that place, and of the chapel belonging to Paul Bogle. On this occasion an act of cruelty towards a woman has been charged against this party.

As far, however, as the officer in command and his men were concerned, their acts appear to have been limited to this:—That they detained the woman during the day to act as cook for the troops, confining her to the spot by attaching a long cord to her wrist, the other end being fastened to the door of the building to prevent her escape.

Whatever else may have been done to her was done before the troops arrived, and is attributed to Mr. Gordon Ramsay, the Provost-Marshal, whose conduct will be referred to in a future part of our Report.

While this party of marines and sailors were advancing through the village of Stony Gut, a shot was fired at one of them from within one of the huts. A man who ran out of it directly afterwards was shot at and hit, but he succeeded in getting away. On the following day this force left Stony Gut, after burning the chapel and about eight cottages.

Easington was again occupied from the 21st to the 29th of October, with the view of keeping up communication with the troops who were posted under Colonel Hobbs in the Blue Mountain Valley.

By order of Brigadier-General Nelson, who was in command at Morant Bay, Lieutenant Adcock of the 6th Royal Regiment, and ten men, accompanied by a body of Volunteers and armed planters, marched northward from the Bay through Leith Hall to Golden Grove on the Plantain Garden River on the 21st of October.

On the morning of the same day Ensign Cullen was sent with 50 men of the 1st West India Regiment southward from Manchioneal to meet Lieutenant Adcock.

The orders issued by Brigadier-General Nelson to Lieutenant Adcock were, "to "make excursions in any direction supposed to be advantageous, care being taken that "firing of huts and buildings be not carried to excess."

At Leith Hall a prisoner charged with having fired on the Volunteers at Morant Bay was tried and executed.

Near Harbour Head, on the road to Golden Grove, a man named Charles Mitchell was taken prisoner, and on the charge of having attempted the life of a person at Bowden on the 12th of October he was tried by drum-head Court-martial, and shot in his own yard. The circumstances of this man's case call for special notice. He was in the first instance charged with a minor offence, for which he was sentenced to be flogged, and was tied up to receive his punishment. While he was in that position fresh evidence was taken on a second and more serious charge, for which he was sentenced to be shot, which sentence was immediately carried into effect.

After Lieutenant Adcock had reached Golden Grove, and visited the neighbouring estates that had been sacked, he ordered seven men to be tried by Court-martial, six of whom were executed on the 24th of October. They were not executed until their trials had been reported to Brigadier Nelson at head quarters, and the following despatch had been received in reply:

"Memo.—Lieut. Adcock A.D.C., commanding detachment, is hereby authorized "to carry out the sentences awarded on the prisoners brought in.

"It is not desirable now to inflict capital punishment, except on men actually found "armed, or those who were ringleaders or murderers."

After this Lieutenant Adcock returned to Morant Bay.

The following General Order was next issued by Brigadier-General Nelson on the 25th of October:

"Officers commanding respectively must forbid any man to enter a house in or near "his place under any pretext whatever, unless accompanied by a non-commissioned or "a warrant officer. Any man found doing so to be handed over to the Provost-"Marshal for summary punishment."

A party of 25 men detached from the 1st West India Regiment were ordered by Brigadier-General Nelson on the 31st of October to be sent from Manchioneal to Golden Grove for permanent service; and on the 2d of November an officer proceeded from Morant Bay to take command of them, with the following orders given to him by Brigadier Nelson:

"It will be necessary for you to exercise strict control over the men of your "detachment, and not to permit any man to quit his quarters for the purpose of "foraging.

"You are not sent to your post for the purpose of punishing the negro, but to "maintain order, and to afford protection to the inhabitants generally. You are not "authorized to inflict summary punishment. If any supposed rioter be sent as prisoner "to you, be good enough to inquire into the case, and if you consider the same "as of a serious nature, send him to my head quarters with the evidence against "him.

"You will doubtless have many prisoners brought before you, and some possibly "through the animus of the inhabitants. Petty cases of larceny I cannot interfere with; "they must hereafter be dealt with by the Civil Authority.

"I am quite aware you will be much pressed to administer punishment to supposed "criminals, and you must be firm, temperate, and judicious in all communications with "civilians."

At the time that the district of Plaintain Garden River was occupied by the military, 13 persons belonging to the neighbouring villages were shot without trial by parties of soldiers said to belong to the West India Regiment.

During the continuance of martial law, 149 cottages were destroyed by fire in the districts around Morant Bay and the Plaintain Garden River.

Ten persons appear to have been shot without trial or sentence of regular Court-martial at Airey Castle and at Leith Hall, some by Maroons, and others by parties of black soldiers.

During the course of the operations of which Morant Bay was the head quarters the evidence and returns relating to trials of prisoners show that 187 executions were carried out in that place.

Operations of which Monklands was the Centre.

In the district of the Blue Mountain Valley 120 men of the 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, under Colonel Hobbs, occupied Monklands as head quarters on Sunday October 15th.

Monklands is a coffee estate near the head of the Blue Mountains Valley, and distant about 16 miles from Morant Bay.

During this week the troops made excursions down the valley to the neighbouring villages where the insurgents were said to be collected.

These villages lay along the line of the valley at distances varying from two to fourteen miles from head quarters.

Colonel Hobbs reported on the 16th of October to Major-General O'Connor, "that "numbers of the rebels had come in, having thrown away their arms, seeking protection, "and though worthy of death" that he "shrunk from the responsibility of executing "them, without first receiving the General's or Governor's wishes respecting them."

A despatch was sent the same day from the Major-General to Colonel Hobbs, which crossed on the road the despatch last mentioned, stating that "Stony Gut was said to "be a hot-bed of ruffians, and that it would be advisable if he looked it up."

These instructions added "The Major-General would like you to be careful about "burning villages, and not to do so without it is clear that the inhabitants have joined "the insurgents. The Major-General can give you no instructions, and leaves all to "your own judgment."

On the evening of the 18th Colonel Hobbs, then at Monklands, received orders to push on to Stony Gut at once. That place is about 14 miles from Monklands, lower down the valley.

The troops started on the night of the 18th, and reached Chigoe Foot Market, 10 miles off, at daybreak on the 19th, after effecting the march under great difficulties, arising from the state of the weather, and the swollen condition of the rivers.

After halting at Chigoe Foot Market they went on in the morning to Stony Gut, four miles in advance, but on reaching that place they found it deserted by the inhabitants, and already occupied by a force from Morant Bay.

In the evening Colonel Hobbs returned to Chigoe Foot Market, and bivouacked there during the night.

On the following day he returned with his detachment to Monklands, which was reached at night, and there he found instructions from Major-General O'Connor to make Monklands his head quarters, and the Major-General expressed a hope that the Colonel would deal in a more summary manner with the rebels, and on no account to forward prisoners to Kingston.

During this march through the valley 11 prisoners found at Chigoe Foot Market on the morning of the 19th were tried and executed. They were charged with having been engaged in the disturbances and murders at Morant Bay.

Colonel Hobbs reported these executions to Major-General O'Connor the same day, stating that the men "were captured from the rebel camp," and that "finding their "guilt clear, and being unable either to take or leave them, he had them shot."

The same evening on his return to Chigoe Foot Market a body of 50 prisoners was found there, 27 of whom were selected as known rebels by a witness, who represented himself to have been pressed into their company by Paul Bogle.

These 27 were tried and convicted on the morning of the 20th at Chigoe Foot Market, and sentenced to death. They were carried on to Coley and Fonthill, two villages a short distance up the valley, to which they respectively belonged, and of 16 brought out for execution at Coley, 14 were shot, and two escaped. Nine others were shot, and then hung up inside a chapel at Fonthill, which had belonged to McLaren, one of the leaders of the insurgents. Wellington and another were taken to Monklands.

The execution of Arthur Wellington after trial, took place on the 21st of October, at Monklands.

He belonged to Somerset, one of the settlements of the valley, and had the reputation among the people around Somerset of being an "Obeah" man. To such a man these people attribute the possession of supernatural evil powers over themselves, and the faculty of being himself invulnerable. He is regarded with terror by his neighbours, and has great influence among them. There is a local statute which makes the practice of "Obeahism" a crime, and describes the offence as a pretence of possessing supernatural power to effect designs, by falsely using omens, spells, charms, and incantations. Poison was said to have been found in Wellington's house at Somerset.

The house and the works of Monklands are in the bottom of the valley, and the hills on each side stand apart about half a mile.

Colonel Hobbs has stated that he hoped by means of the example of Arthur Wellington's death to disabuse the other prisoners and the people in the valley of the folly of their belief in the powers of the "Obeah" man.

In order that his execution might be seen by all who were watching upon the hills as well as by the prisoners, he caused Wellington to be taken half way up the hill on one side of Monklands.

This was done, and at a spot about 400 yards from the Barbacue occupied by the firing party, the prisoner was stationed and shot.

He was there visible from the surrounding heights.

The effect of the volley which was fired was very soon fatal, nor does any cruelty appear to have attended his death.

A constable, without any authority for the act, severed the head from the body prior to interment, and both head and body were afterwards buried in a trench at the bottom of the hill.

A heavy flood from the hill side during the night seems to have washed away the head out of the grave, and carried it down the stream.

It is stated that the head was subsequently placed on a pole, but it does not appear that this was done by or with the knowledge of any persons in authority.

The circumstances of this execution, and the accidental effect of the flood, were adduced as proofs of intentional cruelty and barbarity; but the suggested object of making an example, and the facts when explained relating to the head, have in our opinion disposed of this charge.

The effect produced by the example given in this execution upon the other prisoners is stated to have been very good, and many were heard to say that they never would believe in "Obeah" again.

Colonel Hobbs, seeing this effect, felt at liberty to release a considerable number of prisoners charged with minor offences.

A further charge of cruelty is also made connected with the execution of nine prisoners at Monklands, who were placed kneeling in a line in front of the trench prepared for their interment. One of these prisoners showed signs of life after the firing party had discharged their rifles, and it is said that a pickaxe was then used to strike him dead. It appears, however, that he was despatched by a close shot, and the person who filled in the trench over the body has distinctly denied that either he or any one else used a pickaxe in the manner alleged.

On the 21st of October Colonel Hobbs received a despatch from the Major-General, dated the day before, in which the General informs him as follows: "I am much pleased "by your adopting a decided course with regard to captured rebels; the many you "have sent into camp on mere suspicion or vague charges has caused some embarrass-"ment. One of two courses seems to me, under martial law, to be the rule for your "conduct; if on careful investigation the captured persons are innocent, always giving "them the advantage of a doubt, then release them; but if guilty, and taken red-handed, "summary justice and execution of the sentence."

About 32 other executions took place in Monklands before the troops were withdrawn, all of which appear in the return of deaths.

During the operations along the valley about eight casual deaths were inflicted by soldiers without authority, on inhabitants in some of the villages.

Some of these persons were shot in their houses, others while passing in the road, and two of the number were infirm persons, incapable of resistance. One of the two latter, however, suffered through a mistake. About 493 dwellings, situate in the various settlements of this district, were destroyed by fire during the same time.

Operations of which Manchioneal was the Centre.

Operations for suppressing the outbreak were at the same time carried on through the country on the north side of the Island.

At mid-day of October 15th Captain Hole marched from Port Antonio with 40 men of the 6th Regiment, and 60 men of the 1st West India Regiment under Ensign Cullen.

Captain Hole received orders from Brigadier-General Nelson to proceed to Manchioneal, about 20 miles eastward from Port Antonio, with directions "not to leave the line of "march in search of rebels, nor to allow prisoners to be brought in except leaders of "rebels; and that those who were found with arms were to be shot."

Shortly afterwards, and before his departure, he got further orders from Governor Eyre, who directed him "to go off the road to meet any body of the rebels he heard of, "and to engage and make examples of them."

With this force Captain Hole advanced before night to a place named "Castle," and early in the morning he reached Long Bay, and from that place he went on to Manchioneal during the day.

Just as the troops under Captain Hole were leaving Port Antonio on the 15th, six or seven soldiers of the West India Regiment, not of the numbers attached to his force, galloped past, stating that they had been ordered to come on.

Upon this they were told to go forward, and to join the advanced guard under Ensign Lewis.

Upon their reaching the advanced guard they said that the Captain had ordered them to proceed to Long Bay, and they galloped forward, and were not seen again during the day.

While the troops were at the "Castle" a prisoner named Donaldson was brought there, and his execution calls for some special notice.

Murray, a man not in custody, but believed to be one of those who murdered Mr. Hire, was proved, and was admitted by Donaldson, to have come to his house a few days before, having with him Mr. Hire's horse and saddle.

Donaldson was called upon to give information of the place where Murray could be found, and of the time when he left him. This information Donaldson refused to give, and he was executed by order of Captain Hole for the offence of harbouring Murray.

Later on the march, a prisoner, who had been released by the insurgents from the Morant Bay Gaol, and who had been found with a cutlass and some stolen property, was brought in and shot; and another prisoner, in possession of a flask of powder, was afterwards shot at Long Bay.

In consequence of an alarm given near Cog Hall of an expected attack by the insurgents, a skirmishing party was thrown forward, who shot two or three negroes.

In the course of the day Captain Hole found 11 or 12 dead bodies lying near the road. As these had not been shot by any of the troops under his command, it is supposed that they must have fallen by the hands of the mounted soldiers of the West India Regiment who had ridden forward contrary to orders the day before.

A great quantity of pillaged property was also found during the march scattered along the road, and deposited in the adjacent cottages of the negroes.

At Manchioneal, Courts-martial sat during 11 days, from the 17th October to the 3d November.

Thirty-three prisoners were sentenced to death by these Courts and executed.

During the time that the troops under Captain Hole were at Manchioneal, a detachment of the 1st West India Regiment under Ensign Cullen was sent to a place in the Plantain Garden River District called Friendship. The guides led them to another place, and three soldiers became separated from the main body.

They were absent some days, and on their return they brought with them two waggon loads of property recovered from the plunder taken by insurgents from the houses of Mr. Hire and Mr. Shortridge.

These three soldiers reported to Captain Hole that during their absence they had shot ten rebels, three of whom had been concerned in murdering Mr. Hire.

On the 17th October a black soldier of the West India Regiment, who had deserted, was met on the road near Long Bay, going towards Port Antonio. He stopped three constables who were taking four prisoners under their charge.

The soldier took away the prisoners from these constables, and having placed them on the road at a convenient distance, he shot them in succession.

Later in the day a soldier, being alone, and supposed to be the same deserter, shot six other prisoners at a place near Manchioneal, in the presence of a head constable and some other persons.

These 10 deaths are attended with such barbarity on the part of the soldier, and such cowardice on the part of the constables and other persons who witnessed what was done without interfering to prevent it, as to call for special notice and condemnation.

There is ground for believing that this soldier may be identified.

At Port Antonio 54 prisoners were tried by Courts-martial, and suffered death during martial law.

The deaths by casual shooting along the line of march amount to 25.

In the villages of the district between Port Antonio and the country bordering on the Plaintain Garden River, 217 cottages were burnt.

Among the sentences of flogging awarded by Courts-martial at Manchioneal, about 20 cases relate to the infliction of this punishment upon women.

Under any circumstances, the infliction of corporal punishment on females is to be reprobated.

It is right, however, to bear in mind the somewhat difficult position in which Captain Hole found himself placed. It was necessary to determine what course should be pursued with respect to women, who appear to have been the principal plunderers, as there was no prison in which they could be detained. The women were accordingly told that if they would give up the property they were shown to have taken they should at once be discharged. This offer was not accepted, and it is much to be regretted that even then it should have been thought right in such a case to resort to the punishment of flogging.

While Captain Hole was engaged in suppressing the disorders attending the outbreak, he found it necessary, by severe examples, to secure the discipline of those under his command. By this means he endeavoured to put a stop to acts of military lawlessness tending to aggravate the sufferings of the inhabitants. Two corporals at Manchioneal under his command were degraded for having been absent all night; another soldier was

tried and sentenced by Court-martial to seven years' penal servitude for having burnt houses in Long Bay. A fourth man was convicted of having been absent for several days without leave, and of having committed depredations. He was sentenced to 56 days imprisonment, forfeiture of his good-conduct pay, and 50 lashes.

Operations of the Maroons.

A party of Maroons from the Hayfield Settlement occupied Bath on the evening of Friday, October 13th.

A body of 50 Maroons, armed at Port Antonio, and under command of Colonel Fyfe, marched on the 19th of October across the country, through Moortown, to which place they belonged.

On the following day they reached Bath, where Colonel Fyfe took command of the Hayfield Maroons, whom he found already there. The following verbal orders were given to Colonel Fyfe by Brigadier-General Nelson: "You are never to molest a woman "or child, and you are not to shoot any man who surrenders."

Acting on intelligence that the rebels in force were occupying a fort they had made at Torrington, Colonel Fyfe proceeded to march upon and attack that place, and as he advanced several shots were fired at his party, and one man was wounded.

The steep and wooded nature of the ground made it necessary to act with caution. The place was attacked on Saturday, October 21st, and the insurgents were driven out. Seven of them were shot in the attack.

The huts of the settlement, in which large quantities of plunder were found, were burnt; but orders were given by Colonel Fyfe that in the burning of houses care should be taken to leave some building as a place of shelter for women and children.

On proceeding through the country to Stony Gut a party of Maroons, under Colonel Fyfe, shot four men, one of whom was wearing the ring of the deceased Custos Baron Ketelhodt.

The insurgents had constructed in this part of the country, between Torrington and Stony Gut, a rude field-work, by felling large trees, and throwing them as a barricade across the angle of the road; they were removed with considerable difficulty.

The total number of men shot by the Maroons during these excursions does not appear to us to have exceeded 25. About 141 cottages of the villages situated near this district were burnt by the Maroons, or by persons who alleged that they were acting under their orders.

This concludes our Report of the military measures adopted for the suppression of the disturbances.

It appears to us that the strategical positions taken up, the detachments posted in the disturbed districts and in the Island generally, and the active co-operation of your Majesty's naval forces, produced a most beneficial effect; and by the prompt and rapid manner in which the different movements were executed the outbreak was overcome in a very short period.

Summary of Punishments during Martial Law.

The total number of deaths caused by those engaged in the suppression amounted to 439, and the total number of dwellings burned to 1,000.

With respect to the number of persons who were flogged, it is impossible to state it with any degree of accuracy. 60 appear to have been flogged by order of Courts-martial; one woman was sentenced to be flogged at Morant Bay, but Colonel Nelson refused to confirm the sentence. The numbers flogged without a Court-martial was much larger.

73 were thus flogged at Port Antonio, 44 at Up-Park Camp, 20 at Manchioneal, 50 at Monklands and Golden Grove, and considerably above a 100 at Morant Bay.

A still larger number were flogged at Bath. Nearly 50 were flogged on one day, of whom 20 were women; and it is stated that between 30 and 40 were flogged on other days. This did not, however, continue long, as Colonel Fyfe, who arrived a very few days after the floggings commenced, gave positive orders for the discontinuance of the practice.

The whole number subjected to this degrading punishment during the continuance of martial law we think could not have been less than 600.

The mode of inflicting the punishment at Bath calls for special notice. It was ordered by a local magistrate, after a very slight investigation, and frequently at the instance of book-keepers and others smarting under the sense of recent injury. At first an ordinary

cat was used, but afterwards, for the punishment of men, wires were twisted round the cords, and the different tails so constructed were knotted.

Some of these were produced before us, and it was painful to think that any man should have used such an instrument for the torturing of his fellow creatures.

Upwards of 100 of those who were flogged were sentenced also to different terms of imprisonment, varying from six months to twelve years. As, however, from the time of the expiration of martial law there was no power to enforce these sentences, the persons so sentenced have been released.

II.—Conduct of Persons engaged in the Suppression.

Comments on Punishments inflicted.

In considering the conduct of those engaged in the suppression of the disturbances in the several districts through which the military were moved, the first point to which our attention was directed was the sacrifice of human life occasioned by the measures then taken.

The number of persons executed at the several stations by order of Courts-martial have been ascertained by us from the returns made to amount to 354, and are thus distributed:—

At Morant Bay and Plantain Garden River District	194
„ Port Antonio and Manchioneal	89
„ Monklands, &c.	68
„ Up-Park Camp	3

The numbers of those killed without any trial have been investigated by us with much labour and careful inquiry, by visiting the districts where the deaths occurred, and by examining the relatives of the deceased, and other witnesses in Spanish Town.

We believe that the return given in the Appendix furnishes as accurate an account of all who perished as the circumstances of the events admit of, without affecting a precision which it is impossible to command.

We carefully examined into every case in which it was alleged that a life had been taken. It will be seen in the evidence that the same cases were repeatedly spoken to by different witnesses, and that not a few of those deposed to are included in the returns of persons executed by order of Courts-martial. It occasionally occurred that one person was known by two names. Whenever we entertained a doubt both names have been entered, and on that account the return may be relied on as showing all deaths that were capable of proof.

Nearly all the cases returned in the official lists as of persons executed, "names unknown," have, by means of this investigation, been discovered and named, and the result of inquiry on the spot has remarkably coincided with these official returns.

Comment has already been made on cases of destruction of life which happened under exceptional circumstances.

The conduct of the black soldier on the road between Manchioneal and Port Antonio caused the death of 10 persons without any inquiry or proof of guilt. The excuse of dread of the soldier, made by those who witnessed his acts, and might have interfered, cannot be allowed.

One of the people shot on the advance on Torrington by the Maroons was a woman. The Maroon by whom she was shot gave evidence before us with much frankness, and it was clear to us that it was no act of wantonness, but that, seeing a figure behind a bush, as he thought about to fire at him, he had himself fired, and that he did not discover that it was a woman whom he had wounded until some time afterwards.

In none of the cases where deaths occurred from shots fired on the march, except in the advance upon Torrington, does it appear that any actual resistance was offered to the advance of the troops.

A good deal of our time was occupied in an inquiry into the case of an alleged shooting of three men by a detachment of the 1st West India Regiment under the command of Ensign Cullen. The evidence was most conflicting, and we do not feel called upon to decide upon which side the truth lay. But we think that the character of the service is so deeply involved in a question affecting the conduct and veracity of two officers and several men that it may well form the subject of further inquiry.

The same observation applies to a charge of shooting a person named William Gray by Staff Assistant-Surgeon Morris.

It will doubtless be observed that a great deal of evidence laid before us with a view of proving the use of undue severity during the existence of martial law has reference to the conduct of Mr. Gordon Ramsay, the Provost-Marshal. As he is now about to take his trial on a charge of wilful murder for an act done by him while he filled that office, it was not thought right by any of the parties concerned in the Inquiry that he should be asked any questions, the answers to which, or a refusal to answer which, might prejudice him on his trial.

It will be obvious that for the same reason it would not be right for us to make any remarks upon his conduct.

It is due to those under whom Mr. Ramsay acted to state that no complaints of the cruelties now charged against him, although stated to have been witnessed by many, were made to those who placed him in authority, and had the power, and undoubtedly would have had the will, to deprive him of that authority, if such cruelties had been shown to have been committed.

Further, we cannot help noticing the conduct of a Magistrate who states that he witnessed what in his opinion at the time appeared to be an act of murder without giving any intimation respecting it. He states that he was prevented by fear; but this did not prevent his making a formal complaint against Mr. Gordon Ramsay, when a comparatively trifling act of injustice was committed against himself; and it seems that he consented not to press his complaint in order that the public might not lose the services of Mr. Ramsay.

Brigadier-General Nelson, upon being made acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Ramsay towards this Magistrate, sent the following reprimand:

"Having given Mr. Marshalleck's complaint and the Provost-Marshal's explanation "my grave and serious consideration, it is my duty to inform the Provost-Marshal that "in every way connected with the case he has exceeded his powers and adopted a "course I must strongly reprehend..... Briefly, the Provost-Marshal in acting as "he did, is open to very severe censure, much of which I withhold in consequence of "the good service he has done, and because I hope that this error in dealing with "Mr. Marshalleck was the result of over-zeal..... I peremptorily forbid any "summary punishment being inflicted within the camp henceforth, and all cases of a "serious nature are to be referred for my decision, or that of my aide-de-camp, to whom "alone I shall delegate the authority to dispose of such."

Comments on the Courts-martial.

The number of executions by order of Courts-martial appeared to us so large that it became very important to ascertain, as far as we were able, the principles upon which the members constituting the Courts acted, and the sort of evidence upon which their decisions were pronounced.

It would be unreasonable to expect that in the circumstances under which these Courts were assembled there should be the same perfect regularity and adherence to technical rules which we are accustomed to witness in our ordinary tribunals; but there are certain great principles which ought under no circumstances to be violated, and there is an amount of evidence which every tribunal should require before it pronounces a judgment which shall affect the life, liberty, or person of any human being.

In order to ascertain whether these principles have been adhered to, and whether in all cases this necessary evidence has been required, we have carefully read the notes of the evidence given before the different Courts, upon which notes the confirmations of the sentences were pronounced.

In the great majority of the cases the evidence seems to have been unobjectionable in character, and quite sufficient to justify the finding of the Court. It is right also to state that the account given by the more trustworthy witnesses as to the manner and deportment of the members of the courts was decidedly favourable.

But we think it right also to call attention to cases in which either the finding or the sentence was not justified by any evidence appearing on the face of the proceedings.

The case of Mr. Gordon will be hereafter referred to.

In the cases of Samuel Clarke, George McIntosh, and William Grant, in all of which the notes of the proceedings will be found fully set out in the Appendix, and in each of which cases also some witnesses were examined before ourselves, the evidence appears to us to have been wholly insufficient to justify the findings.

It appears also from the proceedings that one person was executed upon proof that he was advising the rioters on the 7th of October how to act, and that he resisted the Police, and assisted in handcuffing them on the 10th.

Another on proof that he had resisted the Police on the 10th, having in his hand a cutlass and big stick, and that he had made use of the following expression:—"You "were taking my name down on Saturday, now I can take my revenge. If we did not "consider one thing we would take your head off."

Another for having assisted in rescuing Geoghegan on the 7th, and for having been one of the party who came down with a drum.

Three persons were convicted and executed upon the production and proof of affidavits made behind their backs by persons who, for anything that appears to the contrary, might perfectly well have given their evidence in open court.

At Port Antonio the evidence allowed to be given was of a most objectionable description.

William Troop gave evidence against William Mitchell of a confession made by the latter of his having assisted in the murder of Mr. Hire, and immediately afterwards was himself put upon his trial as an accessory to the same murder, and was convicted, upon the evidence of Mitchell, of a confession made to him, coupled with the affidavit of a person whose absence was not accounted for.

Both Mitchell and Troop were executed within a few hours of their trials.

Three persons were convicted and two were executed upon the evidence of a confession made by a man shortly before his execution, in which he stated that the prisoners had assisted in the murder for which he himself was about to suffer.

Five persons were convicted on the unconfirmed testimony of a man himself just convicted and sentenced to death as a spy, and for having incited others to join in the rebellion, one of the persons so convicted having himself given evidence to prove the case against the spy.

In other cases the sentences seem wholly disproportioned to the offence charged. The illegality, however, of these sentences, has happily prevented them from being carried out to their full extent. One man was sentenced to 50 lashes and three years' imprisonment for travelling without a pass, and not giving a satisfactory account of himself; another to 50 lashes and five years' imprisonment, upon proof that, in addition to not giving a satisfactory account of himself, he confessed "that he was coming from the residence of "the late rebel George William Gordon."

At Manchioneal also affidavits were regularly received as proof of the facts deposed to, and in some cases in which death was the sentence the affidavits constituted the only evidence.

At Up-Park Camp the trials seem to have been conducted with great regularity, and there were only three in which capital punishment was inflicted. But in one of these cases the only offence charged or proved was the use of the following expression by a convict in one of the cells of the Kingston Gaol: "I have seen too much gun. Creoles are fools. "If it (meaning the present rebellion) had been in Africa we would have known what to "do immediately. If I had but five of my countrymen I would make you see something. "If I had a sword I would kill Mr. Shaw and Mr. Horton. The black man ought to "rise like St. Domingo to take Jamaica from the Buckras."

The above observations are founded exclusively on the proceedings themselves, which were submitted for confirmation to the commanding officer, and on which it would appear that his confirmation of the sentence was founded.

It is right, however, to make mention of the fact stated by some of the officers who appeared before us, that other evidence than that which appears on the face of the proceedings was sometimes given, and that the commanding officer was aware of such additional evidence having been given.

We ought also to mention that in one of the cases above referred to, where the evidence upon which the prisoner was convicted appears most objectionable, the guilt of the prisoner was incidentally proved in the course of our inquiry.

The Case of Mr. George William Gordon.

We felt ourselves bound to inquire whether the outbreak had a merely local origin, or whether there existed throughout the Island a wide spread conspiracy for a general rising against the Government at some future time, of which conspiracy the outbreak in St. Thomas-in-the-East was a premature explosion, precipitated by local causes. It was with the view of determining this question that in one case we departed from our ordinary course of not inquiring into the guilt or innocence of particular persons who had been tried by Courts-martial. We considered that we were concerned with particular cases so tried only so far as to determine whether those broad general rules of evidence which ought to govern all tribunals had been observed; whether in fact the

conduct of those who presided at such Courts, as illustrated by the proceedings, was open to animadversion.

The case of Mr. Gordon, however, appeared to us to be be different from all others. He was intimately connected with Bogle the leader of the insurrection.

He had attended and taken a leading part in certain meetings in different parts of the Island which had been held in the course of the summer of 1865, and which were thought to be connected with the supposed conspiracy. He formed, moreover, the only probable link between the plotters of Stony Gut and the supposed conspirators in other parts of the Island.

At an early period, therefore, of the Inquiry we came to the conclusion that if conspiracy had in fact existed, Mr. Gordon must have been a party to it, and therefore we determined to admit any evidence which might be tendered in proof of his complicity, whether it had or had not been laid before the court-martial by which he was tried.

We propose, therefore, to set out that evidence with considerable fullness.

The affairs of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East were the subject of great interest among many of the parishioners who were friends of Mr. Gordon. Many looked to him for advice, which they relied on and followed.

Among these was Paul Bogle, who cultivated a few acres of land at Stony Gut, a village in the hills about six miles inland from Morant Bay.

A chapel belonging to him of small dimensions stood on his land, and was opened about Christmas 1864. He was a member of the "Native Baptists," a sect so called as being independent of and distinguished from the London Baptist Mission. Mr. Gordon was an intimate friend and correspondent of Bogle.

Mr. Gordon had himself become a Baptist, and had a Tabernacle of his own on the Parade at Kingston. To Paul Bogle he addressed a short note when about to become such member, as follows :— G. Fouché 29th day.

"Mr. Paul Bogle, 11th December 1861.

"I am to be *baptized* on *Christmas* Day, this day two weeks. Remember me on "that day."

"G. W. Gordon."

In 1862 Paul Bogle, James Bowie, and George B. Clarke sent the following letter to Mr. Gordon from Stony Gut :—

"Stony Gut, 25th July 1862.

"(All hearts burnt) to hear the way you are treated for our cause. But in "suffering their (*sic*) are CONCILATION (*sic*) for their (*sic*) is a *Rest* is Provide for those "who toil and Bear (*sic*) persecution for truth sake in heaven."

"We want to see you at our vilage (*sic*), which is Exceedingly small, But sufficient "to intertain (*sic*) you, For we have Plans to Arange (*sic*) with you. Come up, we "beseech you as quick as Posible (*sic*), so that we may arange (*sic*) how the Baptism "is to go on at Spring Before the ending of this month, so that we may get up a "meeting to meet you, if Coming notice Mr. Warren with best wiches (*sic*).

"Yours truly

"Paul Bogle,

"James Bowie,

"George B. Clarke."

Spring, mentioned in this letter, was landed property of Mr. Gordon, a mile from Stony Gut, and partly adjoining it.

The people connected with the small holdings at Stony Gut wrote, through Paul Bogle, to Mr. Gordon on 25th July 1862, to ask him to lend them 150*l.*, in order to pay the tax which would qualify them to be registered as voters of the parish.

The postscript to this letter is as follows :—

"P.S.—The above amount is to pay for Registrations too Answer us by the First Post "without *delay*, for we who have to go in the mountain district are to go by Tuesday "evening, we are nothing to do with these in the Bay, For they appears to us as "*decevers* (*sic*).

"Paul Bogle,

"Chairman in behalf of the Meeting."

On the 26th February 1864 Mr. Gordon wrote from Kingston to Paul Bogle at Stony Gut, as follows (*inter alia*) :—

" Dear Bogle,

" Things are bad in Jamaica, and will require a great deal of purging."

Again, in the same month he wrote,—

" Dear Bogle, " Morant Bay, 22nd February 1864.

" I have again to contend with Rector Cooke's annoyance; he is trying to get " me out of the churchwarden's office, but I have no doubt he will fail also this time. " I am busy in Kingston, and have to return for the Port Royal business. I have not " yet seen Chisholm.

" Yours very truly,

" Geo. W. Gordon."

Mr. Gordon had been appointed churchwarden for St. Thomas-in-the-East, and the fact of his having become a " Native Baptist," and ceased to communicate as member of the Church of England in Jamaica, had, as before mentioned, been advanced as disqualifying him for the office. The same fact subsequently led to the action brought by him against the Custos, Baron Ketelhodt, by whom he had been forcibly removed from the Vestry. This subject was one which caused great irritation in the parish.

Paul Bogle was on the 5th March 1865 made deacon of the " Native Baptists." On that day Mr. Gordon signed the following certificate as acting secretary:

" Kingston, 5th March 1865.

" To all whom it may concern. This is to certify that Paul Bogle has been this day " ordained by me in the presence of the whole congregation, to be made Kingston " Jamaica (sic) to the office of deacon in Christ's church, and that he has been fully " charged and has also undertaken faithfully to discharge the duties of the said office of " deacon, and in all things to be obedient to the rules of the Church, devoting himself " through the grace of God faithfully to the work, and that he is hereby authorized to " execute and discharge all the duties appertaining to the office of deacon.

" Given under my hand, at Kingston, Jamaica, this 5th day of March 1865.

" Richard Warren.

" Geo. W. Gordon,

" Acting Secretary."

Paul Bogle wrote to Mr. Gordon a letter addressed to him at Morant Bay on 12th July 1865, in which, after referring to the writer's health, he says,—" You will be pleased to " remember the horse that you did promise to give me to ride out on business. . . . . " We expect to have a meeting at Bogle House, at Cottage Penns, next Tuesday, and " your attendants (sic) will require. I am, yours truly, Paul Bogle."

When Paul Bogle's house was searched in October, a list of ten names was found there in the handwriting of Mr. Gordon. Mr. Gordon's own name was at the head of this list, and the nine other names were those of persons connected with Bogle's party. A much larger list of names, most of which were original signatures or marks, was afterwards taken from the private writing-table of Mr. Gordon at Cherry Garden. This last list was headed by the name of Paul Bogle, and contained 148 other names, many of which belonged to persons who were implicated in the outbreak at Morant Bay.

We attach no great importance to these lists, as they may merely show the political connexion of Mr. Gordon with Bogle and his friends.

Mr. Henry James Lawrence was Mr. Gordon's manager and resident agent on his estate called " Rhine " near Bath, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and in letters addressed to him the interest in parish matters felt by Mr. Gordon in common with many of his adherents there, is expressed strongly in respect of the conduct of members of the vestry towards himself.

Writing to Lawrence on 30th January 1865, he remarks, " Baron and Herschell are " busy *publishing* lies againt me in Spanish Town, so as to get the grant of money, " 262*l*. I shall be obliged to speak in very plain terms on the subject. Can you send " me Nibs on the subject? which may help me. They are a very wicked *band*, and the " Lord will yet reward *them all* . . . . I note what you say of . He is a " sort of fiend who altho' chastised has remained hardened. We can afford to spare " him, and perhaps England will better agree with him. Mark, the reign of others will " also soon be cut short."

Again, on 6th March 1865, he writes to Mr. Lawrence:

" I note what you say re Oxford and Walker and Ketelhodt,—the parish will be well " rid of Walker, but the evil will be doubled (?) in Baron, and I quite agree with your " *sentiments*. We must wait and see what the end will be of all these evil doers! . . .

" Thanks also for arranging with Kirkland. I shall treat him as he merits. What an " unreliable SETT (*sic*) they all are. I am DISGUSTED with *them* and must try to keep " aloof and above them. The Ex. Com. Gov. and Bishop! what a set, can *any reliance* " *be placed on these?* and can matters go on with such men *at the helm.* Herschell, " Baron, Cookes, and a lot of others are against me, and some of low mark, ignorant " coloured men, who wo'nt value their own position, countenance such proceedings,— " do you not see that I have good reason to complain and be on the *alert?*"

Again he writes to his manager:—" 27th April 1865."

" The case of Gordon *v.* Ketelhodt was a great triumph to Baron and all the Cookes, " for in spite of everything which was clearly in my favor they got a jury of five to " give a verdict for defendant. What a fresh victory is this for them all? How well it " looks, and how diminished is my head! but wait, it is not yet all over! . . . . . " The Attorney-General disgraced himself by low conduct. Sneddes proved a traitor " and M'Kenzie a MOST *worthless lying fellow.* Have nothing to do with the man, he is " a *great villain* (*sic*).

And again on the 29th April 1865.—

" I have no doubt there are dual actions and strong undercurrents against me, but " wait and see the end of it, *be not cast down*, the Lord is at hand . . . . There is " a sort of present exultation in the Baron, Herschell, Cooke, &c., all *their* points " *being carried* . . . . I note the great and glorious gathering at Rhine House, " this is very beautiful."

" Messrs. Warmington and Henry Seymour Kennedy are new J. P's. for St. Thomas- " y'-East, and some few more are expecting. All very *beautiful.* Great concerns for " great men! Keep you quiet and see the end of it all."

On the 4th of May he wrote, " I know the inveterate dislike of Herschell and all his " *confreres.* They will soon all find their level, and go like chaff against the wind."

Mr. Gordon was staying at Hordley in the Plaintain Garden district of the parish in June 1865, and in conversation there with Mr. Harrison, he was spoken to about the state of the feeling among the people, and told that he could not control it. In reply " Oh!" said Mr. Gordon, " if I wanted a rebellion I could have had one long " ago. I have been asked several times to head a rebellion, but there is no fear of that. " I will try first a demonstration of it, but I must upset that fellow Herschell, and kick " him out of the Vestry, and the Baron also, or bad will come of it." Mr. T. Harrison, 5th day.

On 13th of July he wrote to Lawrence at the Rhine, " Herschell has got another 40*l.* " for pews at Bath Church, through the aid of his friend Price. What will these (?) " men, surely some calamity *will come* on them."

About the same time, conversing with Mr. Arthur Beckwith at Kingston, about a meeting held on the subject of labourers and wages, Mr. Gordon was told it was calculated to excite a spirit of disaffection amongst the people; to which Mr. Gordon answered, " Ah! well, we must have it some way or the other; this is the great " movement; and if we do not secure it in this way, in six months there will be a " revolution in the country, and as I have always stood by the people I will stand by " them then." Mr. A. Berkwith, 9th day.

He wrote from Kingston on the 10th of August to Lawrence, " I must go to the east, " and start this evening for Morant Bay, hoping to be there early to-morrow, and be at " the Rhine by *Saturday* some time. The Baron has taken upon himself to postpone " the public meeting until *further notice.* This is *improper;* it is not his meeting, but " theirs, and he has not the power of postponing. I am getting quite tired of it, and " must now bring the business to a close; and if the Baron won't do what is right we " must do so for him."

On 11th August a printed address to the people of St. Thomas-in-the-East, headed " State of the Island," was posted up on a cotton tree in the main road at Morant Bay, opposite William Chisholm's house. The original draft of this address, in the writing of Mr. Gordon, was given by him to a compositor at Kingston shortly before, to be set up in type, with directions to forward copies to one Rodney at St. Ann's Bay, others to James Sullivan at Bath, and further copies to Paul Bogle and to William Chisholm at Morant Bay. Mr. A. K. Mudie, 51st day. John Sharpe, 50th day.

These copies were sent. In this address is found the following passage:—

" People of St. Thomas-in-the-East! You have been ground down too long already; " shake off your sloth, and speak like honourable and free men at your meeting. Let " not a crafty, jesuitical priesthood deceive you. Prepare for your duty. Remember " the destitution in the midst of your families, and your forlorn condition. The " Government have taxed you to defend your own rights against the enormities of an " unscrupulous and oppressive foreigner, Mr. Custos Ketelhodt. You feel this. It is

" *no wonder you do.* You have been dared in this provoking act, and it is sufficient to " extinguish your long patience. This is not time when such deeds should be perpe- " trated, but as they have been it is your duty to speak out and to act too. We advise " you to be up and doing, and to maintain your cause. You must be united in " your efforts."

W. Anderson, 11th day. See Appendix.

An open air meeting on Saturday, August 12th, held in the market place in front of the Court House, at Morant Bay, under a gynnep tree, was presided over by Mr. Gordon, at which Paul Bogle and Moses Bogle were present. Resolutions on the conduct of the Government, and on the depressed state of the labouring classes, and the price of labour, and low rate of wages, were passed; and in reference to the circular called the "Queen's advice to the people." Mr. Gordon said that "The Queen's

A.K.Moodie, 46th day.

" message to the working classes of Jamaica is not true; I say it is not true; it is a " lie; it does not come from the Queen; the Queen does not know anything about it."

One of the resolutions passed at this meeting is as follows:—

" That this meeting views with alarm, and denounces the unconstitutional and " unprecedented act of the Government in having provided the sum of 250*l.* to defend " the Baron Ketelhodt in his illegal and oppressive conduct towards the rights of the " constituency of this parish and the Island generally, in interfering with the office of " churchwarden, and that a committee be now appointed to take all necessary steps in " this matter in defence of the rights and privileges of the electors."

A committee, and a deputation, including Paul Bogle, James M'Laren, and others, were appointed to wait upon the Governor.

The meeting then further resolved "that they were of opinion that the generally " arbitrary, illegal, and inconsistent conduct of the Custos was destructive to the peace " and prosperity of the affairs of the parish."

At the time of this meeting Mr. Gordon was staying at his cottage on the Rhine estate, 16 miles from Morant Bay.

Mrs. E. Major, 5th day.

In familiar conversation with Mrs. Major, the wife of Dr. Major, his tenant of part of that estate, he was told by her that in his speeches which she had recently been reading he was certainly guilty of high treason, and she would accuse him of it. He replied, " Oh no they have printed it wrong; I never made use of such expressions, and you " can't do it. I have just gone as far as I can go, but no further."

In this conversation he spoke of the Governor as "a wicked man," and said "that it " would be a blessing to the country if some one would shoot him;" and that Mr. Herschell and the Baron were "bad and wicked men, and it would be a blessing if " these three men were removed."

W. E. Ward, 13th day. A. R. Mudie, 46th day.

On the night of the 15th of August a meeting was held at a house belonging to Mr. Gordon at Morant Bay, opposite the Wesleyan Chapel, at which James M'Laren acted as Secretary, with about 30 persons present; from this meeting five persons were turned away as spies, who had not previously attended the meeting on the 12th of August.

Mr. G. W. Gordon attended, and spoke at a meeting held at the "Alley" in Vere on the 4th of September. He is thus reported to have spoken, amongst other matters:

J.F.Humber, 26th day.

" They report to the Queen that you are thieves..... The notice that is said to

W. R. Peart, 29th day, part 1.

" be the Queen's advice is all trash; it is no advice of the Queen at all..... I was " told by some of you that your overseers said that if any of you attended this meeting " they would tear down your houses. Tell them that I George William Gordon say " they dare not do it. It is tyranny. You must do what Hayti does. You have a " bad name now, but you will have a worse one then."

Dr. Bruce, a friend and political supporter of Mr. Gordon, who introduced him to the meeting, and took a part in it, and some others, deny that Mr. Gordon ever made use of the words "You must do what Hayti does."

The speech, however, containing these words, was taken down at the time in some careful notes by a witness (Peart), who produced the same before us. These notes were well and distinctly written. It would further appear that this speech must have contained some matter at least calculated to excite some alarm of disturbance, from the following passage in a letter addressed to Dr. Bruce by Mr. Sydney Levien, the editor of a local newspaper, in reference to this Vere meeting. "I could scarcely command vital thought " enough yesterday to do justice to your meeting, and against the wish of William I " wrote the feeble editorial that appeared to second the noble exertions of the Vere

Dr. R. S. Bruce, 35th day.

" people. All I desire is to shield you and them from the charge of anarchy and " tumult, which in a short time must follow these fearful demonstrations. How I " succeeded you must judge for yourself."

Dr. Bruce employed a reporter to attend and take notes of the speeches, and before the speech of Mr. Gordon was published the draft was submitted to Dr. Bruce for approval. This version of the speech was published in the "County Union" newspaper, and contains no expression that could provoke the remarks of Mr. Levien's letter, and Dr. Bruce himself in his evidence stated that he had said "that he would not attend any more meetings," because he did not like the way in which Mr. Gordon spoke against the Government and Governor Eyre.

This version of the speech as reported by Mr. Peart was read to Dr. Bruce, and was accepted by him as correct, saving the words referring to Hayti, and one other expression quite immaterial. This version wholly differs from that which appeared in the County Union.

About three weeks before the events at Morant Bay, and shortly after his speech at Vere, Mr. Gordon was at the Bank of Jamaica at Kingston, conversing with Mr. James Ford, the Secretary, on the subject of that speech; and Mr. Ford then said to him, "Supposing, Mr. Gordon, the people were to be such fools as to rise in rebellion, do "you think that even in the event of their being successful in their cutting all our "throats, which is perfectly possible, in the first rising if they took us by surprise, "that England either could not, or would not, avenge us amply, so that everyone of "them would be killed and done away with?" Mr. Gordon said, "Ah, Mr. Ford, you "are quite mistaken there, all the powers of the Great Napoleon could not put down "the rising in Hayti, and that was successful, for the troops died of disease before they "could meet the people in the mountains." Mr. Ford then said, "But in India, a very "short time ago, an organized armed and formidable rebellion of millions arose against "the Government, and we know how they were successful at first, but it was very "quietly, steadily, and determinedly put down, and England's power has been kept, "and so it would be here." Mr. Gordon then replied, "Mr. Ford, India is not at all "a case in point, for India is a flat country, and the English troops would overrun it "and conquer it; but this country is a mountainous country, and before the British "troops could reach the people in the mountains they would die of disease here." Mr. James D. Ford, 23d day.

He then went away observing, "Of course, this is mere abstract talking."

Mr. Lawrence, writing from the Rhine on the 8th of September to Mr. Gordon on private business, makes the following remark on local affairs, "I see by the papers that "Mount Pleasant and Hall Head have been offered for sale by the Hon. W. P. "Georges. . . . . I suppose this green bay tree (Honble. W. P. Georges) will "continue to spread, while the day of retribution draws nigh for his numerous trans-"gressions, and the ex-member of Assembly, (Mr. D.) humbled."

On the 11th of September Mr. Gordon forwarded a letter to Mr. Lawrence, written on the 23d August, but mislaid, in which he says, "The case of Gordon and Ketelhodt "terminated yesterday again for defendant; it seemed foredetermined. I was greatly "prepared for it, from what I had perceived early in the day,—more anon on this "subject. The prejudices are *very strong* against me, but it shall not rest there. "These multiplications of wrong are only the gatherings up of future troubles."

On the same 11th of September he writes, "The fact is, St. Thomas-y'-East is "about the *very worst* parish in the Island, and now the Governor has given *another* "cheer to magisterial oppression, as if it were forcing matters to a point. Verily, this "Governor is an evil-doer. The Lord will plenteously reward him. Again and again "the Baron and the Cookes are *gratified*."

On the 14th of September he wrote to Mr. Lawrence at the Rhine Estate, "I fear "we cannot mend public matters in St. Thomas-ye-East, so we better look to our "individual circumstances more clearly. I believe the Governor and his nest of "Custodes are capable of anything, but the Lord will soon scatter them as the chaff "before the wind." . . . "There is just now great exultation, and a second verdict "against me, and Jackson removed to satisfy the Baron! "Anguis in herba." I fancy "you know that this means the character you refer to, and I have apprehensions that "your opinions may be correct. Let it all *go on!* Just wait and see the result . . "I do not think we were ever in more dismal times than at present in Jamaica. The "Governor succours wrong and oppression to the fullest extent in every quarter."

Again, on the 18th of September, he wrote to Lawrence,—"The enemies now exult, "and justice is silenced for the time, but it will raise its head. . . . The Lord will "soon pluck his hand out of his bosom, and so confound the whole band of oppressors. "I believe this to be about one of their last *flickers*. Let us wait and see."

And again, on the 21st of September, "The oppression still continues in St. Thomas-"ye-East, and there appears every effort put forth to exasperate the poor people! "Their plan is to pray to God for deliverance. You may laugh at this, and call

" it cant, but I assure you it is the most effectual plan, if you know the number of ways " in which God can and often does destroy the evil-doer!"

On the 28th of September he wrote to Mr. Lawrence:—" Poor *Jackson* was in the " midst of conspiracy. Rector Cooke will get up a charge of conspiracy against any " one over whom the Governor has power, and get him dismissed. The man, Mr. Eyre, " is an arch liar, and he supports all his emissaries. . . . . The *wicked shall be* " *destroyed.* This is decreed. God is our refuge and strength, a very pleasant (sic) " help in trouble."

The news of the events of Wednesday evening the 11th of October did not reach Kingston till Thursday the 12th of October at noon.

On the 11th October, Mr. G. W. Gordon was residing at his property, " Cherry Garden," in St. Andrews, a short distance from Kingston. He was engaged in trade, and had business offices in that town, where he went on that day, returning home in the evening. On his return he is said by his wife to have informed her of the outbreak at Morant Bay.

As the outbreak took place at a distance of more than thirty miles, late on the afternoon of the 11th, and was not known in Kingston till the middle of the following day, it was suggested to Mrs. Gordon that probably it was on Thursday the 12th that Mr. Gordon first spoke to her on the subject. Upon this she replied that " Wednesday " evening he brought the news," and that " Mr. Gordon came up on the 12th, and said " the outbreak at Morant Bay was true that we had heard of on the Wednesday." He added, " that the feeling seemed to be so strong to put (sic) a pistol to him, and get rid " of him, as they did the President of America."

Hon. H. Heslop, 18th day. When the news of the events of October 11th reached Kingston on the following day, they were not fully believed by many persons there in the first instance.

On this day, about 2 o'clock, Mr. Lee, a friend of Mr. Gordon, mentioned to him the news of what had happened at Morant Bay, and Mr. Gordon seemed much distressed.

Mr. W. Lee, 50th day. Mr. Lee said, " George, I fear your agitation at Morant Bay has been the cause of " all this." Mr. Gordon said, " I never gave them bad advice. I only told them the " Lord would send them a day of deliverance." And when speaking of Baron Ketelhodt being killed, Mr. Gordon added, " I told him not to go, but he was such an obstinate " man."

Dr. Major, 4th day. Dr. Major, Mr. Gordon's tenant at the Rhine, about 16 miles from Morant Bay, was at 7 o'clock on the morning of October 11th leaving the Rhine, in order to attend the meeting of the Vestry at Morant Bay. He met Mr. Lawrence as he came out of the gate, who tried to dissuade him from going, by saying, " I should strongly advise

Mrs. Major, 4th day. you not to go." Dr. Major went, however, and about 2 o'clock Mrs. Major sent to Lawrence for intelligence, at which hour he called on her at the Rhine, saying that " he " heard nothing further than that there was a great disturbance, but that she need be " under no apprehension about the Doctor, he would be quite safe, but the Baron and " and Mr. Herschell he feared were doomed." This conversation was in point of time before the fight had begun at Morant Bay, where, according to all the evidence, the Baron and Mr. Herschell were not killed till after 5 o'clock.

About 3 o'clock the same afternoon Mrs. Major again made inquiry by note sent by

Dorothy Johnson, 4th day. her servant to Lawrence, and he then sent word by the servant to her " that the Doctor " would be quite safe, but Mr. Herschell and the Baron he had no hope of." About the same time he also wrote to her the following note:

" Dear Madam,

" Things seem in a fearful way; the Doctor did not seem to know of the rebellion " at Morant Bay till I told him, but I beg you will not be troubled. I have no doubt " the feeling will be quieted. The Volunteer force moved on the scene of action this " morning at one o'clock. I will let you know if anything more transpires."

This note was received before four o'clock on the 11th of October, and at that time the events had not yet ended in the deaths of the Custos and Mr. Herschell, nor could the news of what had happened at Morant Bay have reached the Rhine at a distance of sixteen miles.

On the 12th October, the next day, Lawrence wrote to Mrs. Major as follows:—

" Dear Madam,

" I am sorry I have no reliable news for you. I have heard a good deal, but " think much of what I hear is false. There is a report about the Doctor, but the same " is not true. The negroes know full well who fit for retribution."

The financial difficulties in which Mr. Gordon found himself at the time are seen from some passages in the above letters.

On the 30th January 1865 he writes to Lawrence: "Your promise to me in the way "of remittances from all quarters are getting in arrears, but I trust soon to find them "being redeemed. It wont do to put off too long, for my own necessities seem to "increase, and the hope I had of relief *is not realised.*"

On the 29th of April he wrote, "The Spring rents do not come in as they ought. "I thank you for one pound remitted."

On the 10th August he wrote, "I am just returned from the north side, and find none "of your letters. I had expected one with some money of which I now stand greatly "in need."

Again, on the 14th September, "At Bogg matters must be doing very badly when "I get no remittances! *really too bad.* I had been *fully expecting some money* from "you, and feel great disappointment. I am sucked dry at present."

And on the 18th September:—"All my sources of supply fail while I continue being "drawn on. I expected something from Bogg and ditto from Spring, and I hope at "Rhine you will have something to assist me with taxes. Bogg concerns are now "*too bad.*"

On the 21st September he writes, "We are all suffering from fever and the want "of of (sic) money; send me some if perchance there be any to help me out by "Saturday."

Again on the 28th instant, "I note that you are without money, and that the weather "is heavy. This is rather a bad state to be in; can we raise nothing in aid of the "taxes? This is also a serious question."

His landed property was under mortgage, and his admitted liabilities amounted to above 35,000*l.* George Airey, 35th day

On the 12th October he enclosed a bill of exchange on Mr. Lawrence for his acceptance to reduce and retire a bill for 160*l.* becoming mature on the 19th of that month, and requested him to send what money he could as he was much in need.

On the 12th October Mr. Gordon wrote to Mr. Lawrence from Kingston, "I hear "terrible things are doing at Morant Bay. I know nothing of the proceedings or the "particulars, but here I am blamed for it all. I feel for the poor people of Morant "Bay. A steamer with detachments of troops has gone up. I wonder how it will all "end. The Lord have mercy. I regret that the people have acted unadvisedly. "This is sad matter to contemplate."

On Friday morning, the 13th October, he went over to Spanish Town before 10 o'clock in the morning. The case of Gordon v. Ketelhodt had been fixed for argument in Court there that day. He called at the office of his attorney there, and asked how the matter stood, and was told that the suit was at end, in consequence of the death of the Baron if that fact was true. He then made inquiries as to the costs of the suit, whereupon his attorney declined under the serious existing circumstances to enter into such details. A person then present remarked to him that there was plenty of time for him to go to St. Thomas-in-the-East, and to exercise his influence on the side of order; to which Mr. Gordon replied, "If I go to St. Thomas-in-the-East the "moment Martial Law is proclaimed I shall be the first man hung."

On Saturday the 14th October Mr. Gordon left "Cherry Garden" to pay a short visit at Kingston with his wife, intending to return home on the following Monday the 16th. Mrs. Gordon.

Amid the excitement in that town which arose on and after the 12th October, upon the confirmation of the account first received from Morant Bay, Mr. Gordon's name was quickly associated with the authors of the disturbances. His friends and relations thereupon suggested to him on Monday the 16th to retire at once, but he positively refused, and remained where he was. On the following morning, having been sought for by the Police without success, he went to the house of the Major-General commanding the troops to give himself up. There he was shortly after met by Governor Eyre and the Custos of Kingston, and by them arrested. Mrs. Shannon, 35th day. Dr. Fidd 23d day.

From Kingston he was sent by sea to Morant Bay where he was put on shore, a prisoner, on Friday evening the 20th October. Major-General O'Conno 31st day.

The next day a Court-martial was sitting for trial of prisoners there, consisting partly of Members of the Legislature. Brigadier General Nelson, however, having deemed it right that Mr. Gordon should not be tried by a Court composed of persons who might be supposed to be influenced by local prejudices, adjourned that Court, and another was convened, before which, about two o'clock the same afternoon, Mr. Gordon was brought for trial. Lt.-Colo Nelson, 31st day.

This Court consisted of Lieutenant Brand of Her Majesty's Ship "Onyx," President, Lieutenant Errington, R.N., and Ensign Kelly, 4th West India Regiment, members. The charges against the prisoner were for furthering the massacre at Morant Bay, and at divers periods previously inciting and advising with certain insurgents, and thereby by his influence tending to cause the riot.

Two heads of offence were drawn up, one for High Treason, the other for complicity with certain parties engaged in the rebellion, riot, and insurrection at Morant Bay.

eorge F. dah, th day.

One witness has stated that more than once during this trial, at the opening and during its progress, Mr. Gordon made application to postpone the trial on the ground of want of jurisdiction of the Court to try him, and also on account of the absence of material witnesses for the defence.

The witness, however, who deposes to this, seemed wholly unworthy of credit. Neither the person who independently reported the trial for publication at the time, nor the documents of the Court recording the proceedings and particulars of the trial itself, make any mention of such an application, one of such importance as could hardly have escaped notice.

eorge ung, th day.

Other persons present at the trial who heard all that passed there deny that any such application was made.

After the case against the prisoner had closed, Mr. Gordon inquired for Dr. Major, who he said could prove that the state of his health had prevented him from attending the Vestry meeting at Morant Bay on the 11th October.

D. Ram- , 31st day.

The Provost Marshal was sent from the Court to look for the Doctor, and on returning shortly afterwards said to Mr. Gordon, "Dr. Major is not in the Bay." The witness Theodore Testard was then called by Mr. Gordon to prove the same fact, but he had no knowledge on the subject.

Considering the importance then attached to Mr. Gordon's absence from the Vestry on the 11th of October it would have been much more satisfactory if some delay had been allowed in order that Dr. Major might have been sent for to speak to the state of his health on that day.

The evidence taken consisted of documents and oral testimony.

Some of these documents were selected from the papers of Mr. Gordon by Brigadier-General Nelson, and others were statements of persons taken and sworn before Magistrates, and then forwarded to Mr. Ramsay, the Provost Marshal. All these were laid before the Court by the Provost Marshal.

They consisted of—

1st. Statements of 21st October separately made and sworn to by John Anderson and James Gordon before a Justice of the Peace of St. Thomas-in-the-East. These two persons were prisoners, and were sworn and examined orally by the Court.

2d. A statement of the 17th of October, purporting to be a dying declaration of Thomas Johnson.

3d. A joint statement of 19th October, on oath, by W. R. Peart and J. F. Humber, made before a Justice of the Peace.

4th. A statement of 19th October, on oath, of Charles Chevannes, at Kingston, before a Justice of the Peace.

5th. A statement of 18th October, of George Thomas, on oath.

6th. Printed placard headed "State of the Island," above referred to.

7th. Statement of 17th October, of Elizabeth Jane Gough, sworn at Kingston. She was also orally examined by the Court.

8th. Three letters of Mr. Gordon, to Chisholm September 11th 1865, to E. C. Smith October 14th 1865, to Chisholm June 19th 1865.

William Robertson Peart and James Fyfe Humber, whose joint statement was read, deposed to the matter spoken by Mr. Gordon at the Vere Meeting in September.

Both of these persons were in Jamaica at the time of the trial, and might have been summoned to give oral testimony.

Charles Chevannes and George Thomas might also have been called as witnesses, as they were living in Jamaica.

The written statements of these four persons had been taken in the absence of Mr. Gordon, and were inadmissible as proofs against him according to the rules that regulate evidence in English Courts, either Civil or Military.

With regard to the written statements of J. Anderson, James Gordon, and Elizabeth Jane Gough, they were not legal evidence, but those persons were sworn and examined at the same trial.

The printed placard headed " State of the Island " is a duplicate of that above mentioned as posted up on a tree in August at Morant Bay, the original draft of which was proved to have been in the handwriting of Mr. G. W. Gordon.

Five witnesses were sworn and examined for the prosecution, and one on behalf of the prisoner.

The evidence, oral and documentary, appears to us to be wholly insufficient to establish the charge upon which the prisoner took his trial.

He was found guilty, and sentenced to death after six hours trial.

After having approved and confirmed the finding and sentence, Brigadier Nelson forwarded the proceedings of the trial to Major General O'Connor, under cover of a despatch, dated 21st October 1865, 8 p.m.

In this despatch he states for the information of the Major General, that he considered it his duty fully to approve the finding and confirm the sentence, and adds, " To-morrow " being Sunday, and there existing no *military* reason why the sentence should not be " deferred, I have preferred to delay its execution till Monday morning next at 8 o'clock." The whole proceedings of the Court were enclosed for the General's information.

These proceedings reached the General at Kingston on the morning of the 22d October, who, after reading them to two members of the Executive Committee, forwarded them the same day to Governor Eyre, with a request that he would return them with as little delay as possible. These proceedings were returned to the General the same day by Governor Eyre, who wrote at the same time that he fully concurred in the justice of the sentence, and in the policy of carrying it into effect.

On the same day Governor Eyre wrote the following letter to Brigadier-General Nelson from Spanish Town, dated 6 p.m.:

" My dear Brigadier,

" Your report of the trial of George William Gordon has just reached me through " the General, and I quite concur in the justice of the sentence, and the necessity of " carrying it into effect."

This letter reached Brigadier Nelson before the execution of Mr. Gordon.

On the 23d October Brigadier-General Nelson sent a despatch to Major-General O'Connor, announcing the execution of Mr. Gordon at 7.10 a.m. that morning.

On the 24th October General O'Connor transmitted, in letters to the Secretary of State for War and to the Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, a copy of Brigadier-General Nelson's despatch reporting the trial, sentence, and execution of Mr. Gordon, and in both letters he adds, " A copy of his Excellency the Governor's letter approving " the same is enclosed, in which I fully coincide."

Evidence was given of indignities offered to Mr. Gordon at the time of his execution, but those on whom most reliance can be placed negative that such was the case.

Comment on the case of Mr. Gordon.

Upon a careful review of this evidence we have formed the opinion that the true explanation of Mr. Gordon's conduct is to be found in the account which he has given of himself. " I have just gone as far as I can go, but no further." " If I wanted a " rebellion I could have had one long ago." " I have been asked several times to head " a rebellion, but there is no fear of that. I will try first a demonstration of it, but I " must first upset that fellow Herschell, and kick him out of the Vestry, and the Baron " also, or bad will come of it."

Mr. Gordon might know well the distinction between a " rebellion " and a " demonstration of it." He might be able to trust himself to go as far as he could with safety, and no further. But that would not be so easy to his ignorant and fanatical followers. They would find it difficult to restrain themselves from rebellion when making a demonstration of it.

If a man like Paul Bogle was in the habit of hearing such expressions as those contained in Gordon's letters, as that the reign of their oppressors would be short, and that the Lord was about to destroy them, it would not take much to convince him that he might be the appointed instrument in the Lord's hand for effecting that end; and it is clear that this was Bogle's belief, as we find that after the part he had taken in the massacre at Morant Bay he, in his chapel at Stony Gut, returned thanks to God that " he had gone to do that work, and that God had prospered him in his work."

It is clear too that the conduct of Gordon had been such as to convince both friends and enemies of his being a party to the rising.

We learn from Mr. Gordon himself, that in Kingston, where he carried on business, this was the general belief as soon as the news of the outbreak was received.

But it was fully believed also by those engaged in the outbreak. Bogle did not hesitate to speak of himself as acting in concert with him. When Dr. Major was dragged out of his hiding place on the night of the 11th of October, he saved himself by exclaiming that Mr. Gordon "would not wish to have him injured," and when Mr. Jackson made a similar appeal for his own life to the murderers of Mr. Hire it appears to have been equally successful. The effect which was likely to follow the meetings which took place during the Spring and Summer of 1865, in some of which Mr. Gordon took a part, was foreseen by one of his most ardent supporters, who, writing to a common friend on the subject of an article he had inserted in a newspaper respecting the Vere meeting, used these words, "All I desire is to shield you from the charge of "anarchy and tumult, which in a short time must follow these fearful demonstrations."

Although, therefore, it appears exceedingly probable that Mr. Gordon, by his words and writings, produced a material effect on the minds of Bogle and his followers, and did much to produce that state of excitement and discontent in different parts of the Island, which rendered the spread of the insurrection exceedingly probable, yet we cannot see, in the evidence which has been adduced, any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay or of his having been a party to a general conspiracy against the Government.

On the assumption that, if there was in fact a wide spread conspiracy, Mr. G. W. Gordon must have been a party to it, the conclusion at which we have arrived in his case is decisive as to the non-existence of such a conspiracy.

The only evidence beyond that of vague rumours in any degree tending to show an intended rising at some future time was given by one witness, who deposed to a statement made by an insurgent engaged in attacking a property in the neighbourhood of Bath, that "it was not their time; that Christmas was their time, and they were "preparing for it, but as it had come on so soon they must go on and mash down "everything, and kill all the white and brown."

It appears also that in one parish two or three threatening letters were addressed to several persons, and that drillings were supposed to be taking place.

Notwithstanding the alleged fact that threatening letters were previously unknown in the Island, we were unable to attach any importance to those brought to our notice. As regards the drillings it was found upon investigation at the time that they were wholly unconnected with illegal objects.

Respecting an alleged change in the manner and deportment of the negroes, the evidence was very conflicting.

We think, however, that various meetings had been held in the course of the summer, at which speeches were made, tending to cause excitement and discontent. The effect of these speeches was the greater from being addressed to an ill-educated and impulsive people.

Upon this point also the evidence of Mr. Fyfe, a Stipendiary Magistrate long resident in the Island, is deserving of attention.

He speaks of an opinion which he formed and communicated at the time to the Government. He says, "There was a general excitement that led me to think there "would be a disturbance, and I wrote to Mr. Hosack to that effect, after the meeting "in Vere, to say that I thought the Law Officers of the Crown ought to interfere; that "things were going too far; that is, the meetings held by Mr. Gordon; that we had no "Police, and that a conspiracy might be hatched next door to our Police Station, without "our knowing anything about it."

Case of the Political Prisoners.

Among the papers of Mr. G. W. Gordon in the hands of the Government were found documents the contents of which induced Mr. Eyre to direct the arrest of Mr. Levien and Dr. Bruce.

These were political friends of Mr. G. W. Gordon.

At the time of their arrest they were living out of the district in which Martial Law was in operation, and were sent to Morant Bay.

They were kept in prison there until after the expiration of Martial Law, when they procured their own discharge by writ of habeas corpus.

Some other persons who were arrested in Kingston for political offences were also sent to Morant Bay, and there kept prisoners.

Doubts, however, were entertained by Brigadier-General Nelson as to his power to bring these prisoners to trial before a Court-martial.

He accordingly decided on his own responsibility not to do so, and communicated his decision to Major General O'Connor.

The Major General "coincided in this view," and expressed his opinion that "although "there might be authority to try them by Court-martial, they would not be justified in "doing so."

Mr. Eyre considered Brigadier General Nelson "had exercised a wise and just "discrimination in coming to this determination, if he had satisfied himself in each case "that there was no evidence directly connecting the prisoners with the immediate "outbreak at St. Thomas-in-the-East."

The Duration of Martial Law.

We have now narrated the means used for the suppression of the insurrection, and have commented on the conduct of some of those engaged in the suppression.

The number of persons concerned in the original outbreak, and in the deeds of violence by which it was accompanied and followed, was undoubtedly large; the number also of those who availed themselves of a time of disorder to plunder their neighbours was far larger; but the punishments inflicted seem to us to have been far greater than the necessity required. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that among the sufferers during the existence of martial law there were many who were neither directly or indirectly parties to the disturbances which it was the object of those placed in authority to suppress.

We fear that this to a certain extent must ever be the case when the ordinary laws, framed for the suppression of wrong-doing and the protection of the well-doer, are for a time suspended.

The circumstances which are supposed to render necessary their suspension are almost sure to be such as to excite both fear and passion; and some injustice, and we fear some cruelties will be certain at such times to be perpetrated; but we think that much which is now lamented might have been avoided if clear and precise instructions had been given for the regulation of the conduct of those engaged in the suppression, and every officer had been made to understand that he would be held responsible for the slightest departure from those instructions. It does not seem reasonable to send officers upon a very difficult, and perfectly novel, service without any instructions, and to leave everything to their judgment.

But as under any circumstances, however carefully instructions may be prepared, and however implicitly obeyed, the evils of martial law must be very great, we are driven to consider whether martial law might not have been terminated at an earlier period than the expiration of the 30 days allowed by the statute.

We know how much easier it is to decide this question after than before the event, and we are aware, too, that sometimes the success of the measures adopted for the prevention of an evil deprive the authors of those measures of the evidence they would otherwise have had of their necessity.

We have endeavoured therefore to place ourselves as far as is possible in the position of the Governor and his Advisers at the time their determination was arrived at. It was not till the 21st of October that the Maroons marched to Torrington, which evidently was the stronghold of the insurgents, and which place, from the marks of preparation found there, it had been intended to defend.

After, however, firing a few shots, they fled at the approach of the Maroons, and on the following Monday, the 23d, Paul Bogle was apprehended with his few remaining followers, and on the 24th was conveyed as a prisoner to Morant Bay.

From this time it must have been clear to all that the rising in St. Thomas-in-the-East was put down, and that the only thing to be feared was simultaneous risings in other parts of the Island. The question to be considered in deciding upon the conduct of the Government is not whether such risings were in fact likely to take place, but whether the Government, with the information then in their hands, had reasonable grounds for apprehending that they might take place.

It will be seen that they were receiving almost daily reports from different parts of the Island which must have led them to the conclusion that considerable danger of such risings existed. They could not at the time investigate, as we have, the grounds on which those reports rested.

They were forwarded by the custodes of different parishes, in whom the Government was bound to place a certain amount of confidence, and they would have incurred a serious responsibility if, with this information before them, they had thrown away the advantage

of the terror which the very name of martial law is calculated to create in a population such as that which exists in this Island.

But there was a course which might have been pursued by which that advantage would have been secured, and yet many of the evils ordinarily attendant upon martial law avoided.

On the 30th of October it was formally stated by the Governor that the wicked rebellion lately existing in certain parts of the County of Surry had been subdued, and that the chief instigators thereof and actors therein had been visited with the punishment due to their heinous offences, and that he was certified that the inhabitants of the districts lately in rebellion were desirous to return to their allegiance.

From this day at any rate there could have been no necessity for that promptitude in the execution of the law which almost precluded a calm inquiry into each man's guilt or innocence.

Directions might and ought to have been given that courts-martial should discontinue their sittings; and the prisoners in custody should then have been handed over for trial by the ordinary tribunals.

We cannot conclude our inquiry without expressing our regret at the tone of levity which is to be found in the letters and language of some of the officers while engaged in serious and responsible duties.

CONCLUSIONS.

Upon the subjects proposed for our inquiry we have come to the following conclusions:

I.

That the disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East had their immediate origin in a planned resistance to lawful authority.

II.

That the causes leading to the determination to offer that resistance were manifold:—

(1.) That a principal object of the disturbers of order was the obtaining of land free from the payment of rent.

(2.) That an additional incentive to the violation of the law arose from the want of confidence generally felt by the labouring class in the tribunals before which most of the disputes affecting their interests were carried for adjudication.

(3.) That some, moreover, were animated by feelings of hostility towards political and personal opponents, while not a few contemplated the attainment of their ends by the death or expulsion of the white inhabitants of the Island.

III.

That though the original design for the overthrow of constituted authority was confined to a small portion of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, yet that the disorder in fact spread with singular rapidity over an extensive tract of country, and that such was the state of excitement prevailing in other parts of the Island that had more than a momentary success been obtained by the insurgents, their ultimate overthrow would have been attended with a still more fearful loss of life and property.

IV.

That praise is due to Governor Eyre for the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection; to the exercise of which qualities its speedy termination is in a great degree to be attributed.

V.

That the Military and Naval operations appear to us to have been prompt and judicious.

VI.

That by the continuance of martial law in its full force to the extreme limit of its statutory operation the people were deprived for a longer than the necessary period of the great constitutional privileges by which the security of life and property is provided for.

Lastly.

That the punishments inflicted were excessive.

(1.) That the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent.

(2.) That the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous.

(3.) That the burning of 1,000 houses was wanton and cruel.

All which we humbly submit to Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

(Signed) H. K. STORKS, Lt. General.
RUSSELL GURNEY.
J. B. MAULE.

CHARLES S. ROUNDELL, Secretary,
King's House, Spanish Town, 9th April 1866.

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